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MODERN METHODS OF CHARITY

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MODERN METHODS OF CHARITY

An Account of the Systems of Relief, Public and Private, in the Principal Countries Having Modern Methods

BY
CHARLES RICHMOND HENDERSON
ASSISTED BY OTHERS

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PREFACE

Since the appearance in 1870 of the valuable work of Emminghaus on Poor-Relief in the Different Countries of Europe, we have no compendium which presents the essential features of public and private charity in the Western world, and important changes have occurred since that volume was published. A comparative treatment of this subject is desirable for students, practical workers and travelers who visit institutions and need to "orient" themselves in each land. The editor's experience as a university teacher, as a lecturer before mixed audiences and as an executive officer in a metropolitan society of charity organization has brought this need very vividly and constantly before his mind. Ignorance of what other people are doing means blundering experiment, opinionated obstinacy in antiquated methods, and waste of energy and resources.

Thoughtful actors in philanthropy are not seeking an atomic mass of isolated facts or personal tricks of benevolent invention, but general laws, rational results of experience and reflection which, like valuable merchandise, will bear transportation over sea. Gossip is for the idle hour and the winter fireside; science is the common theme of the republic of letters and the fraternity of competent leaders,—current as pure gold even when melted down and coined in different mints. Emerson, in his Representative Men, said: "I go to a convention of philanthropists. Do what I can, I cannot keep my eyes off the clock. But if there should appear in the company some gentle soul who knows little of persons or parties, of Carolina or Cuba, but who announces a law that disposes of these particulars, and so certifies me of the equity which checkmates every false player, bankrupts every self-seeker, and apprises me of my independence on any conditions of country, or time, or human body, that man liberates me; I forget the clock." The comparative method of dealing with

isolated phenomena of the same class leads by the most direct path to the discovery of the law, the principles of explanation and the principles of regulation and progress.

"We know that science is the handful of ultimate principles gathered out of the tufted mass of facts; but what gropings to discover them! Centuries of research are often condensed into a principle that a line may state."[1]

The attempt has been made to present facts without bias, yet with careful selection of phenomena which seem to be really significant and decisive. In each chapter will be found, in very condensed form of statement, the facts relating to the extent of each kind of social need, the law governing state activity on behalf of the classes of dependents, the methods of public organization and administration, the coöperation of public and voluntary agencies, the provision made for defectives, helpless children and misguided youth, and the recent ministrant functions of governments which have a tendency to diminish appeals to charity.

Quite as important are the facts relating to the judgments of experts in each country, and considerable space has been given to these. Popular opinions, sentiments and prejudices, even superstitions are often influential; as, for example, the crude religious feelings which maintain the custom of indiscriminate almsgiving and the survival of street mendicancy. When the opinions are those of persons with scientific education, modern ideals and long practical experience, they are facts of positive value. The recommendations of bodies of experts, made after protracted and repeated discussion, even if they have not yet been adopted in customs, regulations and laws, have a claim to be considered; they also are social facts.

Naturally interest in such practical subjects culminates in the induction of a judgment called a "social imperative," because the ultimate object of the entire investigation is the foundation of principles and rules for the guidance of conduct. The reader has a right to ask at each step: What of it? How does all this array of facts teach us to make a more economical use of public and private gifts to the poor? Are there any guiding maxims which will help the benevolent visitor and administrator to mitigate suffering, relieve distress, restore lost self-respect and

[1] Charles Wagner, The Simple Life, p. 19.

courage, save children from growing up paupers and criminals, and preserve the race from degeneration? Such are the questions which serious minds ask in the presence of this inquiry. And the materials here brought together from thousands of sources and from all the most advanced nations of the earth have a message of guidance as well as of explanation, sympathy and hope.

There are social imperatives and they lift themselves commandingly above the ranges of phenomena. Reason working upon this vast body of experience arrives at conclusions which, though not absolutely final for all ages and lands, are relatively valid for given conditions. European civilization has not emerged from centuries of struggle with error and poverty without results, and it does not turn a face of stone to the duty of the immediate future. A survey of the phenomena here placed in order for comparison reveals certain tendencies of expert judgment which, within the limits of our conditions, are reliable and authoritative. If the metaphysician scorns these judgments as lacking in the sublime qualities of eternity, universality and absoluteness, we can at least affirm that they are useful and necessary, even morally obligatory, in our time and in countries with European civilization.

One who reads the descriptions and analyses of the various systems of charity will naturally receive two apparently contradictory impressions,—one of differences and the other of likenesses of methods. Deeper than all superficial variations and resemblances are the general and permanent causes which are at work in all countries and the principles of administration which underlie all systems, whether public or private.

Some readers are very much tempted to look for what is startling and extraordinary, therefore the exceptional. Only the unusual and the rare seems to them interesting. This childish state of mind is one effect of excessive newspaper reading, where the sensational, the striking, the astounding is made conspicuous on the front page, with all the help of stunning scareheads, red ink, caricatures and cartoons.

Yet the differences of methods are instructive and should be noted. They are due to diverse stages of development, differences in climate and productions, racial traits, political history,

religious and educational institutions. If there were no differences it would not be necessary to give a separate chapter to each country. But variations themselves, with sufficient knowledge, may be traced to the working of general forces acting by law. Nothing is accidental or isolated from the broad stream of social evolution. We have not treated the unlikenesses scientifically so long as we simply observe them, wonder at them, and fail to bring them under some wide principle.

In the discovery of likenesses we are on the track of provisional generalizations and safe deductions. In all civilized countries which have become rich enough to afford the luxury a dependent group appears. When the domestic group no longer suffices for support, and slavery or serfdom has been abolished, the liberated laborer becomes free to be a pauper. The parent, slaveholder or landlord transfers responsibility to the commune or the nation. As modern societies differentiated and developed their political and ecclesiastical organizations the question of division of labor and burden pressed for answer. The gradual separation of church and state in modern times required an adjustment. Generally speaking the nations of Europe of the Latin type of institutions have laid emphasis on private and ecclesiastical agencies, while the Germanic peoples have required their governments to provide systems of relief. But the tendency is very manifest to extend the political activity up to the point where every citizen is provided by law with what is actually necessary to maintain existence. Even in Italy and France this tendency has grown stronger in recent years.

Gradually it has been made evident that public and private charity are not rivals but parts of one system, and that they complement each other, both being necessary. Hence there are everywhere efforts to define the appropriate fields of public and of private agencies and to promote a good understanding and effective coöperation between them.

Without attempting in a formal way to restate the principles which have emerged from practice and reflection we may refer to topics which are treated with some degree of fullness in several chapters. Thus the principle of individual treatment of dependent persons and families is at the basis of the methods of the German municipal systems, of the Catholic Societies of St.

Vincent of Paul and of the British and American Charity Organization Society.

The recent methods of dealing with foundlings are the result of failure and success, of blundering good intention and of exact scientific experiment. The ancient turning cradle has almost disappeared; the medical men have drawn up rules for diet and care; the law grows more strict in the enforcement of parental responsibility; the administration of relief seeks to save mother with and by means of the child.

Modern medical charity has called to its help the discoveries of laboratory and hospital; has created the new profession of the trained nurse; has utilized the entire range of sanitary and hygienic precepts.

In all countries a strenuous, hopeful and effective warfare has been carried on against consumption, the physicians and administrators forming a holy alliance with charity workers.

In all countries where cities and industries have developed with unparalleled rapidity, and the individual person and family is dependent on social conditions, the necessity for a preventive, protective and prophylactic policy has come to distinct recognition. Of this tendency toward providence and far vision of the future this volume contains numerous and significant illustrations.

The care of the insane has been based on accepted principles, as freedom from restraint, adequate service of trained attendants, purely medical control.

A note of explanation is necessary to make clear the share of the labor done by the different persons whose names appear in connection with this volume. First is placed the name of Dr. E. Münsterberg, City Councillor and Director of Poor-Relief in Berlin, one of the first authorities in the world in this field. Without having his consent to use the materials which he has been for many years collecting and interpreting, the preparation of this volume within any reasonable time would have been very difficult. Owing to the pressure of his official duties Dr. Münsterberg could not take direct part in the preparation of this book nor in shaping its final form. He must not be held responsible for more than is indicated in this statement; but it would be impossible to state too strongly my sense of gratitude for his

generous and patient interest in the work and his help in most of the chapters.

In order to fill the gaps in the materials and to present the story while it is fresh from life and its facts still significant, it was necessary to secure a great deal of assistance in the labor of translating, recomposition, discovery of recent changes, and consulting hundreds of documents, reports, articles and books bearing on the subjects. The editor invited to this task of co-operative toil several young scholars and trusted students of former days who now occupy honorable and useful positions as teachers, administratrators and writers. Their names are printed in connection with the chapters which they wrote or to which they contributed.

The editor has written certain chapters and carefully examined every line and every word in the articles furnished by others. While no pains have been spared to make every statement absolutely reliable, errors have probably crept into the text, and the editor will be grateful to any person who will call them to his attention.

The editor takes this most suitable occasion to thank the host of kind fellow workers and students who have for thirty years past helped him collect materials for this volume. In the United States, in Canada, in England and in many places in Continental Europe where he has come as a stranger to the busy and burdened superintendents of institutions he has found a sincere and friendly welcome, he has been supplied with information, and from every place has carried away pleasant and grateful memories. Reports and documents, copies of forms, letters on specific phases of work are in his library from all parts of the world. Only a small part of this material could be reproduced in a volume like this one, and the task of selection and rejection was by no means easy.

It would be natural to inquire the reason for many omissions, for example, the charity methods in Spain, Portugal, Greece. In some instances satisfactory materials could not be obtained. The Romance countries seemed to be represented in Italy, France, Belgium and the French and Italian cantons of Switzerland.

CHARLES RICHMOND HENDERSON.

The University of Chicago, September, 1904

COUNTRY	NAMES OF UNITS	VALUE OF UNIT IN U. S. GOLD DOLLAR
Abyssinia	Eritrean Dollar	$—.93,5
Afghanistan	British, Russian and Indian Money in Circulation	
Algeria	Franc	$—.19,3
Argentine Republic	Peso (Silver about 50 cents).	$—.96,5
Australia	Pound Sterling	$ 4.86,65
Austria-Hungary	Krone	$—.20,3
Bahamas Islands	Pound Sterling	$ 4.86,65
Barbadoes	Pound Sterling	$ 4.86,65
Belgium	Franc	$—.19,3
Bermuda	Pound Sterling	$ 4.86,65
Bolivia	Boliviano	$—.43 about
Brazil	Milreis	$—.54,6
Bulgaria	Lew	$—.19,3
Canada	Dollar	$ 1.—
Ceylon	Rupee	$—.44,5 about
Chili	Peso	$—.36,5
China	Tael	$—.63—71 about
Colombia	Peso	$—.43 about
Congo Free State	Franc	$—.19,3
Corea	Yang	$—.12 about
Costa Rica	Colon	$—.46,5
Cuba	Peso	$—.92,6
Denmark	Krone	$—.26,8
Dutch East Indies	Guilder	$—.40,2
Ecuador	Sucre	$—.49 about
Egypt	Pound	$ 4.94,3
Finland	Markka	$—.19,3
France	Franc	$—.19,3
Germany	Mark	$—.23,8
Great Britain	Pound Sterling	$ 4.86,65
Greece	Drachma	$—.19,3
Guadeloupe	Franc	$—.19,3
Guatemala	Peso	$—.43 about
Guiana (British)	Pound Sterling	$ 4.86,65
Guiana (French)	Franc	$—.19,3
Haiti	Gourde	$—.96,5
Holland	Guilder	$—.40,2
Honduras (Brit.)	Peso	$ 1.—
Honduras (Rep.)	Peso	$—.43 about
Hongkong	Mex. Dollar	$—.46 about
India	Rupee	$—.32,4
Indo-China	Piaster	$—.48 about
Italy	Lira	$—.19,3
Jamaica	Pound Sterling	$ 4.86,65
Japan	Yen	$—.49,8
Luxemburg	Franc	$—.19,3
Madagascar	Franc	$—.19,3
Martinique	Franc	$—.19,3
Mexico	Dollar	$—.46 about
Morocco	Okia	$—.49 about
New Foundland	Dollar	$ 1.01
New Zealand	Pound Sterling	$ 4.86,65
Norway	Krone	$—.26,8
Nicaragua	Peso	$—.43 about
Palestina	Piaster	$—.04,4
Paraguay	Brazilian Reis principally in Circulation	
Persia	Kran	$—.07,9
Peru	Sol	$—.48,7
Porto Rico	U. S. Currency used	
Portugal	Milreis	$ 1.08
Roumania	Lei	$—.19,3
Russia	Ruble	$—.51,5
Salvador	Peso	$—.43 about
Santo Domingo	U. S. Money preferably used	
Servia	Dinar	$—.19,3
Siam	Tical	$—.60 about
South Africa	Pound Sterling	$ 4.86,65
Spain	Peseta	$—.19,3
Straits Settlements	Mexican Dollar	$—.46 about
Sweden	Krone	$—.26,8
Switzerland	Franc	$—.19,3
Tripolis	Franc	$—.19,3
Tunis	Franc	$—.19,3
Turkey	Piaster	$—.04,4
Uruguay	Peso	$ 1.03,4
Venezuela	Bolivar	$—.19,3
Zanzibar	Dollar (Silver about 49 cents).	$—.98,4

This table is furnished the editor by Messrs. Knauth, Nachod and Kühne.

COUNTRY	STANDARD	MONETARY UNIT	INTRINSIC VALUE IN $*	COINS
Austria-Hungary	Gold	Present system, Krone at 100 Heller.	.203	Present system—Gold: 20 kronen ($4.052), and 10 kronen ($2.026). Paper money par.
		Old System { Florin or Gulden } at 100 { Kreutzer (Owfl.) } { Silver, Gold.	.48½	Old system—Gold: 4 florins ($1.929), 8 florins ($3.858), ducat ($2.287), and 4 ducats ($9.149). Silver: 1 and 2 florins. Paper money par.
Denmark, Norway and Sweden	Gold	Krone at 100 oere - - (Kron.)	.268	Gold: 5, 10 and 20 kroner. Silver: 1, 2 and 4 kroner. Paper money par.
England	Gold	Pound sterling (£) at 20 shillings at 12 pence. (£. s. d.)	4.866½	Gold: sovereign (pound sterling) and ½ sovereign. Silver: ½ crown (2s. 6d.) florin (2s), sixpence. Paper money par; Bank of England notes are issued of £5, £10 and above. The guinea (21s.) is not now coined.
		1 £ = 25 francs, 20 marks, 26½ paper lire, or 4½ milreis,		
Egypt	Gold	1 £ E = 100 piastres tarif (P. T.) = 1000 milliemes. 1 £ ster. = 97½ P. T. 1 Nap. gold = 77.15 P. T.	4.94¼	Gold: pound (100 piastres), 5, 10, 20 and 50 piastres. Silver: 1, 2, 5, 10 and 20 piastres.
Finland	Gold	Markka at 100 penni, - - - -	.193	Gold: 10 and 20 M. Silver: 1 and 2 M. Paper par.
France, Belgium and Switzerland	Double	Franc at 100 centimes, - - (Fr.)	.193	Gold: 5, 10, 20, 50 and 100 francs. Silver: 1, 2 and 5 francs. Bank notes par. 20 francs at 1 louis.
Germany	Gold	Mark at 100 pfennige, - - (M.)	.238	Gold: 5, 10 and 20 marks. Silver: 1, 2, 3 and 5 marks. Paper money par.
Greece	Double	Drachma at 100 lepta, - - - -	.193	Gold: 5, 10, 20, 50 and 100 drachmai. Silver: 1, 2 and 5 drachmai. Paper depreciated.
Holland	Double	Florin or guilder at 100 cents, - - - (Holl. fl.)	.402	Gold: 5 and 10 florins. Silver: ½, 2 and 2½ florins. Paper money par.
Italy	Double	Lira at 100 centesimi, (paper lira = about 18½c.), - - - - -	.193	Gold: 5, 10, 20, 50 and 100 lire. Silver: 1, 2 and 5 lire. Paper money fluctuating.
Portugal	Gold	Milreis at 1000 reis (1 coroa at 10 milreis), Paper milreis = about 80c.	1.08	Gold: 1, 2, 5 and 10 milreis. Silver: 50, 100, 200 and 500 reis.
Russia	Gold	Rouble at 100 kopecks, - (R°.)	.515	Gold: Imperial ($7.718), (15 R°.) and ½ imperial ($3.86). Silver: ¼, ½ and 1 rouble. Paper money par.
Spain	Double	Peseta at 100 centimos; 1 peseta at 4 reals; 1 escudo at 10 reals; 1 duro at 20 reals; 1 real at 5 cents. Paper peseta = about 16c. - - - -	.193	Gold: 5, 10, 20, 25, 50 and 100 pesetas. Spanish doubloon ($15.56) and 100 real piece ($4.95). Silver: 1, 2 and 5 pesetas. Silver and paper money fluctuating.
Turkey	Gold	Piastre at 40 paras; 1 gold lira or medjidieh (Turkish £) at $4.40 at 100 gold piastres. 1 gold lira generally = 108 piastres, silver.	.044	Gold: 25, 50, 100, 250 and 500 piastres. Silver: ½, 1, 2, 5 and 20 (silver medjidieh) piastres, also £5 notes of the Ottoman Bank.

*The MARKET value of the coins named necessarily fluctuates

India. The Rupee (Rx) in English money: £ 1 = 15 Rx. 100,000 Rx = 1 Lac; 100 Lacs = 1 Crore. Formerly £ 1 equalled 10 Rx, before the fall in price of silver. This table is added to indicate values of various coins in circulation.

PART I

COUNTRIES WITH DEVELOPED SYSTEMS OF PUBLIC RELIEF—NORTHERN EUROPE AND AMERICA.

CHAPTER I.

GERMANY

BY C. R. HENDERSON

In mediaeval times the church was the social organ for relief of the destitute, those who were not supported by family or landlord. Religious belief expressed itself in the casual gifts to beggars and suffering neighbors, in the parish relief administered by priests, and in the contributions to those who thronged the doors of monasteries in times of misery. Everywhere the ancient local communal bond was recognized even under ecclesiastical organizations, on the basis of territory and possessions.

In the cities after the Reformation poor relief was the affair of the commune which was regarded as at once civil and ecclesiastical, and in this local circle outsiders and homeless wanderers had no recognized rights. During the terrible Thirty Years' War all the institutions of assistance went to ruin with other social organizations. Upon the heels of devastating wars followed the world-plague of beggary. To repress the insistent demands of the hordes of mendicants the authorities resorted to severe and cruel measures,—incarceration, flogging, branding with hot iron, slavery. Only gradually were humane and discriminating methods introduced, and a distinction made between the public unfortunates and the sturdy rogues

Since the right to relief could be asserted only by a member of a narrow commune, one was a fugitive if he became sick, crippled or destitute in any other commune of his country. There was no national system. If a man attempted to beg he was driven away, and it was

even difficult to secure employment when local craftsmen were jealous of their market. Nothing remained but to perish in misery or join thieves and robbers.

It was found in the process of time and trial that cruel and repressive measures against beggary were ineffectual. Men must live in some way, and if not wisely helped they will help themselves. When the police become cruel the pity of the people is aroused and indiscriminate alms defeat the law. Some method of sifting the unfortunate poor from the vagabonds must be found.

Modern industrial conditions compel men to move from place to place according to the demand for labor and commodities, and the market of a village is quite apt to be the capital city or a foreign country. No longer are all a man's customers and employers found in the circle of his acquaintances and neighbors. Hence any workman is liable to find himself a stranger, sick or injured, robbed, penniless in a place distant from home. The system of relief must recognize the new economic situation.

The political conditions have also changed; and the local township has come to be a part of a state, and, since 1870, each state a member of the Empire, in which each citizen of a parish has the rights of a German citizen wherever he travels; and among his rights is that to relief when in dire need.

The poor law must find a way to decide the strife of interests of the communes. If a commune is required to relieve its own members it is not willing to spend its income on citizens born elsewhere. And a commune in which a pauper was born is unwilling to receive him back after long years of absence in a place where he has spent the productive years of his life, only to carry his weight in useless old age. The place of birth alone could not fix the ground for settlement, and corresponding right to relief; only the place where a man has lived, labored and reared a family can be regarded as really his home. Modern German legislation has accepted in a modified form the right of relief at home; and home is defined to be the locality where a man has resided for a reasonable length of time, during which he has become incorporated in the life of the community, and has lost all real connection with his former home, if he had lived elsewhere. This place where a German citizen may appeal for relief in distribution is called the "relief residence" (*Unterstützungswohnsitz*).

The North German Federation first introduced a general law on

this subject; but it was one of the first acts of the great German Empire, June 1, 1870, to enact a law protecting its weakest citizen in every part of the realm. Bavaria and Alsace have their own methods; the former being very near the new German law and the latter having a voluntary system inherited from its earlier French connection.

The first requirement of this law (not essentially modified by the later legislation of March 12, 1894) is that a German citizen must be helped in his misery where he chances to be at the moment; and later it will be determined who will pay the cost,—whether another commune, or the state, or the Empire, or some sick-benefit fund, or a trade union. This temporary assistance is a duty of the commune where the disaster falls, and the administration of the relief is a civil duty of the local officials for the poor. The district thus liable is the local poor union (*Ortsarmenverband*). When it comes to the question who shall pay for the outlay the "relief residence" is decisive. The principle obtains that every German citizen enjoys such settlement who after his eighteenth year has resided continuously two years in a given place and during that time has not received relief. A woman shares the settlement of her husband, and children have that of the parents. If a person has been absent more than two years, after reaching the eighteenth year of age, without remaining in any one commune long enough to obtain a settlement there, then the state or province must assume the burden. The district thus liable is called a provincial poor union (*Landesarmenverband*). The district which supplied the temporary relief in distress is repaid its costs by the district which is legally liable. The law also provides for the erection of institutions by the united means and efforts of several poor districts; as for the insane, the defectives, etc.

B.[1] In order to understand German poor relief we must call to mind the fact that throughout Germany, with the exception of Alsace-Lorraine, the care for the poor is made a legal obligation. This obligation is enjoined upon communes, municipalities, and communal corporations in the way just described. Assistance granted to foreigners invariably falls back upon the state. This system of reimbursement, it must be distinctly understood, is merely a financial measure for the purpose of equalizing the burdens of poor relief among the several communities; it does not give to the poor any legal right to

[1] Dr. E. Münsterberg, American Journal of Sociology, January, March, 1897.

claim the aid of a district. Whether, in any individual case, aid is really necessary, and of what kind, and in what amount,—all of these questions are decided by the authorities in whose district the applicant is living. Complaint because of the refusal of aid can be registered only with the officers of relief, not in a court of law.

In view of the great variety of organizations for poor relief, the poor laws are content to make one general requirement, viz., that aid is to be granted in case of need, within the range of necessity. Details as to plan of work, organization, etc., are left for each community to decide for itself. In what manner the work is to be carried on must be determined by local conditions, such as the wealth of the church and ecclesiastical orders, the wealth of the community at large, the extent of the population, and the administrative system underlying the work. In smaller communities and less densely populated localities, where the entire field can be easily surveyed, a moderate fund is raised for charitable purposes, the dispensation being left entirely in the hands of a salaried official (mayor or alderman). Occasionally we find a community possessing such liberal endowments that public relief is hardly necessary. In the poorer rural districts people generally prefer to furnish their dependents provisions and necessaries of life, or give them a home in the poorhouse. In medium sized places (cities of 20,000-100,000), however, as well as in large cities (of over 100,000 inhabitants), a particular organization becomes necessary, which is generally quite separate from the strictly administrative machinery, and is met with under such names as *Armenverwaltung, Armendirection, Armenbehörde,* and the like. Among the latter we may distinguish three principal methods. First: the director of the *Armenverwaltung,* generally the mayor or some member of the local administration, examines, usually through paid officials, every application for aid; these officials report on the case and thus reach a decision. This is now the least common method, all more important relief authorities having dropped it. Second: the administrative board has a number of unpaid assistants; to each of these is assigned one or two small districts, within which he is to examine carefully all cases of poverty and distress that may occur; his findings he reports to the board, usually with some suggestion or recommendation as to the kind of aid to be granted; the decision of this matter, however, rests with the board. Third: the board has the entire business management in its hands; the individual cases are divided among a number of honor offices; the

holders of these offices not only examine and report on cases in their charge, but also determine what relief measures are to be employed, and, if the case does not require hospital care or removal to an institution, they even apply the remedy themselves and assume a sort of guardianship over the dependents during the time they receive aid. This is the method now most generally in use; it is based on the principle of the Elberfeld system, that the unpaid official must be held responsible for the resources which the community places at his disposal for the work. Following the example of Elberfeld, nearly all the cities of the Rhine have adopted this system, while many other large cities have reëstablished or revived it, as Hamburg did. The old charity system of the city of Hamburg, superseded in 1893 by the present one, was organized by Büsch and Voigt at the end of the eighteenth century, and was received, at the time, with a great deal of well-deserved admiration. It was based on entirely similar principles.

The fundamental principle of the Elberfeld system might also be expressed thus: thorough examination of each individual dependent, continued careful guardianship during the period of dependence, and constant effort to help him regain economic independence. But these requirements can be fulfilled only through the assistance and coöperation of a sufficient number of well-qualified persons. And the great results the Elberfeld system has attained must be attributed largely to its success in regulating and keeping alive this coöperation. The first experiments along this line were made at the beginning of this century in the form of an organization of municipal charities, including all religious denominations; its purpose was in the first place to check indiscriminate almsgiving, thus diminishing the great evil of mendicity, and at the same time to take the place of ecclesiastical poor relief, which no longer sufficed. Here, already, the principle of thorough examination, careful guardianship, and continued assistance was established. But in practical administration the greatest difficulty was experienced because of the small number of helpers at command and their insufficient organization. Then the number of helpers was increased, they were divided among the local districts, and their duties defined as those we have indicated. But the successful working of this arrangement was again curtailed and hampered by the fact that the helpers remained mere investigators and reporters, the decision as to manner and amount of the aid to be granted still remaining in the hands of the supervising board. The evils which it was intended to

combat were not remedied, the poor taxes increased, the number of beggars was on the increase, and the ideas of the poor regulations were not carried out. It remained for a citizen of Elberfeld to discover the proper method, establishing the personal responsibility of the helpers. Thus a great advance was made toward the solution of one of the most important problems of poor relief, viz., the proper relation between donor and recipient. In this spirit the reorganization was effected, at Elberfeld, in 1852. We recognize in the reorganization three points of importance: (*a*) individualization, (*b*) the visitors have a voice in the determination of means, (*c*) decentralization. The first is attained by a division of the entire city into quarters, such that each shall not contain more than four dependents (individuals or heads of families), and the placing of each quarter under the supervision of a visitor. The visitor (*Armenpfleger*) is the chief organ of poor relief; it is his duty to visit the poor of his quarter at regular intervals, to keep himself constantly informed as to their circumstances, and to exert an educational and refining influence over them and their families. He is to be their friend and adviser, and is to insist on discipline and order. Ill-disposed and lazy persons it is his duty to report to the authorities for legal prosecution. The arrangement which gives the visitors the decision as to manner and amount of the aid is this: The quarters are grouped into circuits or districts; the visitors of a circuit have regular meetings for the purpose of discussing the work, taking counsel, and deciding on the amount, the kind, and duration of the assistance to be given. At the head of each such circuit there is a superintendent or inspector (*Vorsteher*), who presides over and directs the proceedings of the circuit and negotiates between the visitors and the central board. The central administrative board (*Hauptverwaltung*) is composed of a representative of the city administration (*Stadtverwaltung*) and of members of the city council. It has charge of the general direction of poor relief, the control of the decisions and resolutions of the circuits, the making of general regulations affecting all quarters, the supervision of institutional and hospital relief, etc. Moreover, it is the duty of this central board to search out the causes of poverty, to acquaint itself with the conditions of the poorer classes, to prepare and direct measures of a general nature, to see that the means at disposal are wisely used,—in short, to attend to everything not directly connected with passing upon the individual cases. Their control over the proceedings of the circuit,

therefore, does not imply a suspicious scrutinizing of each individual case, but is merely to give them an opportunity to see, in a general way, that the principles laid down in the poor laws are being carried out. The validity of the decisions of the circuit is not dependent on the approval of the board.

With the single exception of the chairman of the general board, who usually belongs to the higher class of salaried municipal officials, all the offices, those of the board, the superintendents, and the visitors, are purely honor offices. The members of the general board are chosen by the municipal council, the remaining officials by the board; and all are obliged to perform the duties of their respective offices without any remuneration. This is in accord with the entire system of German self-government, which makes a large number of offices purely honorary; especially is this true of their system of poor relief. And the peculiarity of this latter system is that, contrary to the custom of other forms of self-government, the offices are not limited to persons who have already won the greatest respect of their community, or who are made prominent by reason of wealth or social position, or who may have leisure to attend to the duties of an honor office. Here we find, on the contrary, that all classes of citizens are drawn into the service, and that a special effort is made to enlist the citizens of modest means, the tradesman, the mechanic, and the better class of laborers as visitors. Experience has proved, beyond a doubt, that circuits made up entirely of helpers from the upper classes distribute their funds far more lavishly than those composed of helpers of all classes, and that helpers drawn from the upper classes too easily lose their sympathy with their wards, from whom they are socially too far removed. Moreover, both at Elberfeld and in other cities, it has become a tacitly accepted custom that the office of a visitor in the poor relief department is the first round in the ladder of municipal honor offices; and no one can reach the upper, more highly esteemed positions, who does not begin on the bottom round.

The machinery we have thus described is complemented by a thoroughly organized, well-regulated business management. This is composed of a number of salaried officials forming a division of the general board, whose work supplements, in a variety of ways, that of the honor offices. It is their duty to gather statistics concerning each individual receiving aid, to collect these statistics in books and papers, so that they will be easily accessible to anyone desiring information

concerning a particular person. It is also their duty to examine the proceedings of the circuits, and to bring to the notice of the general board any faults that may be discovered. The object of all this, however, is not to control or direct the work of the visitors, but to supplement it; but without this coöperation, supervision and mediatory interposition there would be no decentralization, but the exact opposite; for the independence of the several circuits would lead to entire arbitrariness, to a dangerous inequality, and the system would be lost. Finally, it may be added that the work of all these offices, the general board, the superintendents, the helpers, and the business management, must be carefully regulated by wise poor laws and by instructions. These must furnish a good, reliable guide to a judicious performance of duty, without curtailing in the least the freedom of decision in a particular case. The value of good directions can never be overestimated. Lack of them and dependence upon the good sense and good will of the various officials may entirely frustrate the accomplishment of the desired results. To draw up proper regulations and directions, without going too much into minute details, and to carefully adapt them to a local environment will always be the most important part of the preparation for a reform of poor relief.

The fact already brought out, that there are general fixed laws governing poor relief, which should be applied under all circumstances, is to be considered in the light of what we have just said in regard to the adaptation of these laws. Nothing could be more senseless than to attempt to introduce the Elberfeld system, without making material changes in it, into all communes, even into all German communes. To begin with, there is a vast difference between the sizes of the several communes. A measure that would be wise in a city of even 100,000 inhabitants might not be a success in Berlin, with about two millions of people in the city and suburbs. Hamburg, with its 600,000, occupies a position between the two; likewise Dresden, Leipsic, Munich and other cities. Besides this the class, the kind of population makes a very material difference. While Elberfeld has, on the whole, a settled population, composed largely of skilled laborers, the surrounding districts, with their mining and manufacturing industries, are inhabited by a very fluctuating population which makes vastly different demands upon relief work. The agricultural East has quite other needs in this line than the industrial West. Wherever the growth of our modern cities creates special labor districts, where a

single house often shelters a colony of paupers, the Elberfeld quarter system cannot work; moreover, it would be very difficult to find a sufficient number of helpers in such a district, and the fundamental idea of the Elberfeld system, that of maintaining friendly, neighborly relations between the helper and fellow-men, is almost entirely lost; for the constantly shifting population renders the establishment of such relations well-nigh impossible. On the other hand, the system of administration is of importance. Where all or nearly all the officers are salaried and, as a consequence, the work tends to become formal and methodical, it should be quickened by the institution of honor offices. Where, as in Hamburg,—and in this respect Hamburg probably comes nearer the American form of government than any other German city,—the local government has for centuries controlled all public offices, and has never paid any of its poor relief officials except the lowest clerks,—here it was found necessary to add a number of more highly trained officials. Perhaps it is for this very reason that the Hamburg reforms excited a considerable interest in America, because it not only attempts an appropriate reform of the general system of poor relief, but also seeks to harmonize the work of the professional (salaried) officers and that of the honor offices, and to supplement the one by the other.

The deficiency of the Hamburg poor relief arose mainly from the fact that the relief work had not kept pace with the growth of the city; the boundaries of the old quarters remained unchanged, while the number of visitors was not increased. The result was that a single visitor, as a rule, had from 20 to 30 cases in charge; in some districts the number ran as high as 40-50, and in a few even to 70-80. It will be readily seen that one who undertakes the duties of a visitor besides his regular business or trade cannot give 40 or even 20 persons or families sufficient attention to thoroughly understand and constantly oversee their circumstances, to say nothing of his being their friend and adviser, and performing the most important social function, that of a helper. And as a matter of fact the work of the visitor had, with a few praiseworthy exceptions, become limited to the receiving of applications for assistance and a more or less careful examination at the time of the granting of the first aid. But then the aid once granted was usually paid year after year, without a renewed investigation; and in the first year after the reorganization it was found upon investigation that in nearly 5,000 of the 9-10,000 cases then receiving aid the

assistance was no longer necessary. The principal type of this class were widows with several children. At the time of the death of their husbands they were, indeed, entirely helpless; but after a lapse of some ten years, during which their children had grown up, they were very well able to support themselves without any assistance whatever, and in some of these cases the joint earnings of several children living with their mother were found to exceed considerably the income of the better class of laborers. Another respect in which the old system of Hamburg was deficient was this: the records and other such materials were not collected at one central office. The result was that as soon as an indigent pauper became reasonably well-known in one part of the city and was no longer believed to be in need of support, all he had to do was to move to another part of the city, there to receive aid again, instead of being legally prosecuted. In addition to this the superintendent of the circuit was overburdened with much unnecessary clerical work, which would have been far better done by professionals. All this led to contradictions in the work of the several circuits, to dissimilarity and inequality in the application of the poor laws, carelessness and lack of control in the business management, and together with these all of the other evils which are wont to result from careless and planless charity: money was often squandered on people who were either unworthy or not in need; worthy poor, who were too backward to apply to the independent helpers for aid, were neglected; poor judgment was often shown in giving money instead of provisions, or alms instead of work, or in supporting the parents instead of placing their child in an orphanage or other institution, etc. In spite of all this it must be said that in Hamburg the system of honor offices rests upon such venerable traditions that the sense of responsibility, in many cases, was very strong, and the abuses were not nearly so great nor so numerous as might have been expected. Nevertheless the grievances were sufficient to convince all judicious minds of the absolute necessity of a thorough, energetic reform. This view was very materially advanced by the publications and assemblies of the German Society for Poor Relief and Philanthropy, which, like the National Conference of Charities and Correction, seeks to disseminate correct principles of poor relief and philanthropy.

The reform was begun in the fall of 1892 by the employment of an expert.[1] This, however, had absolutely no connection with the break-

[1] This was Dr. E. Münsterberg.

ing out of the cholera the same fall, frequent public statements to the contrary notwithstanding. The reform and the calling of an expert had been decided upon long before the cholera broke out, although the two events were contemporaneous. And yet the cholera did have a considerable influence upon the development of poor-relief in the succeeding years of the reform. In the first place, the epidemic showed that public relief was by no means able to meet the demands of such an emergency, thus deepening the conviction of the necessity of a reform and giving the work the benefit of favorable public sentiment. In the second place, however, the distress created a need for speedy and more extended relief work than even a well-organized public relief could have furnished. As a result sub-committees were promptly organized in each of the smaller districts of the city, for such work as providing boiled water, provisions, clothing, and gifts of money, finding temporary homes for children, and supervising the distribution of the abundant stores which flowed in from all directions, even from foreign lands. The whole of this work was under the superintendence of a central committee composed, besides a few leading spirits, of the chairmen of the sub-committees. In spite of the mistakes made by these committees, principally at the start, they performed most extraordinary services in supplying rapid and suitable relief. A very large number of men and women devoted themselves to the work in the most unselfish manner, and during this brief period learned more about poor-relief and philanthropy than long years of experience in connection with public relief or private philanthropic societies could teach. For the reform, the importance of this work lay in the fact that it convinced all classes of the necessity of relief work, and brought out and even distinguished a large number of persons hitherto entirely unknown in this work, to whom the directors of relief work could successfully appeal, when, a little later, the reformed system was in need of a force of auxiliaries. This circumstance, therefore, was very favorable to the success of the reform. True, the cholera did, on the other hand, create conditions which were far from normal, and which, at the outset, severely obstructed the work. The great increase in the number of dependents was brought about not by actual needs alone, and the loss to many of their supporters, but also by the fact that many, while all kinds of assistance were so freely given, learned to like such subsidies, and supposed they were now going to continue indefinitely. The first step in the introduction of the reform was the working out of

a plan which should at the same time take advantage of the most recent scientific and practical experience, and be adapted to local conditions. The first of these requirements made the resulting system a modification, agreeing with the Elberfeld system principally in the entire independence of the visitors, while, in compliance with the second, the independence of the districts was extended in many ways; for instance, they were given the right of nomination for the offices of superintendent of a district and of new helpers and visitors; the appointment to both these offices being usually the prerogative of the general management. The choice of a temporary superintendent or chairman was left entirely to the districts; moreover, they were given a considerable power to vote aid.

The quarter system, on the other hand, which is characteristic of the Elberfeld system, was dropped on principle; it was also found necessary to drop their system of granting aid for a very brief period only. The principal advantage of the quarter system lies in the fact that each dependent is from the start in definite relations to a particular helper, in whose "quarter" he lives, the quarter being very closely defined within certain streets and house numbers; the visitor is therefore able to keep very fully informed of the conditions in his quarter; he can, within the range of the few houses allotted to him, find out every case that may demand his attention, and come in contact with the poor of his quarter frequently and in many different ways. The disadvantages are these: a given case must of necessity remain always under the same visitor; under circumstances a sort of protectorate is developed; and (especially) an approximately even distribution of the population among these quarters has ceased. Frequently certain houses are occupied almost solely by the poorer class, while others do not contain a single dependent. It is therefore possible under this system, and it actually did occur in Hamburg, that some visitors had in charge houses containing fifty to sixty paupers, while others never saw anyone in need. Hamburg, therefore, as well as Berlin, Leipsic, and Dresden, had adopted the district system (*Bezirkssystem*). Here the district includes quite a number of streets and places. The district assembly or council is made up of the district superintendent or chairman (*Bezirksvorsteher*) and a number of visitors, varying with the needs of the district—usually not under twelve, under no circumstances more than twenty. But none of these visitors has, at the outset, any relation to a particular house or its occupants.

On the contrary, every applicant for aid must first present himself to the district chairman (*Vorsteher*), who refers him, by means of an application blank, to one of his helpers; this helper, then, is obliged to examine into the case, supply any urgent and immediate need, and report at the next district assembly. Usually the case will be left in his charge for further treatment as long as the dependent continues to reside in his district; the case may, however, be given to another visitor for further treatment. The advantage of this dividing of dependents among the several helpers by the superintendent lies in the fact that the latter can employ all his helpers, not only in the same degree, but also each one according to his ability, without giving to all an equal number of cases. He will be able to give one living very near at hand more cases than he gives to one living at some distance, more to a man of considerable leisure than to a very busy man; to entrust to some very energetic person the investigation of a case demanding a great deal of energy, and to refer cases of aged people or children, where a tender heart is not so likely to be taken undue advantage of, to some tender-hearted person. Thus a superintendent is able to meet every need of a case, and at the same time to prevent the overburdening of particular helpers. He can also change helpers in a case, placing a dependent, either successively or simultaneously, under the charge of several visitors. This system, which is very elastic, has proved extraordinarily successful in Hamburg.

The second point of difference, the lengthening of the period of time for which aid is granted, was, as has been said, a matter of necessity. In the nature of the case it is very desirable that aid be voted only for a very brief period, two or four weeks (in Elberfeld the time is a fortnight). But had this policy been adhered to in Hamburg, it would have necessitated such frequent sessions of the districts as to preclude from the very beginning the willingness of the helpers to assume the responsibilities of their office, or at any rate to give rise to a mere formalism soon after the introduction of the reform. Instead, however, the dependents are divided into several classes. Those of whose genuine distress there is no reason to doubt, the aged, sick, and frail—in general, all sexagenarians—may be granted an allowance for six months; younger persons, as widows with several children, not longer than three months; all others, as able-bodied men and persons not sufficiently well known, are granted aid only from one session to the next, generally one month, in order that such cases may be under

constant surveillance. For like reasons it was thought best to hold regular meetings of the districts only once a month in Hamburg, since fortnightly meetings would have been too poorly attended, while on the present plan the attendance has hitherto been very good. These meetings are of very great importance; in them all cases are thoroughly discussed by all the helpers, and after due deliberation the proper measure of relief is decided upon by a vote of the entire body. In this way the assembly is bound more closely together, its members are kept informed as to conditions throughout the entire district, and they gradually arrive at uniform principles. It has been noticed, also, that friendly relations between the superintendent and the helpers are encouraged by this system.

A further point of difference between this and the Elberfeld system is the insertion of an intermediary between the district and the general administrative board; this is the circuit (*Kreis*), including a number of districts. In its geographical boundaries it follows roughly those of the ward (*Stadtbezirk*). The members of the circuit are the superintendents or chairmen of the districts, while the chairman of the circuit in turn is a member of the central board. The circuits discuss matters of common interest to all the districts, and hear complaints against the decision of the districts; they also consider and rule upon motions to grant hospital or institutional care (*Anstaltspflege*) for an extended period of time, or allowances exceeding a certain specified limit.

The central board, having for its chairman and vice-chairman two members of the senate, is composed, as to the rest of its membership, of sixteen persons, chosen directly by the representative body of the city government (*Bürgervertretung*) on nomination by the board. It exercises a general supervision over the circuits and the districts, it is the court of last appeal for complaints, fixes general rules and principles, investigates the condition of the people at large, and decides upon more general remedial measures and agencies. The business management, finally, serves as the organ of the central board, preparing and carrying into effect the resolutions of the latter; it collects and keeps in a general registry information concerning all dependents. All applications for aid must pass through this central office. If, in urgent cases, this was not possible before the voting of the aid, the whole matter is afterwards brought to the notice of the business management through the minutes of the district and circuit assemblies

and such other papers from which it is copied, and filed with the rest of the papers referring to the particular pauper in question. This plan makes it very easy to detect duplication of relief. Moreover, whenever it appears from the papers that any circumstance of importance has escaped the notice of the visitor who has the case in charge, he is notified of their full contents. When the decision and resolutions of one body are at variance with the laws or the business regulations, they are submitted to the next higher authority, the circuit or the central board. One of the most important principles of work is the demand for absolute reliability and the promptness and dispatch of the business. The work of the business management includes a great many separate branches, such as the treasury department, the collecting of subscriptions from well-to-do relatives of dependents, the making good of claims a dependent may have upon other poor funds. All this is carefully regulated in detail by instructions and rules.

The entire corps active in poor-relief includes about twenty members of the central board, somewhat more than 100 district chairmen, nearly 1,600 helpers and nearly 100 clerks. The distinction between the function of the honor offices and those held by professional or salaried officials may briefly be stated thus: the former foster the spirit of the work; the latter have the care of the forms; each is supplemented and modified by the other, so that neither arbitrariness, disorder, and looseness, on the one hand, nor, on the other, stiff formality and excessive writing may hamper the work. This aim has thus far been realized in a very satisfactory manner.

It was said above that the general principles of poor-relief are so fixed as to be applicable everywhere, if properly adapted to local environments. This will be borne out by a comparison of German and American conditions. When the American reader has informed himself concerning the Elberfeld system, its working and application, and compares with it the methods and institutions in vogue in the larger cities of America, he will immediately and entirely concur in the statement that only a system of careful investigation of the individual case is in accord with correct principles of poor-relief. Moreover, he will fully understand why, in Germany, the development of this principle has led to outdoor relief as the principal form of public relief, while in America indoor relief, the almshouse, is predominant. This contrast results from that between a system of honor offices and one of salaried offices. If, in Germany, each commune has hundreds,

if necessary, even thousands, of citizens who are willing to assume the task of helping the poor, it is evident that they can rightly perform this duty only by entering into some sort of neighborly relations to the poor. And if, in America, it is not possible to disburse public funds and public means otherwise than through salaried public officials, it is no more than right to demand such control and supervision as is possible in the almshouse. Add to this the fact that the frequent changes of administration, both state and municipal, place public offices within the grant of each new manager, that appointment to office has become, in no small degree, a reward for services rendered elsewhere, and the need of some means of control is very much augmented. Especially does this hold true for poor-relief, where there is danger lest the aid granted be made a reward for political services rendered by the recipient.

It is not mere chance that Warner, whose book is a summary of rich experience and a fine theoretical understanding and insight, arrives at the very same conclusion and expressly says: "It is through the development of a system of honor offices that outdoor relief in Germany has been robbed of its dangers, and it will be in part by the extension of the honor-office system in this country that the spirit of willingness to serve the state may be developed."

So long as one holds to the principle of individualization he will concede that outdoor relief, with well-qualified helpers and visitors, gives the greater assurance of careful investigation and continued surveillance of the environment of dependents, and of their rapid return to normal economic conditions. The advantages are these: It is possible to find out exactly what the condition of the dependent has been previously, to get a knowledge of his character and the life he is leading; to look into his home surroundings and to ascertain the state of health, education, etc., of himself and of his family. Furthermore, it is much easier to decide whether aid shall be given in the form of money or of provisions, by the securing of work, or by intervening with some private charity. True, the frail and the sick must still be cared for by indoor relief, but not in the workhouse. This principle of individualization makes it possible, also, to separate the family and legally to prosecute the criminal or drinking husband, while at the same time the innocent family is supported. Under circumstances recourse may then be had to the workhouse. This should be done only in exceptional cases; but then this method should

be applied with the utmost rigor and severity, every other form of aid being denied. But in order that this be successful, it is absolutely necessary that the almshouse be, in reality, a workhouse, *i. e.*, maintained solely for persons who will not work, but who can work, and will finally be forced to choose this way of escaping the pangs of hunger. Should they seek to satisfy their wants by culpable means, as begging, stealing, or teaching their children to do these things, they are to be placed in a workhouse by force, or turned over to the civil authorities. The baneful custom of making the almshouse "the charitable catch-all for the community" must be abolished entirely. Especially is it necessary that children, the sick, and the frail be cared for in separate institutions. When aged people are kept in the same institution with indolent persons, there is great danger lest the indulgence and forbearance necessary toward the former slacken the discipline and thus alter the entire character of the place. The reverse may also come true; the strictness and severity necessary in the reformatory treatment of the lazy and immoral may make the discipline that of a house of correction, and work injustice and injury to the aged and feeble.

All the more important and well-conducted poor-relief organizations in Germany base their efforts on these principles. The visitor is required to inform himself by personal visits, inquiry among neighbors, at bureaus of information, etc.,—if necessary, even calling in the advice and assistance of the public physician for the poor (*Armenarzt*)—concerning the health of the dependent and his family, the sanitary condition of their dwelling, etc.; he is also to find out whether or not the dependent be possessed of any property or means, whether he may have any claim on relief funds of any sort, or upon relatives; besides all this the visitor is to ascertain the exact amount of the earnings both of the dependent himself and of his relatives, then determining the manner and amount of aid to be granted, after due consideration of all these facts. In the collecting of the information the business management assists if necessary. All these matters are then to be constantly watched over, the visitor recording all information in the books he is required to keep concerning each family under his charge. Due attention and consideration must, of course, be given to important changes, as the remarrying of a widow, death of children in a dependent family, inheritance of property, etc. The books mentioned above are to be kept in such a manner as to

enable one at any time to get a full and clear idea of the circumstances in the case. Whenever the aid in a particular case is temporarily discontinued, the book is returned to the business management, where it is kept, to be reopened should the same family renew their application for support. When a dependent moves from one district to another, the book passes into the hands of the visitor in the district into which he moves.

The visitor first refers the applicant to those who may be indebted to him or otherwise under obligation, relatives, employers, insurance or benefit funds (*Versicherungskassen*), etc.; in this direction the visitors oftentimes accomplish a great deal in recalling faithless persons, especially relatives, to their duty and their rightful obligations. Often the visitor has connections with some private charity to which he can appeal in the interest of especially worthy people. Frequently he will even supply an immediate want from his own purse, seeing that the case is only a temporary exigency and that the applicant has never before been dependent upon public relief. In many cases, too, the visitor is able, through his own personal influence, to find employment for his charge, thus making it possible to relieve the latter's distress by a temporary allowance only. The training of the citizen in the duties of a visitor and helper is productive of excellent results, arousing in him a manifold interest for his ward, and teaching him to search out all possible ways in which the needed relief may be supplied most promptly and most thoroughly. It is unnecessary to state that this principle, which is, of course, emphatically expressed in the regulations, is not obeyed by all, that many slight their duties as visitor and helper and regard the whole work in an altogether too perfunctory manner; on the whole, however, this work is not only very successful, but of very great variety both in manner and direction of their efforts.

Whenever the conditions in any case are found to be such as to warrant relief at public expense, the total receipts of the family are to be ascertained and the allowance fixed accordingly. The length of time for which and the amount in which assistance is to be given must depend upon the nature of the distress and its probable duration. This aid consists principally in money, provisions being used only in a supplementary manner, chiefly clothing for children of school age, together with such articles as bedding, underwear, and the like. In general, however, the principle is held, that the depend-

ent himself will know better than any other person which of his needs should be satisfied first of all; it is furthermore believed that the expending of money is the best possible means by which to acquire frugal, economic habits. The visitor oversees the expenditure of the money in a general way, to see that it is rightly and carefully spent. Should the dependent prove injudicious and careless in his use of the money, the allowance is of course withdrawn, or its revocation at least threatened. The least anxiety and suspicion are necessary in the case of widows, aged people, and children, whose physical condition, or whose inability to earn a living leaves no question as to the necessity of help. Care must nevertheless be taken, in these cases, to search out relatives, and especially adult children who may be able to provide for their aged parents. Such search, conducted in the main by the business management (*Geschäftsverwaltung*), besides making a large number of allowances superfluous, has the general social effect of reminding the people that the first duty of a child is to care for its parents, a duty of which the people of Hamburg, for instance, previous to the reorganization, had become most shamefully oblivious. The rules pertaining to able-bodied persons are very strict; likewise those pertaining to women and children whose husbands and fathers are living, but are reported as having deserted their families. Even in these cases help cannot be denied when actual distress has been proved; but the allowance is always for a very brief period only, and its necessity thoroughly investigated upon each renewal of the application. Under no circumstances must the faithless father be permitted to feel that now he has deserted the family they are better off than if he himself cared for them. And yet just such cases are the bane of nearly all relief organizations; for, while women and children, who are sometimes guiltless in the matter, cannot be left in the depth of misery and distress, it often turns out that husband and wife play into one another's hand, the wife pretending to be forsaken, only to draw an allowance.

The amount of the allowance depends upon the circumstances of the family; the number of children, the age of the father, etc. The fixing of the amount in a particular case is left to the judgment of the district, except where a definite amount per head is fixed by the regulations. Very serious objections might, however, be urged against this latter plan, which is in use in certain cities: when, *e. g.*, the limit set for the head of a family is 3 M., for the wife 2.50 M., and for

each child from 1 to 2 M., according to age, a large family will sometimes draw an allowance greater in amount than an ordinary laborer could earn. Besides, it is very difficult, with a fixed scale, to take cognizance of a change in economic conditions, or a change in the scale of wages; when, on the other hand, the fixing of the amount is left to the wisdom of the visitor of the district, the whole situation, all the facts, can be duly weighed and considered, the various other sources of income, opportunities for temporary employment, etc. True, this system is also not entirely free from objections; it leaves room for arbitrariness in fixing the amount of an allowance; and where it is in vogue it is found that in districts where a large number of wealthy persons act as visitors the allowances are too high, in the inverse case too low. In this respect we feel very keenly the lack of any trustworthy statistical reports concerning the domestic economy of the class next above the pauper class, *i. e.*, of the lowest self-supporting class, whose income must of necessity be a little higher than that of those who receive public aid.

Besides giving aid in the form of money and provisions, the public relief furnishes free medical attendance in all cases; for the calling of a physician, midwife, or nurse, easier forms have been introduced, so that no one, even in the most urgent cases, need suffer for want of prompt and immediate help in the hour of need. But the importance of this department of the public relief has fallen off considerably of late years on account of the development of insurance, the majority of workmen now having access to some sick insurance fund. The most valuable means of promoting health, viz., healthful dwellings and good ventilation, often, alas! cannot be had, because of the wretched housing common to all large cities. It is an undeniable fact, however, that the various attempts at improvement in this matter have been due, in no small degree, to the participation of so large a number of citizens in the administration of public relief. For the visitors again and again discover what hotbeds of disease and immorality poor dwellings are; and even the most selfish taxpayer cannot fail to see the force of the argument that the mere possession of a better dwelling will save a large number of persons from ever falling in need of public aid, and thus reduce very materially the expenses of public charities.

Under the system of repayments known in Germany, as well as in Scandinavia and Switzerland, a large part of the relief is really a

loan to a citizen in distress. Thus in Hamburg, in the year 1901, in the receipts were counted 206,374 marks, which sum had been paid back to the public treasury by persons relieved, or by their relatives. This is an additional indication that in the future some kind of insurance against unemployment may be found which will make such appeals to charity unnecessary.

Furnishing capital for business is under certain circumstances a function of public poor-relief. A poor woman in dire need received aid to carry on a small fruit business, because otherwise she would have to be supported, and the highest authorities pronounced this legal.[1]

Participation of Women in Public Charity.—In 1896 the German national society of charity passed this resolution: "The participation of women in public care of the poor is to be regarded as a pressing necessity. It may be brought about according to the circumstances of particular situations; and first of all by inviting women to become members of the corps of visitors with the same rights and duties as those of men; and along with this supplementary activity in coöperation with public relief; and also by friendly agreements between public officials and the representatives of women's benevolent associations." This resolution may be taken to express the deliberate conclusions of men who have been schooled in the practical experience of administration. Opposition to the introduction of women into the councils of city charities appeared in Hamburg and Berlin, and it was based on the idea that men could not freely discuss some of the brutal facts of pauperism in the presence of women, and that many vital subjects would be neglected on this account; and that it would be inconsistent with the domestic duties of women to take a share in these public honor offices. The opposition came from some of the male visitors, not from the salaried city officials of poor relief.

In answer to these objections it is declared that, since the causes of misery are largely due to household defects, women are naturally the best advisers of the needy families, since they know far more than men about such matters. Women succeed best in caring for the sick and for children, in housekeeping, and they surpass men in the qualities of self-sacrifice, tenderness and practical sagacity. Yet many young women, whose education has been more aesthetic than

[1] Decision of the Bundesamt für das Heimatwesen, January 23, 1904.

scientific, lack the necessary knowledge of physiology, hygiene, sanitation and law to fit them for the task.

The poor relief board of the city of Posen has recently ordered that women visitors (*Armenpflegerinnen*), chosen for three years, are entitled to vote in the district commissions and are required to attend them regularly. They are to care for cases which the commission thinks most suitable for women to deal with. Especially when relief in kind is voted may women be charged with distribution, and they are to give particular attention to cases of sickness in families; and when private charity is called to assist the women visitors are authorized to make the requests.[1]

C. Private Charity, Benevolent Associations, Societies of Women, Red Cross Societies.

Intermediate Forms.—In the municipal systems of outdoor relief the city requires of its citizens that personal service on behalf of the poor which mediates between public authority and voluntary beneficence, for the almoner is brought into relations with the needy which call out far more devotion than could be required by any law. In certain cities endowments have been left to the care of municipal administration whose income flows from an originally voluntary gift, but which reaches its goal by the channel of public offices.

Private charity frequently serves as a pioneer for public assistance. Thus schools for instruction of girls in household arts have been established by private associations, and when once the public sees that the method is useful to prevent pauperism the muncipality or the public school system extends the agency with public means. In a similar way the institutions for defective, blind, deaf, feebleminded, insane and epileptic, are gradually transferred from private to public care. During the transition period the state or commune may subsidize a private agency which proves to have general utility. The fundamental principle of relief, the personal fellowship in the neighborly effort to help each other upward, is at the basis of both public and private assistance. Voluntary charity contributes what it can, and public relief expends what is necessary to meet the need. Private philanthropy makes its own conditions and regulations. In this characteristc lies the danger and the advantage of private charity. Officers of the law must treat all citizens alike; while the individual purposes of benevolent persons may dictate a special distribution of

[1] Zeitschrift für das Armenwesen, April, 1903, p. 115.

their gifts; as when a wealthy family loses a child by diphtheria and founds a hospital for treating contagious diseases, or a member of a craft leaves an endowment for indigent persons of the same calling. Even such considerations as pride, desire to display wealth and secure royal notice and titles may influence the gifts. Men and women call themselves together to play cards and drink for "sweet charity," and on the same ground occasionally prolong their pleasure longer than is good for them. Places of amusement advertise otherwise unattractive entertainments using as bait the promise to give a per cent. of the receipts to a hospital or a fund to help crippled soldiers.

On the other hand, when extraordinary demands are made, for which there is no fund ready, the appeal to benevolent citizens is natural and wise; as when a pest invades the land, or a conflagration, or a flood destroys much property and renders many homeless and helpless.

The custom of collecting cast-off clothing, waste paper, illustrated magazines for sale or for use by the poor is worthy of commendation. The inmates of hospitals and almshouses are cheered by the stories and pictures furnished by these means.

Some of the facts about private charity in Germany may best be mentioned under the heads of special forms of beneficence.

Endowed Charities.—The dangers of endowed charities are recognized by competent German writers: they are liable to become useless or even injurious, and the original giver being dead it is difficult to secure a change of direction of income. The civil code permits a charitable endowment to be abolished or changed only when the original purpose can no longer be fulfilled or when the effects of its continuance is socially harmful. The primary purpose must be regarded as far as possible. The ancient custom of leaving legacies for the poor is still common among the wealthy, but the conditions named in wills are not always reasonable or based on knowledge of the needs of the poor and the best methods of helping them.

Hamburg in 1895, from incomes of endowments, gave out a total of 1,258,830 marks to 53,799 recipients, which indicates a capital of 30-40 million marks. In Berlin the board of endowments controls about 200 foundations with about thirteen million marks, besides real estate. Bavaria, in a recent report, showed 18,655 funds of the value of 450 million marks.

Societies for Benevolent Work.—To relieve all forms of misery,

free associations are founded, and many citizens belong as contributors to several of these at one time. Statistics are difficult to obtain. In Bavaria, 464 societies were reported, chiefly in cities. Some of the German associations are confessional, some inter-denominational and others quite free from church connections. There are many women's societies, that of Baden, for example, which has 237 branches in different parts of the country devoted to all kinds of philanthropic effort. In small towns the aims of a society are less specialized than in the cities. The regular form of organization is a board of control and a general assembly of members, and in large places an administrative committee is frequently chosen by the board. The members may be contributors or active workers. Personal service is most difficult to secure. When the business of the society is very large, it is thought advisable to employ agents on salary so as to control the continuous service of competent administrators of the office.

Private charity has increased in Bavaria. In 1881 there were 299 societies; in 1900, 542. The number of persons aided rose from 43,693 to 95,354; and the expenditures from 749,242 M. to 1,405,689 M.; the permanent funds from 2,818,567 M. to 6,756,548 M. The increased activity of private societies is especially noteworthy in the care of children. The institutions of this kind increased from 144 to 221, and the funds from 500,000 M. to 1,400,000 M.; the increase being chiefly in cities.[1]

D. Ecclesiastical Charity.—From the earliest times since Christianity gained influence with German peoples church charity has had a continuous history. In recent years there is a very strong effort on the part of the churches of different confessions to organize relief in each congregation for their own members. Those indigent persons who are not attached to a parish must be helped by public agencies, but the two systems work side by side in the same city, and there is a field for each.

Catholic Charity.—The Catholic clergy have organized their system of relief in a very efficient manner. The chief parish organization is the St. Vincent of Paul Society, first established in Paris in 1833 by Frederick Ozanam, and rapidly extended to other countries. The central direction still remains in Paris, but many branches exist in various parts of Germany. In the region about Cologne and

[1] Zeit. f. d. Armen., 1903, p. 143.

under the archbishop of that city there were some years since enumerated 3,330,000 Catholics, 162 societies with 3,000 members. The members meet once a week. For each needy family two visitors are appointed and they are required to report in the meetings. Generally relief is given in commodities, tools for work, and securing employment. The visitors take great pains to encourage those who have fallen into distress, and, perhaps, into evil habits, to rise and make an effort to sustain themselves. There are also societies for women, as that of St. Elizabeth; but they are not so strong and they are not connected with each other in a system.

Among the regular orders, chiefly engaged in caring for the poor and the sick, the women are more numerous, and the most celebrated of these orders is the Sisters of Mercy, founded by Vincent of Paul in 1633. Similar in spirit are the Sisters of St. Borromeo, the Servants of Christ, the Franciscan Sisters, the Augustin Sisters, the Order of Elizabeth, and others. Members of these orders must possess certain qualifications of health and character and must serve a very trying probation, before they are permitted to take the vows. After this they give their entire life to the service and are supported by the mother house in illness and old age. A sister superior administers the order, and an ecclesiastic is appointed adviser. Most of the sisters are employed in institutions, but their activities are in many fields. In the archdiocese of Cologne there are about 1,500 sisters in 152 hospitals and asylums, while about 600 in 125 communities are active in poor relief for families. The total number of sisters in Germany has been estimated at 20,000.

In the parish work the sisters assist in care of the poor and sick, of infants in day nurseries, and children in homes, protective institutions, and Sunday schools. They carry on rescue work for morally imperilled girls. They often coöperate with the municipal officers of relief.

In November, 1897, the Roman Catholics founded the "Caritas-Verband für das katholische Deutschland," with central bureau at Freiburg in Breisgau.[1] Its purpose is to further unity of action in the charitable works of the Catholics by means of conferences, investigations and publications. The president of this society coöperates with other movements, as temperance societies, efforts to suppress

[1] Zeitschrift f. d. Armenwesen, February, 1903, p. 50. Charitas, 1900, Nos. 7 and 8.

traffic in girls, the national association to help consumptives, and the international congress of public and private assistance.

Charities of the "Evangelical" (State) Church.—The state churches have no convents or orders with perpetual vows, as the Catholics have, but ever since the Reformation period have kept in close connection with the civil commune. At first the church as such was direct agent in raising the funds and administering relief in the communes.

The Reformed churches differed from the Lutheran in that the former had a diaconate for poor relief as an essential part of ecclesiastical organization, while the Lutherans did not regard this as required by divine authority. The recent movement to reëstablish the diaconate in Germany proceeded from the influence of the Reformed churches.

The Inner Mission in Germany.—This term covers the work of many independent voluntary associations of members of the "Evangelical" state church on behalf of the dependent, the feeble and the anti-social elements of society. The movement called the Inner Mission had many precursors but took its present form about 1848. As we approach historically the Revolution of 1848, we discover the signs of increasing social ferment. It was not merely that suffering, poverty and crime were increasing, but that the public was more sensitive to pain and wrong. The consciousness of a right to enjoy the fruits of culture and civilization was awakened in ever wider circles. The Reforms of Stein and Scharnhorst were telling upon the people. Common schools were bringing peasant and artisan within the rank of scholars' thoughts. Men called to the duty of defending their country aspired to equality of opportunity under its civil shield. Proletarians and agricultural laborers began to show symptoms of that social ambition which afterwards produced social democracy.

In this period the "Great Industry" was developed. The policy fostered by Frederick the Great, broken by the Napoleonic oppression, was taken up by Prussian rulers. A system of canals was extended; postal service was rapidly improving; steamships plied between Europe and America; stories of the New World came back to kindle and inflame ambitions and hopes. In some regions, especially along the Rhine, the factory system was producing a special class of wage-laborers, though not so early or so rapidly as in England.

The Revolution of 1848 which swept Europe did not leave Germany undisturbed. Berlin was for a short time under the control of a mob. Riot and rebellion seemed to threaten property and government. The propertied class were frightened. The uprising was extinguished by military force, and a period of reaction began. Men who knew the life of the laboring classes in cities like Hamburg and Berlin were well acquainted with the wretchedness, vice, squalor, and despair of their homes. The one man who, perhaps, saw most clearly the extent and the sources of this misery was one who had been quietly and earnestly working among the fallen and distressed since his graduation from the university,—J. H. Wichern, founder and director of the Rauhe Haus, a school for neglected children near Hamburg.

Biblical and historical criticism was making it impossible to petrify the spirit in worship of the letter. Men discovered that vital Christianity could be manifested in spite of wide doctrinal differences. Kant and Fichte compelled theologians to become more intensely ethical. De Wette demonstrated the permanent factors in changing faiths. Schleiermacher, steeped in the devotional life of Herrnhut, translator of Plato, scholar, ethical philosopher, and theologian, "served as a bridge over which to pass from a region of barren negations to belief more accordant with the general faith of the church than he himself cherished" (Fisher). Neander taught how to unite learning, piety and humanity.

The more earnest men of the state church confessed that it had lost influence with multitudes of the people. Too many pastors waited for the poor to come to church and did not go out to seek them. "Thousands remain without the word, without light and life." "We have no parishes, only church congregations." At the earnest request of some active men a conference was held at Wittenberg in September, 1848, while the fright of the Revolution was fresh in all minds. Men were appalled at the brutality and fierceness of the outbreak and the bitter hostility manifested toward the representatives of religion. J. H. Wichern was the man for the hour. In an impassioned address he described the spiritual destitution of the homeless classes, of the proletarians of cities, and the anti-social purposes of the communists. He sketched the individual efforts already made here and there to overtake the social need, to care for the children and the poor, and to secure a regeneration in the inner life of the

state, church and society. Perhaps a single sentence has been authentically reported: "May the Evangelical Church set upon this work its seal and declare: the work of the Inner Mission is mine! love belongs to me as well as faith." A committee was appointed to formulate a plan. The conference adopted the report, and in the following January the "Central Committee of the Inner Mission of the German Evangelical Church" began its work. Bismarck (in 1847) had already said: "A state, if it would have an assured permanence, if it would only justify its existence, when it is disputed, must stand on a religious foundation." Thus a social policy for both state and church was being formulated at the same time.

The movement of 1849 grew out of previous efforts, as: Zeller's reform school (1820); Amalie Sieveking's pioneer care of the sick and wounded by women (1831); the Sunday school and orphanage work of Wichern at Hamburg; the deaconess mother-house of Fliedner near Düsseldorf (1836); the prison society of the Rhine and Westphalia; the Gustavus Adolphus Society; and many others. Wichern issued a memorial in which he defined the Inner Mission to be all the works of rescue which grow out of Christian faith and love in response to social need. "The Inner Mission does not mean this or that particular work, but the sum of labor which arises from loving faith in Christ, and which seeks to renew within and without the condition of those multitudes in Christendom upon whom has fallen the power of manifold external and internal evils which spring directly or indirectly from sin, so far as they are not reached by the usual Christian offices with the means necessary to their renewal." No form of evil or misery is to be neglected. No class is to be ignored. No social agency is to be left unused. While Wichern is chiefly occupied with the duty and labors of his own national church, his survey covers both Catholic and Protestant enterprises in Europe and America. He expressed the hope that Christians divided upon creeds will find in practical efforts of benevolence a ground on which all can agree. His appreciation of others is liberal and unstinted.

The Central Committee was a part of the original plan of Wichern, and it continues to carry out his ideas. It has an office in Berlin. Its functions are instruction, inspiration, council, and assistance, but not legislation. It seldom conducts a benevolent enterprise directly, yet its influence is widely felt. Traveling agents are maintained in various districts for the work of strengthening existing

efforts, of leading to an organization of new enterprises, and of securing means for institutions. These agents go from church to church, present the needs, interest pastors and congregations, and take collections. Some of the institutions raise money by direct appeals. Charitable works are often supported by a voluntary local society of persons who are interested in a particular form of philanthropy. They raise the funds, administer the trust, appoint the officers, and are responsible for finances and methods. The institutions are directly administered by persons who have the confidence of the directors of the society.

German people have great respect for special training. They are served by officials in schools, on railroads and in municipal affairs, who have passed probations and examinations, and who belong to a profession. This idea of expert service is carried into the Inner Mission. The deaconesses are required to learn the art they are to practice, as teaching, or nursing the sick. The Central Committee bestows special attention upon provision for training the administrative officers, and assistants. Schäfer, one of the representative men the Inner Mission, speaks of the anticipations of the movement in former ages, and divides the history into three periods: the beginnings (1780-1830), creative works (1830-1870), methodical development (1870 to the present time).[1]

The works of the Inner Mission are classified by Schäfer under the following heads: spread of the Gospel, parish work, education and training of children, education and protection of youth, protection of those in peril, rescue of the lost, care of the defective and sick, contest with social evils and means of betterment.

Among the works of the Inner Mission which deserve special notice in this place are the following: Hospices and homes for rest are provided those who cannot afford to pay hotel rates or who wish to escape from undesirable influences of cheap lodging houses. In the care of little children the day nursery, sometimes conducted by deaconesses, may be found in cities where working women are obliged to leave their homes to earn part of the family support. In Stuttgart, Cannstatt, Linden near Hanover, Altona and Schwerin are good types of this institution. In most of the deaconess homes one finds training for the work of schools for little children (*Warteschule, Kinderpflege,* etc.), which are similar to the kindergartens of

[1] Leitfaden der Inneren Mission, 4te Auflage, 1903.

Froebel. Schäfer's criticism of the latter is significant; that they leave the children too little chance for free movement; that the plays are too artificial; the songs barbarous and the religious teaching vague. Orphans and neglected children are sometimes provided for in asylums, but the general tendency is toward family care. In particular situations the institution is thought to be a desirable factor in a system of relief. There are societies which establish agencies for the placing of children in suitable homes and for watching over their education until they are mature. In Darmstadt, Weimar, Heilbronn, Altona, Dresden and other places are found institutions for sheltering and training boys in various industries out of school hours, with the object of preserving them from the evils of idleness and fitting them for earning their living. They are paid a little and trained to lay aside savings.

Among the agencies of the Inner Mission for the education and protection of young people may be mentioned the industrial schools for girls, where they are taught household arts of sewing, darning, mending. Girls of good reputation are trained for domestic service in special schools ("Martha Schools") or in connection with institutions where such young people are sheltered. Lodging houses are established in many towns for girls seeking employment and in danger of falling into the hands of unscrupulous agents of prostitution. These homes act as bureaus of employment. In the neighborhood of factories where young women are employed there are boarding homes under Christian influences for those who are not with their parents. And in a similar fashion provision is made for home life for apprentices in trades.

Different from the hospices are the lodgings for wanderers (*Herberge zur Heimat*) of which there are about 450 in Germany with 18,000 beds. There is a national organization which publishes "Der Wanderer," and which seeks to regulate and improve the service.

Closely related to charity work and often connected with it are the efforts to care for emigrants, for those who travel in search of employment, the seamen, and others who have no settled home. Here, also, deserve to be mentioned the organized agencies for rescue of the lost, morally imperilled children and youth, magdalene asylums, inebriate asylums, workmen's colonies and stations of help (*Ver-*

pflegungsstationen). There are in Germany about twenty-nine workingmen's colonies with places for 4,000 persons.

Philanthropic effort for prisoners and their families are fostered by the Inner Mission.

The education, training and relief of deaf and blind persons is not entirely in the hands of state officials in Germany, and so the voluntary associations of the Inner Mission find in this work a considerable field of service. For adult blind this care takes the form of agencies for securing employment, giving counsel and direction and rendering material aid in times of destitution. Religious impulses were felt in the establishment of agencies to help the feeble-minded and the epileptic; deacons and deaconesses of the Inner Mission are active in many German institutions for this class of needy persons. The famous "Colony of Mercy" at Bielefeld, founded by Pastor Bodelschwingh, carries on this work on a large scale.

Other societies provide vacation colonies for children in the country or at the seaside; establish schools for cripples, to restore their health and teach them occupations.

Although German cities have an admirable public system of individual treatment of needy families, already described, the churches find room and occasion for parish charity. It is claimed that the private agency will look out the "poor who are ashamed to beg" and not wait for them to apply in despair; that the encouragements of fellowship and religion can be made a powerful factor in restoration; and that many special forms of assistance can be made to supplement the legal relief which is necessarily nearly the same for all and cannot discriminate as parish charity can do. The wisest leaders of public and parish relief agree that all beneficent agencies should have a good understanding with each other and proceed in their several ways upon a common plan.

Parochial Organization.—The conviction seems to be growing that the direction of all charitable work of a regular congregation should be under the control of its own officers; that deaconesses, for example, serving in a parish, shall be responsible to the pastor and his council. The inconvenience of divided authority is seriously felt, and efforts are made to come to an understanding with the orders and associations which have central administration and send their agents into various states and countries.

City mission societies in certain instances do much benevolent

work, and this is especially true of Berlin. In its 13th annual report, 1902, the Evangelisch-Kirchlicher Verein of Berlin, gave an account of the work of its fifteen stations for caring for sick persons and of the 118 sisters in their service. These nursed the sick of 3,379 families, at a cost of 10,092 marks. A deason's home, with eight brothers, gave 2,007 days' care to the sick and aided 1,075 other cases.[1]

Jewish Charities have existed from ancient times. Many wealthy Jews have provided both by gifts and endowments for the poor, the sick, the orphan, the neglected children, and for the aged. Further particulars about Jewish Charities in Europe are given in a special chapter of this volume.

E. Coöperation of Public and Private Charity. On this point Dr. Münsterberg's discussion is closely followed.[2] The relation of public relief to private charities has, apparently, been even less carefully defined in Germany than in America. Here again the difference lies not in the general principles recognized in the two countries, but in historic development and actual, existing conditions. The very thing which, in Germany, renders the participation of the citizens in the public relief so valuable is, on the other hand, a hindrance to the development of private charities; while the very circumstances which have impeded the growth of public relief in America have quickened private charities in a most unusual degree. The activity of the German citizen in relief work is a voluntary contribution toward the burdens of the commune; the American makes his contribution in the form of direct private charity. While the German demands that the portion of the public funds to be devoted to poor relief be turned over to him and expended by him as he shall judge best, the well-to-do American provides himself with a somewhat larger income, and also expends it according to his own judgment. The only difference is that in Germany the burdens of the public relief are borne by all taxpayers equally, while in America the beneficent and philanthropic man bears a greater share than the egoist, and the latter is relieved at the expense of the former. And yet I do not hesitate to say that the American custom in this matter is worthy of imitation. The very fact that the public funds are at the disposal of the visitor and helper, without restrictions, goes far toward discouraging private charity, and makes a limitation rather than an extension of public

[1] Zeitschrift für das Armenwesen, April, 1903, p. 118.

[2] Article in American Journal of Sociology, already cited.

relief seem desirable in Germany. In this connection it should be borne in mind that, as already pointed out above, the work of the public relief does not differ in the least from that of private charities, so far as the nature of the work is concerned; the dollar of the one looks exactly like the dollar of the other. The difference lies not in the gift, but in the motive of the giver and in the attendant circumstances. For the commune, poor-relief is a legal duty, the exercise of which readily leads the pauper to think he has a right to claim assistance, although the law expressly denies any such right. The recipient of a charity feels no debt of gratitude for the help he receives (except as he may be grateful for the manner in which the aid is given) and that because the gift comes from the public fund. Moreover, the visitor is likely to be more lavish in the expenditure of public moneys than he would be with his own, or with those entrusted to him by a limited number of friends. For this reason assistance is more easily obtained, as a rule, from a public than from a private charity; very often self-help is not urged as strongly as it should be, and if the officers of public relief are not possessed of a very strong sense of responsibility, or if the district management is not very cautious and conservative, too great liberality may be the direct means of producing and multiplying poverty. The experience of every country and every age might be quoted to verify these statements. We can now understand why it is that even in Germany, where the system of public poor-relief has proved very successful, there is a growing sentiment in favor of restricting public relief, in the main, to such institutions as the workhouse, all else being left to private charity. At present this is entirely impracticable. So long as we do not insure widows and orphans against the loss of husband or father, upon whom they depend for support, we cannot think of abandoning them to the chance of private charity. Then, too, the public care for the sick and infirm should not only be maintained, but extended by every possible means. These things offer very little opportunity for fraud or abuse, for their external characteristics are far more easily recognized than a mere want of the means of subsistence. Moreover, the misuse of accommodations and arrangements for the sick is not so likely to work harm as is fraud in the disposition of public moneys.

One thing must still be demanded on both sides of the Atlantic: the respective provinces of public poor relief and of private charities

must be defined as clearly and as carefully as possible; furthermore, there must be established between the two a definite and well-ordered relation. This is recognized, in Germany, as the aim and the goal of relief work. To begin at the two extremes one might say: Essentials, necessaries of life, are to be supplied by public charity, while the furnishing of useful or unnecessary things, or even luxuries, shall remain the province of private charities. How much shall be included in the "essentials" must, of course, depend upon circumstances; in regard to the necessity of animal food or of wearing shoes, for instance, a small rural community will entertain opinions differing widely from those held by the inhabitants of a large city, where barefoot children are not allowed in school and consequently the wearing of shoes becomes a necessity. The establishing and maintaining of institutions for the feeble-minded, the infirm, the deaf and dumb, the blind, and orphans will also fall unquestionably within the province of public charity, although even in Germany the care for the blind and the deaf and dumb has been left largely to private philanthropy, while private institutions very often relieve the state of the burden of caring for orphans. At this point we find the connecting link between public and private charities, the public subsidies, which have been developed to a considerable extent in Germany also, though not so much as in America. Private institutions for the deaf and dumb and the blind usually receive from the bureau of public charities certain appropriations which go far towards supporting the institutions. Asylums for the aged, the feeble-minded, and children also receive subsidies in the form of free use of public lands, etc. The demands of Warner,—careful supervision of all subsidized institutions, regulations in regard to admission and dismissal of such people as are kept in any institution at public expense, and finally specific payment for specific work,—are very judicious and proper.

To decide further than this what particular work shall be done by public relief and what left to private charities, will always remain a very difficult matter. In most cases it will be a question of actual conditions: the one branch will have taken charge, to a greater or less degree, of this or that department, from which the other branch will then keep more or less aloof. In any case the commune should be thoroughly familiar with such institutions as already exist, and should carry on the extension of its own efforts accordingly. It is also very desirable that the two branches arrive at some mutual understanding

and agreement as to who shall be entitled to aid, under what condition, etc. The constant annoyance occasioned by shameless imposters, who now manage to secure duplicate or excessive allowances, could be avoided by keeping a careful registration of all those who receive aid and throwing the register open for the free use of all interested. It is clear that in the work of establishing proper relations between public and private charity, the education of the benevolent public will be one of the most important factors. What Warner says in regard to the public poor-relief in America: "It is time for us to stop bragging and humbly to take up the study of the science and art of administration," may be applied equally as well to the majority of the institutions of private charity in Germany. It is a plain fact that a sort of strange sentimentality is exceedingly predominant; a certain softness of heart which impels those whom it possesses to do something for their unfortunate and suffering fellow-men, without, however, trying to ascertain what is really needful to be done. Above all else it is essential that we break completely with the notion that poor-relief and philanthropy are in themselves meritorious. We must teach and thoroughly convince everyone of the fact, that the first thing necessary is to find out the causes of poverty, that those measures which aim to set the poor and needy dependent on his feet again and to make him independent are of far greater value than all the beneficence in the world, however good its intentions. House owners who make regular contributions to charitable societies must understand clearly that they will be doing a great deal more for suffering humanity if they cease to rent poor and unhealthy dwellings; employers must learn the necessity of protecting their employes against dangerous and injurious occupations by suitable hours of work and such other measures of precaution; and all others must be made to comprehend the seemingly very simple truth that the possession of a healthy body is worth more than the nursing of a sick one in the most magnificent hospital. In other words: methods of poor-relief must become a part of *social science;* its proper exercise can be understood only by a comparative study of economic and social life. We know that no social effort can or will succeed in making poor-relief and philanthropy superfluous, within such a time as lies open to our present vision. But relief work would no doubt be performed far more thoroughly and more intelligently if those engaged in it could know and realize that their work is to be for others, not for them-

selves. The essence of poor-relief is not the gratification of one's self-esteem by giving alms, but the complete resignation, sacrifice of self in the service of others.

In Germany as in other countries the evils of disconnected and planless charitable acts have been keenly felt by private persons and officers of relief. The modest poor, ashamed to beg, are overlooked; the bold beggar lives by mendicancy as his profession; generosity is discouraged by abuses and failures; funds are wasted by duplication; pauperism runs out into vice and crime at the cost of individual and public gifts.

The best writers are seeking to preserve the advantages of both public and private charity by fixing upon a rational division of labor between them and by constructing an agency for communication. Public relief is expected to furnish what is indispensable, while private charity may provide for that which is useful and desirable under special conditions.

No method of centralized control of administration can be devised which will not crush out private charity, which must be free if it exists at all. But it is possible, though difficult, to communicate all the information required for intelligent action, to keep central records of all forms of relief, and to promote constant and systematic exchange of purpose and ideas among administrators. The basis of enlightened treatment is adequate knowledge of the character and situation of the destitute persons who are to be relieved. In a rural neighborhood this is not difficult to secure, as it is in industrial and commercial towns where rich and poor are separated geographically and socially.

In certain cities, as in Kiel, Dortmund, Hanover and Elberfeld, the municipal relief office exchanges lists with the more important benevolent societies. In Dantsic the societies have a bureau of records and the magistrates furnish the names of persons who receive relief from the income of endowments. Since 1870 there has been in Hamburg a regulation that all administrators of endowments send to the central bureau copies of their records of gifts; but for some years the record was little used. Since 1895 a closer union with the municipal relief department has been formed and information in respect to public relief and endowed charities is recorded at a central office. Full information from private societies was not included in the plan because of the difficulty of bringing all into line. It was

soon found that the records of families and persons assisted by the public bureau were very useful to private charity and they were frequently drawn upon by benevolent persons. In 1896, for example, information was given out for nearly 6,500 cases; 2,276 to private persons, 1,411 to societies, 1,797 to endowed charities, and 885 to authorities. In Berlin in 1896 the requests answered were 2,936.

The German Society of Relief and Charity discussed this subject in 1891, and since that time the movement has extended. Generally the effort is made to bring both public and private relief into coöperation, as in Dresden, Frankfurt, Charlottenburg, Potsdam, Darmstadt, Strassburg, Posen, Colmar, Görlitz and elsewhere.

In Berlin the workers in various districts come together locally for the consideration of common interests. The representatives of of each society brings with him an account of each applicant cared for and a record is made by the card system of all such matters. The Jewish charities in Hamburg and Berlin have especially good arrangements of this character. The discussion and comparison of views and resources make it possible not only to prevent duplication of gifts, but also to secure adequate and suitable relief according to the ability and purpose of each agency.

It is very difficult, especially in the larger cities, to secure a complete and reliable registration of all cases. One part of this difficulty is technical and financial. The keeping of such a register involves much trained labor, and the facts about names, residences, family relations, and kind of relief are not easy to secure. By migration, sickness and death, the record soon becomes inaccurate and must be corrected. On the other hand the private societies are unwilling to assist in furnishing copies of their records, either because they dislike to expose the names of the beneficiaries or because they are afraid of losing their independence. The church parishes are particularly slow to coöperate with the public relief offices. It has been found advisable to organize the bureau of information wherever a few of the more important relief agencies are ready and not wait for all to enter upon the arrangement. The advantages become so obvious that all are likely to come in.

Breslau[1] has sought to secure a central registration of dependents. Between 1898 and 1901 the office had records of 66,771 cases; but 43,000 of these were taken from the municipal records, while only

[1] Zeitschrift für das Armenwesen, January, 1903, pp. 30-31.

8,149 cases came from endowed charities, societies and churches. This illustrates the difficulty of inducing private societies to register their cases. In the report of the Vereinigung der Wohlthätigkeitsbestrebungen of Charlottenburg for 1902, the records furnished by persons, associations and city relief department were 10,000 cases; 4,303 requests for information came in from various sources.

Information in respect to the agencies of relief is desirable, especially in cities. Benevolent persons wish to know where their gifts may be most wisely made and what societies or officials will respond to particular needs; and destitute persons should not be obliged to wander aimlessly from place to place in order to secure the help which they require. In many cities this want is met by the publication of directories more or less complete, containing lists of all available resources of relief, public and private. The directory in Dresden is quite satisfactory. In Berlin, Hamburg, Stuttgart, Lübeck, the lists of endowed charities are officially published; but, without detailed instructions for use, these lists are not comprehensible. The city office of Posen has published a carefully arranged descriptive list, and the Ethical Culture Society of Berlin has printed an analytic and explanatory catalogue of over 1,000 agencies of charity.

In order to act together, avoid at once duplication and neglect, and to coöperate in a common plan after free exchange of views, various efforts have been made in German cities to bring the representatives of municipal relief and unofficial charity together.

Some of these organizations have aimed chiefly to break up the social custom of indiscriminate almsgiving. Thus the Society to Prevent Mendicancy in Berlin, in consideration of an annual payment, permits each member to affix a sign upon his door and send the beggar to the office for investigation and relief. Similar arrangements are found in Dresden, Dortmund, Bochum and elsewhere. It seems to be difficult to maintain public interest in a society whose aims are so negative; and the more vigorous societies connect this merely corrective and repressive function with more positive efforts to relieve distress and build up the character of discouraged persons. Thus in Leipsic the church charities and deaconess service have built up a bureau of information which will assist individual givers in placing their contributions to the best advantage.

In some localities there are legal regulations which secure coöperation; as in some south German states where it is the law that the

parish clergyman and the parish physician shall belong to the relief board. In certain communities the administrators of endowed charities are legally related to the public office of relief.

In Dresden[1] and Posen the authorities have arranged for conferences with representatives of various relief associations; views are exchanged and policies are arranged by agreements. Many other cities have made experiments in the same direction. There are instances where the city gives a subsidy to private associations and requires from them in return the observance of regulations and permission of inspection.

The German Society of Relief and Charity (*Der Deutsche Verein für Armenpflege und Wohlthätigkeit*) is the national conference of charities, and it was established in 1880. The society meets each year in a different city of the Empire. The proceedings are published annually; the contents being the printed papers and the stenographically reported speeches upon them. In 1896 Dr. Münsterberg presented a general report which summarized the previous discussions. While the society does not pretend to legal authority its discussions and resolutions have had considerable influence on legislation and on the administration of municipal relief.

Related organizations are the Central Committee for the Inner Mission, the Central Bureau for Summer Care, the German Lodging-house Society, the Union of German Stations for Help, the Central Board of German Workmen Colonies, and the Union of Patriotic Women's Societies. Germany is also represented in the Board and Executive Committee of the International Congress of Public and Private Assistance provided for at Paris in 1900, and which will hold its next meeting in Milan in 1905.

F. Indoor Relief (in Institutions).

Since the facts relating to charitable institutions will be given below under various heads,—as vagrants, medical relief, care of defectives, etc.,—it is necessary here merely to state the tendencies of practice and opinion in Germany.

In general, the German urban charities depend far more on

[1] The Dresden Central Bureau reported for 1902 that it included the public office of relief, 100 societies and institutions, and 24 churches. The royal family sought for information at this office. Not less than 1,538,332 marks in voluntary gifts to the poor were reported, and greater use is made of the records of the office every year.

personal acquaintance and influence to prevent the abuse of outdoor relief than is the case in England or America. This method has already been explained in giving an account of the "Elberfeld System." Instead of using an almshouse or workhouse as a test of paupers, the numerous visitors depend on a judgment formed by frequent and careful inspection and inquiry. The institution is not employed for ordinary cases of destitution, especially when this would result in breaking up a family, in preventing the bread-winners from making the most of their earning power and reaching self-support as speedily as possible. Rather will both public and private benevolence seek to give occasional assistance in the home and labor with the family to make it fully independent.

Institutional relief is reserved, as a rule, for persons who shun industry, are dissolute, or drunken, and who require compulsion under control to make them labor. Homes for the aged and feeble who have no children or other relatives to care for them are regarded with favor. Many of the sick are best treated in hospitals or sanitaria. Defectives are sent to schools for training, to special hospitals for care, or to custodial asylums for protection. Whenever rigid control, oversight, or special medical treatment are required, then indoor relief is preferred. That indoor relief is reserved for exceptional cases and outdoor relief preferred when it is available, is shown in the evidence of Dr. Buehl. In the imperial statistics of poor-relief in 1885, it was declared that 1,078,921 persons were relieved at home and only 288,426 in institutions (80 and 20 per cent. respectively).

The institutions care for three classes of dependents: (1) Those paupers who are found to be drunken, loiterers, women with evil repute, persons incapable of managing their home affairs; (2) the feeble, aged, invalid, cripples, insane, feeble-minded, and others whose infirmities require constant care; (3) respectable old persons who can no longer work and require homes. (4) Related to indoor relief is the placing of dependent children in suitable families, with a modest payment for their board until they can earn their way. Sometimes a separate workhouse is provided for the first class and special asylums for the others; but very frequently all classes are found under the same management, with more or less attempt at classification. About one-half the institutions receive persons who pay for

their board and care at least part of the cost, the rate being usually from .80 to 1.50 marks per day, but in some cases much more.

It is said that the chief causes given for the reception of paupers into institutions are infancy, invalidism, weakness of old age, crippled condition, homelessness, insanity, inebriety, tuberculosis, epilepsy, blindness, shirking labor and desertion. The statistics indicate that drunkenness is a cause much more frequently in North Germany than in South Germany.

The inmate is received usually on the advice of the poor-relief authority, the superintendent being authorized to receive paupers in cases of emergency. The pauper, if capable of work, may generally be discharged on his own application. If he is insane or drunken, the rule is that he can be held forcibly only by appointing a guardian or by appeal to the police on the ground that his liberty would endanger public order.

The general direction of the institution is usually in the hands of a board in which the unpaid service of "honor officers" is an element. This board makes regulations and decides questions of principle. The immediate administration rests with a superintendent who receives a salary and is responsible to the board. This superintendent is trained for his work and secure of his position while he is faithful and efficient,—his "political" opinions having nothing to do with appointment or discharge. Where there are many insane and mentally defective inmates, a physician is sometimes chosen as director of the larger establishments; and in all cases medical treatment is provided.

In about one-half the institutions trained nurses and attendants are employed, often only for care of the sick, epileptics, idiots, etc., while in the others, chiefly workhouses and asylums for the aged, the service is performed by the stronger inmates, under the direction of officers. In many institutions the inmates are made nurses. It is said that inebriates, who could not control their appetites without the restraints of the house order, often make good nurses.

Naturally, the regulations of a poorhouse require a certain restriction of individual liberty and a uniformity of life. The sexes are separated, although in about one-third of the institutions aged couples are permitted to live together. Yet, as a matter of fact, there are few couples who desire to live together. For a limited number of respectable old people, separation is a great hardship, and for

these special arrangements are recommended and in some cities supplied.

The regulations usually require labor of all who can perform it; and in the workhouses proper the day's work is nine to twelve hours. Visitors are admitted under careful restrictions, and in the workhouses only at fixed times and by permission of the superintendent. Ordinarily the inmates are expected or even required to attend the religious services, and the opportunity of celebrating the sacraments is frequently given. Occasionally the rules require an inspection of the correspondence of inmates. Complaints of inmates may be laid before the director or the board.

The disciplinary measures vary with the character of the population. In case of invalids the infractions of house rules are corrected by reproofs, withdrawal of permission to go out, or to receive visits, or to smoke, etc. A threat of discharge is sometimes used. In the poorhouses more severe penalties are employed, removal of privileges, isolation, harder bed, discharge, etc. In workhouses the discipline is very similar to that of a prison. Dr. Buehl thinks that the penalty of discharge is inconsistent with the poor law, since this law makes relief a duty, and permits disciplinary measures, but does not provide outdoor relief for persons who need rigid control. The indoor pauper, therefore, should be kept under discipline but not sent out to beg or steal.

Modern chemistry and physiology have discovered the minimum quantity of protein, fat and carbohydrates necessary to health, and most of the poorhouses of Germany have dietaries established by the boards. This important matter is not left to the caprice or ignorance of the cook or the director. The diet must also be adapted to the needs of the stronger inmates and of the aged, sick and insane, and in special cases the advice of the physician must decide.

The custom is to permit paupers to wear their own clothing, so long as it lasts; but those confined in workhouses are frequently required to wear a uniform, which serves to remind them that they are under punishment. So far as possible, the paupers are required to work, and agricultural occupations are preferred. Out of 150 institutions where other than house work was carried on, there were 78 which employed their inmates with some kind of agricultural labor. Owing to the long winters it has been found necessary to introduce other industries.

The poor authorities sometimes make contracts with private institutions for the care of the paupers. Many of the inmates of the thirty Workmen's Colonies are thus sent by the relief agencies, and their cost met by the public funds.[1]

G. Vagrancy.—The highest authorities recognize the necessity for systematic relief of the wandering citizen. Wherever a German may travel he is still possessed of the right to relief when he requires help to maintain existence. This class has many different elements. Some are able to work but unwilling, others are unable to work even if they are willing, and it is not always easy to distinguish them in a throng of applicants. Statistics of the unemployed are kept by bureaus of employment, by trades unions, by the cheap inns and stations for help, the workmen's colonies, the emigrant offices, the correctional houses for tramps, and from these sources we learn that the number of wanderers who require assistance regularly rises and falls with the demands of the labor market, foreign emigration and convictions for vagabondage and mendicancy. In the times of crisis and depression (1873-1879, 1892-3, 1900-1) the number of vagrants increased. "Objective" causes account in great part for the annual rise of the demand for help, as seasonal employments, changes of weather, gluts in certain industries, neglect of training, sudden increase of population. Even those causes which are rooted in personal defects are connected with external conditions, as indolence with vicious education, premature labor of children, drinking customs, etc.[2] It is, therefore, unfair to say that any man who really

[1] The National Society in 1903 arrived at these conclusions: (1) Indoor relief is in general to be preferred only when there is a special need of compulsory labor or supervision, or when the physical or mental condition of the poor requires an intensive oversight or care, such as can be secured only in an institution. (2) Since the necessary institutions can be erected and maintained only by bodies financially able to meet the cost, therefore, when there is not already adequate provision, it is advisable to unite several poor law unions for the purpose, as is done in Saxony. (3) Individualization should be sought in indoor relief. Aged couples of good repute should not be separated. (4) Suitable employment for all inmates capable of labor is to be recommended on personal, moral and financial grounds; for those who are strong enough agricultural and garden work is recommended." [1]

[1] Zeitschrift für das Armenwesen, October, 1903, p. 299, from Schriften des D. V. f. A. u. W., 1903. Cf. Heft 65, S. d. D. V. etc., "Die geschlossene Armenpflege," by Dr. Buehl and Dr. Eschle.

[2] See remarks of Pastor Mörchen in Heft 57, Schriften d. D. V. f. A. u. W., p. 97.

desires to labor can find it at any time or place. There must, indeed, be a systematic and rational method of detecting and correcting true vagabonds, but nothing is gained by treating all wandering men as criminals, at least presumably, without first putting forth all possible efforts to distinguish those who are really willing to work. The German system of stations of help, cheap inns and workmen's colonies is a contribution to the world's best experience in this field of philanthropy. Their own administrators reveal defects and criticism is open and distinct; but such criticism is itself an evidence of interest and earnest purpose.

Lodging Houses (*Herberge zur Heimath*).—These establishments are largely supported by branches of the Inner Mission and are conducted in a religious spirit. They are inns where the wanderer may have lodging and meals at a low rate without temptation to use strong drink and where he will not be exposed to the arts of unscrupulous landlords. They are frequently utilized by the poor authorities and benevolent societies as shelters for destitute strangers. There is a central organization of these inns. In all there were in 1895, 439 inns, which furnished 3,700,000 lodgings, 2,470,000 paying guests, 700,000 guests from the stations, and 500,000 persons who took meals.[1]

Workmen's Colonies (*Arbeiterkolonien*).—The life of wanderers often brings them to sickness and unfitness for labor, and the colonies were established to furnish a shelter and means of recuperation to fit the guests for regular industry. While the stations for help receive the wanderers only for a brief stay, the colonies permit them to remain weeks or months. In 1896-7 there were twenty-seven colonies in Germany, with a capacity for 3,000 persons. In winter all the places are occupied, while in summer about half are vacant.

[1] As an illustration of care for homeless men in Berlin we cite the report of the "Warming Halls" for 1902. Various large halls were kept open and warmed; food without stimulants was sold at low prices from December 6, 1901, to March 6, 1902, daily from 7 a. m. to 6 p. m. Tailors and cobblers mended clothes and shoes. 16,231 cups of coffee were sold at 4 pf. a cup; 6,242 cups of milk at 4 pf.; 30,039 fragments of food at 2-4 pf.; 22,695 pieces of toast at 2-4 pf.; 62,225 portions of soup at 5 pf. The total outlay was 5,700 marks. The number present varied from 152 in mild weather to 1,009 on cold days.

The Society for the Aid of the Unemployed sustained (1901-2) three "Fragment Kitchens" (Schrippenküchen), which collected and fed 32,184 shelterless men on 32 Sundays. See Zeit. f. d. Armenwesen, January, 1903, p. 31.

The Colony for Workmen in Berlin has a peculiar problem owing to its situation in the largest city. Various experiments have been made here in selecting suitable employment for the kind of men who resort to the house. At one time they tried to cultivate silk worms, but without success. It has been found that work must be such as any sound man can do without special training; it must be work which cannot be done better and at lower price by machinery; the product must be easily marketed at low price with a slight profit; the raw materials must not be expensive because the capital is small and the men waste a good deal. The "colonists" change often, are frequently defective in body and mind, and are not as a class, reliable. Hitherto, the industries which come nearest to meeting the conditions are making straw wrappers for packing bottles, broom and brush making, cabinet work, preparing kindling (in winter). Outside labor,—as forest work, removal of snow and sand,—is regarded as a "necessary evil," because the colonist is thereby removed from the control and influence of the institution. Zeit. f. d. Armenwesen, July, 1903, p. 213.

Employment Bureaus and Agencies.—While the agencies of relief have daily occasion to direct their poor to the places where they may find employment, this method of promoting dependence is not and should not be made a part of poor-relief administration.

Workhouses and Correctional Institutions.—Indoor relief in Germany is chiefly confined to able-bodied persons. In this country various methods have been tried and poorhouses have been used both for the care of the helpless and the test and control of the sturdy beggar. Wherever these classes are mingled the result has been deplorable; the innocent child, the helpless old people, the dangerous insane, the disgusting idiot, the depraved criminal, have been heaped together in one mass. Of late the tendency in the well organized districts has been to confine the work test to establishments for persons capable of self-supporting labor, and others are assisted either by outdoor relief or in special institutions adapted to their particular needs. The principle now most generally accepted is that those shall be placed in correctional establishments who have improperly sought to live by charity, or, if destitute, have gone about begging and tramping without making their appeal to the regular offices of relief.

The German penal code (Secs. 361 and 362) provides that vaga-

bonds, beggars, persons who require those dependent on them to beg, persons who so indulge in indolence, gambling or drinking that they or their families must resort to charity, persons who receive relief and refuse offered labor which they could perform, and those who wilfully neglect to provide shelter for themselves, may be incarcerated or fined, and, in addition, required to work either in or outside a workhouse; always separated from free laborers. The institutions in which this compulsory labor is performed are distinguished from prisons and penitentiaries and are called workhouses or correctional institutions. There are, therefore, three kinds of institutions for persons able to work and presumably in need: poorhouses in the proper sense, workhouses administered by the poor-relief authorities, and the correctional institutions managed by prison authorities. One hears the complaint from representatives of a humane policy that too frequently poor persons are placed in correctional establishments along with depraved criminals who should have been assisted at home or have been sent to an asylum for defectives or the helpless aged. In many localities the poor will endure extreme suffering before they will consent to enter a shelter which is closely connected with a prison. On the other hand, able-bodied mendicants are sometimes placed in institutions designed for the feeble, and share the treatment of invalids, although they should be placed under the control of officers who require steady and hard labor.

It has been found difficult to provide occupation for those capable of work without competing with free workmen. The household affords much occupation for the women, but it is more difficult to keep the men busy.

Stations for Help (*Naturalverpflegungsstationen*) are places where destitute travellers secure the immediate necessities of existence, as food and lodging, on condition that they perform a designated task of work. The guest is required to move on in search of employment as soon as possible. Therefore, it is necessary that the stations be connected in a system and that the network covers a wide region, with the stations not further than a day's walk distant from each other. The route is prescribed and the certificates are sent forward from one place to the next. In 1895 there were in Prussia 744 stations in 342 districts. The numbers fluctuate greatly, with a tendency to diminish. There are local unions all federated in a national society. There were in Bavaria, in 1900, 559 Verpflegungs-

stationen, of which only 100 required work in return for relief; yet the desirability of a work test is generally conceded in that state.

Societies to Prevent Mendicancy (*die Antibettelvereine*).—In Berlin, Dresden, Dortmund, Hanover, Breslau and other cities exist societies of various names whose aim is to repress begging. In Elberfeld the woman's society acts as a society to prevent begging at the door. Not merely do these associations seek to furnish the means of investigation and testing, but they agree to supply what is really needed, so that there shall be no excuse for begging or for thoughtless almsgiving. A small shield on the door notifies the mendicant to go to the office and not disturb the family. Part of the equipment is, sometimes, as in Dresden, a workplace where tramps may be tested.

Urban Shelters (*Asyle für Obdachlose*).—In some of the cities there are shelters for the homeless, some of them connected with the municipal workhouses or stations of help, and others which do not require any work test. The decided tendency of expert opinion is to condemn those shelters which receive all who come, give them lodging, bath, disinfection and food, and require no registration and no labor in return for aid. It is believed by the representatives of the national society of charity that this policy makes any thorough and individual treatment impossible and tends to deprave the tramp still further. The wanderer is apt to take the money which he should use to pay for his bed to buy drink. He is induced to think that it is easy to procure the necessities of existence without personal effort and without responsibility. Unless careful investigation is made at the first application for assistance one can easily predict a life career of vagabondage and crime. It is believed to be highly desirable to have a good understanding between all the agencies of sheltering charity, so that each man shall be sent to the place where there is the highest probability of his being rescued from his course of mendicancy, corrected of his fault, and set upon his own feet as a self-respecting man.

Emergency Relief for the Unemployed.—This subject was discussed very fully by the German National Conference[1] in 1902. Two resolutions were unanimously accepted: (1) A distinction should be made between emergency work (*Notstandsarbeiten*) in the proper sense, and the reservation of needed public work for a season when

[1] Schriften d. D. Vereins für Armenpflege, etc., 1902, Heft 58 and 62.

much ordinary industry is suspended. The latter measure should be used only to prevent unemployment; the former to give relief to those actually unemployed. (2) Neither of these measures belongs to poor-relief. Both require a more methodical preparation and management than they have heretofore had, and in particular districts they should be administered according to common principles, so far as possible. A third resolution received a majority vote, but it was strongly opposed in the conference and cannot be said as yet to express the settled conviction of the representatives of German charity, chiefly because they do not yet see a way to carry it out. The vote stood 50 in the affirmative and 47 in the negative on the proposition: "For satisfactory dealing with unemployment, along with the measures already cited, others are desirable, and in the first place insurance against unemployment."

H. Medical Relief.

In no department of charitable effort has there been more progress than in this field. Kindness to the helpless sick was never so well equipped with the resources of science as during the late century. The insane are no longer treated as possessed with evil spirits. The war upon tuberculosis is carried on with a wisdom and energy for which past ages present no parallel. Sanitaria for convalescents are recent inventions.

Influence of Workingmen's Insurance.—Dr. E. Münsterberg[1] calls attention to the effects of insurance against accident, sickness and invalidism in preventing illness, as well as in securing medical attendance and care without a degrading appeal for charitable help. Of the system itself we shall speak later, but of the tendency to induce and require employers and local governments to introduce sanitary reforms it is proper to make mention here. In order to reduce the cost of insurance of wage workers and to increase the efficiency of the workmen many improvements have been promoted; and charity itself has been spurred to increased use of methods to prevent disease. Employers guard machinery; cities forbid the occupation of unwholesome dwellings; boards of health are more active in suppressing the causes of sickness. Everywhere the rate of morbidity and mortality is diminishing, and thus one of the greatest causes of pauperism is reduced. Thus both the direct and the indirect influence is wholesome.

[1] Die Armenpflege, p. 149 ff.

Hospitals.—Of recent years, 914,175 patients on the average are cared for annually in the general hospitals of Germany, and scarcely 20 per cent. of these are provided for by private charity. Convalescents are more generally cared for by private means. The best provisions seem to be made in Hamburg, Bremen and Westphalia.

It was decided by the Federal Council of Home Affairs in 1902 that medical relief in a sanatorium or hospital is obligatory on the local authorities when such relief is not only desirable, but also useful or necessary; so that recovery or at least improvement of condition may be furthered or dangerous increase of the complaint prevented. Medical men may advise that a patient be sent to the country in case of lung trouble or other weakness. When the local authorities grant such relief to a non-resident, they may recover costs from the place of legal settlement, if the person cannot pay. When there is income from sick insurance benefits the poor authorities at Charlottenberg made it a rule to pay one-third of the costs and receive two-thirds from the insurance funds.[1]

Outdoor Medical Relief.—In connection with outdoor relief special physicians are ordinarily appointed to administer to the needs of the destitute. In the larger cities these officers are placed under legal regulations. They must have office hours to receive the pauper sick, must visit in homes when necessary, and in urgent cases are required to render immediate help. Their pay for these services ranges, according to the size of the town, from 300 to 1,000 marks. In some places the poor can choose the physician who is called to attend them, and he is paid by the officer of relief according to a contract rate. One advantage of this method is that the physician thus freely selected by the poor family enjoys their confidence, and this plan is frequently preferred. But on the administrative side there are serious difficulties; the fixing of the rate of compensation is not an easy matter, and the supervision of the work of so many physicians is full of snarls. The situation for the physicians is complicated by the severe competition for positions as medical advisers for the various sickness insurance associations. In many places the fees are miserably small. Were it not for the generous spirit which marks the medical profession, the poor would suffer far more than they do.

Expert opinion favors a reasonable compensation for the service of the poor in order to remove temptation to slight them for private

[1] Zeitschrift für das Armenwesen, April, 1903, p. 113.

practice. In the country districts medical service is very inferior, owing to the scarcity of physicians and of hospitals. The Patriotic Women's Society has earned deserved praise for promoting medical relief in rural neighborhoods.

Physicians for the Poor.[1]—The conditions in Germany have compelled attention to the question whether physicians serving poor-relief authorities should be treated as public officials, with the consequent rights of permanency in office, pensions, etc. Generally young physicians, with small practice, are appointed for short terms of few years, to give them a chance to gain skill and earn a living while their private practice is small. Usually there is not enough business to keep a physician busy his whole time and so yield him support. The salaries and fees of physicians to the poor vary greatly, between 200 marks and 1600 marks annually, according to the service required and the locality. Specialists, as for the eye or ear, are employed by contracts. The consultations are held either in public offices or in the office or home of the physician.

Should the poor have a choice among physicians? It is granted that they would receive more benefit from one in whom they have confidence. But there are grave practical difficulties. The physician to the poor is a confidential agent and adviser of the authorities and visitors, and it is difficult to bring the actions of a large number of physicians within legal requirements. It is also difficult to agree upon uniform rates of compensation. For these reasons the right to select a physician is rarely accorded the family. Private charity has provided many dispensaries for the examination and treatment of persons who can leave their houses, and with good results.

First Aid to the Sick and Injured, and Emergency Relief.—Any citizen, whether rich or poor, is liable at any moment to need the help of nurse, guard or physician in case of fall, sunstroke, rupture of artery or other unforeseen occasion of illness or helplessness. To meet these needs many societies have been formed similar to those in other countries; and stations are established where a surgeon may be found or summoned quickly, and where bandages and other appliances are kept in readiness. The city administration, in connection

[1] Münsterberg und Stern, 48, Heft. der Schriften des Deutschen Vereins für Armenpflege u. Wohlthätigkeit.—Zeit. f. d. Armenwesens, May, 1903, p. 129 ff.

Moritz Fürst, Stellung und Aufgaben des Arztes in der öffentlichen Armenpflege, S. 278, Jena, G. Fischer, 1903.

with the fire or police department, sometimes provides for emergencies. Naturally these arrangements are specially helpful to the poor and the stranger in sudden misfortune, and the name of charity is not misapplied in this connection. In 1896 there were 28 "Samaritan Societies" in German cities; and in 253 cities there was some kind of preparation for help in case of accidents.

Medicines and Appliances.—It is customary for poor authorities to furnish milk, wine, beef extract, etc., for the sick poor on prescription of a physician; and contracts are made with druggists for furnishing such articles. Sometimes mechanical appliances, as spectacles, bandages for hernia, and artificial limbs, are supplied on the advice of the physician; when the appliances are expensive the poor officials must know and give orders in advance of purchase. Baths have also been provided by the relief officers,—a measure which is due in great part to the insurance laws. Here and there are endowed charities which supply money to send invalids to healing springs, as to Ems, Gastein, Carlsbad, Teplitz, Elster, etc. The Israelites furnish a sanitarium for their needy coreligionists at Soden. But the number of such endowments is too small to meet the need, although they are very proper forms of private benevolence. In Prussia the government railroads, on the recommendation of the administration for the poor, grant transportation to healing baths at reduced rates.

Disinfection of bedding, clothing, and furniture is performed by the city administration usually without charge to the poor. If property must be destroyed as a sanitary measure the city pays an equivalent. Great care is taken to disinfect lodging houses, shelters, stations, hospitals, and to insure cleanliness of bodies and clothing in such places.

Appliances for Use in Nursing the Sick.—From Zurich, in Switzerland, has extended into Baden a movement to supply such articles as are required in the sick room of poor families, as ice bags, thermometers, rolling chairs, bath tubs, etc. Usually the poor suffer from the lack of such apparatus and very few organized agencies have been established to provide them. The women's societies were the first to take hold of this branch of service.

Nurses, Their Work and Training.—Care of the sick in homes and hospitals has been the business of the religious orders during many centuries; but with the progress of medical science and art this

work has been greatly improved. The Roman Catholic sisters were naturally first in this field, and their orders labor with the inspiration of traditions of mercy. The deaconesses of the Inner Mission have also entered this great department of human service, so appropriate for women who have skill, training, and the gentle spirit of cheer and consolation. The sick need more than medicine and physical manipulation; their weariness and weakness of heart and mind call for the help of hopeful and tactful companions. To meet this need the leaders of the religious societies have sought to train nurses who shall have both technical skill and the qualities of mind and heart which are so heavily taxed in the sick room.

Some of the state institutions have followed the example of the orders and made arrangements to train nurses for great municipal hospitals, as in Saxony at Hubertusburg and in Hamburg. The patriotic society of women supported the Sisters of the Red Cross who are active in assisting the sick poor in their homes. The primary occasion for the service of the Sisters of the Red Cross was the call for nurses in times of war; but the same organization is held together to help as need arises in periods of peace. In the report for 1896 it was said that 589 sisters were in the society, an increase of 135 over the previous year. The Woman's Society also employs deaconesses. The nurses attend lectures, have practical experience under direction, and are taught by the chaplains of hospitals the moral and spiritual side of their duties. After passing a careful theoretical and practical examination the nurse is given a certificate. In some places short courses of lectures with clinical work are given for women who wish to be useful in cases of emergency or war, and yet do not propose to follow nursing as a calling.

The Jewish societies have also made arrangements to train their nurses.

There is high authority for saying that experience in Germany has taught the superiority of the system of associations of nurses, either on a religious or other basis. The common dress is a protection; the discipline is more effective; the danger from imposture and incapacity is reduced; the nurse herself has an asylum in the mother-house or elsewhere in times of sickness and old age. The largest service thus far has come from the church orders, although the private societies of philanthropy have recently increased. The work is more backward in the public relief. The best results are secured in parishes where

the relief societies and nurses coöperate in affording the destitute families the means of help which are needed.

One of the matters discussed in connection with nurses is the propriety of employing women for general practice. A few writers have asserted that women should not be sent to nurse men because of the tendency to immorality. But this criticism seems to rest upon exceptional instances, and to have little weight in deciding the question. Women are natural nurses, but in hospitals there are kinds of service for which male attendants should be employed and which female nurses should not be asked to do.

In this connection, as helping to account for the popularity of female nurses, the fact is cited that their wages are lower than those of men. While male nurses secure 20-30 marks per month in cities, and 10-15 marks in rural parishes, women receive only about one-half as much.

It seems decidedly advantageous to female nurses to belong to some kind of an organization; and of associations there are two forms, religious orders or societies of deaconesses and sisters, and free, secular societies. The nurse without such connections loses time in making engagements and has no resources in sickness and old age. It is now proposed by some writers to meet the needs of nurses by old age insurance, homes for retreat, etc.[1]

Care of Households (*Hauspflege*).—In 1892 a society was formed in Frankfort to provide for the care of families in which the wife and mother is disabled through illness. If the woman need to be sent to a hospital she is often unwilling to go for fear her home will fall into the hand of some person unworthy of confidence. This society employs women for a small consideration to cook and clean and keep the house in order until the housekeeper can return to her task after convalescence. The poor family may pay something for the service if they are able, but the society assumes all responsibility, selects the caretakers, and supervises their work through committees and agents. Other cities have taken up this form of assistance and it gives promise of wide usefulness. It is evident that a training as nurse is not required of the assistant in the home, but only moderate intelligence along with unquestioned character. The persons selected are usually women of somewhat advanced age.

In Frankfort an interesting experiment is on trial. In poor

[1] Zeitschrift f. d. Armenwesen, April, 1903.

families a nurse or servant is an extravagance, yet when the wife is sick it is a necessity to orderly family life. In connection with a building society arrangements were made in 1902 to provide a nurse and housekeeper where the family pay monthly in the rent 20 pf. premium. To this premium is added a subsidy from an endowed fund. The society is not legally bound to provide a nurse, but it is hoped that experience will reveal a way by which a strictly legal contract may safely be made.[1]

Care of Women in Confinement.—Among the poor in German cities the need of better care is keenly felt. Those who are ignorant are only too apt to hasten back to work too early, with serious consequences to their health in after years and to the detriment of their family. In some circles it is thought a mark of weakness not to go about daily tasks immediately after the birth of a child. One of the most serious tasks of charity is to educate the poor to think of the consequences and to use proper precautions. But very often poverty itself leads to neglect; the mother must as quickly as possible be about her household labors, since no other is at hand to do the cooking and washing. At this point charitable relief is sorely needed, and various private associations have come to the aid of the poor mothers, although by no means adequate provisions have been made, and here is a wide and neglected field for further benevolent effort.

Women sometimes need to be taken to a hospital for the confinement, owing to the nature of the case or the household surroundings. In this situation care of the household is required as in any case of illness. Even if the mother is strong there will be need of help in household work for two or three weeks. Factory labor is forbidden for some days after confinement, but such laws cannot reach home occupations.

The training of midwives is undertaken in connection with hospitals, benevolent associations, asylums and public poor-relief. In some cases the asylum is made the center for training of assistants, as of other nurses, and in others the nurses do all their work in the institution.

Care of Convalescents.—The evil of requiring a poor man to return too early after a serious illness in home or hospital has long been recognized, but even to this time the provision for helping such persons is insufficient. The workingmen's insurance laws have had

[1] Zeit. f. d. Armenwesen, July, 1903, pp. 215-217.

an admirable influence in this respect; and the various institutions which care for the insured are prompted by their exact knowledge and by their interest to prevent the premature return to severe toil after exhausting sickness. It is found cheaper to help a laborer to get thoroughly well than to support him as an invalid through many years. Hence the insurance authorities continue the payment of indemnities so long as it is necessary to enable a man to become strong. Mountain, country plains and seashore are as helpful resorts for the poor as for the rich, and many cities and associations have sought to make them accessible to destitute persons during convalescence; for example, Berlin, Bremen, Breslau, Munich.

Tuberculosis.[1]—The agencies of relief join forces with the physicians in the contest with the "white plague." The number of sufferers from lung diseases in Germany is estimated to be about 1,300,000 annually, of whom 170,000 to 180,000 die.

Three forms of charitable aid are required: preventive methods, curing the sick, caring for the family whose breadwinner is unable to work.

Preventive Measures.—To stay the inroads of consumption the people must be armed with knowledge; they must be taught what tuberculosis is, what causes it, how to guard against it, and how to treat it.[2]

Women visitors examine houses where there are cases of tuberculosis, and have them cleansed, disinfected, and the patients sent to other places. Children at school are examined by physicians, and if it is found that they are liable to exposure they are carefully watched over or sent to the country. The agents of the insurance funds and the poor-relief authorities report cases to the sanitary police.

In 1902 the government gave 90,000 marks for scientific investigations of tuberculosis.

Decrease of Mortality from Tuberculosis in Germany.—The mortality from this cause in the cities of 15,000 and more inhabitants was,

[1] Verhandlungen der Deutschen Zentral-Komitees zur Errichtung von Heilstätten für Lungenkranke. 7 Generalensammlung, 16 Mai, 1903.—Zeit. f. d. Armenwesen, August, 1903, p. 225, and October, p. 313.

[2] An illustration of the vigor of this campaign is the fact that 1,300,000 copies of "Merkblatt" were distributed. A publication of Dr. S. A. Knopf, of New York, on tuberculosis, was scattered in 400,000 copies.

for every 10,000 inhabitants: in 1877-1881, 357.7, and then a steady reduction until in 1897-1901, when it was only 218.7.[1]

The Care of the Sick in Homes and in Sanatoria.—A general report showed that in 1903 there were in Germany 60 sanatoria already occupied, 22 buildings projected, 22 private establishments, 18 places for a day's retreat, and 6 places for tuberculous children.

Many sanatoria are built by private societies. The German Central Committee for the Erection of Sanatoria for Consumptives and the Society of the Red Cross for People's Sanatoria are conspicuous in this work. The Empire granted to the former a subsidy of 60,000 marks.

The Invalid Insurance Boards have provided means of healing consumptives, partly from financial considerations. It is cheaper to cure a man and send him back to work than to support him in his weakness out of the national funds. In 1901 the number treated was 14,757, at a cost of over 5,000,000 marks, and with an average of 74 days' treatment. Sometimes the insurance board erects houses, sometimes furnishes beds in existing establishments. In 1901 they spent 49,000,000 marks for the erection of hospitals, sanatoria, etc.

The sanatoria have enjoyed a measure of success in restoring consumptives to health. The insurance authorities affirm that 72 per cent. are restored to capacity for work; but that if men return to former conditions the rate falls in 3-4 years to 29 or 28 per cent. Therefore, effort is made to place the patients after treatment in open-air occupations and not let them return to shops.

The insurance laws permit the family to have one-half or one-fourth of the sick indemnity; this permits the breadwinner to stay away from work until he is thoroughly cured, without fear that his family will suffer by reason of his unemployment.

Relief of the Family.—In 1902 the poor-relief authorities at Hamburg decided to act upon the principle that the cost of caring for a consumptive in a sanatorium should be borne by poor-relief when this measure is necessary to restoration of health. A special physician is to watch over these patients on their return home; and he coöperates with the churches and benevolent societies of women to secure suitable diet.

Care of Convalescents.—Berlin has four (4) places for recupera-

[1] Monthly Consular Reports, 1904, p. 839; quoted from Professor Mayet's monograph, Twenty-five Years of Statistics of Mortality.

tion (*Erholungsstätten*), which in 1902 cared for 1,973 adults; 360 women with sick children were entertained. Other cities have similar establishments: Frankfort, Frankfort a. O., Leipsic. Others have projected arrangements for the same object: Spandau, Posen, Stettin, Breslau, Dresden, Halle, Harburg, Hanover.

Sanatoria for Chronic Invalids.—In 1894 a sanatorium of 70 beds was built near Berlin for workingmen suffering from chronic diseases. In 1898 land was bought at Beelitz, and in May, 1902, the department for men was opened. The entire cost has been about 9,000,000 marks, or about 15,000 marks per bed; the yearly expenditures about 1,200,000 marks, or 5.50 marks per head per day.[1]

Chronic Nervous Disease.—Workmen injured in such a way as to seriously impair their nervous health and to endanger society need a treatment different from that possible either in accident wards of hospitals or in hospitals for the insane. At Stötteritz near Leipsic is the Herrmann-Haus, founded in 1900, which is based on these principles: Persons suffering from nervous shock, but not insane, are received for rest and treatment. The house is furnished and provided, in respect to rooms, clothing, and food, according to the customary mode of life with laboring men. Patients are kept under observation, without annoyance to themselves. All who are able are given proper opportunity to work. The number is kept small,—about 40. All modern appliances for treatment are provided. The leading physician has no financial interest in the profits of the institution. Abstinence from alcohol and tobacco is the rule of the house.

Diet for the Sick.—In his careful report to the National Society of Charity in 1903, Dr. Blum gave the results of inquiries in 190 cities, about two-thirds of which sent replies to his questions. People's Kitchens (*Volksküchen*) are benevolent establishments which serve wholesome food at low prices to families and persons whose households are not able to supply good food. The families of laborers where there are many children and meagre income, unmarried working people, and employes in shops who have no home table, are among the customers of these establishments. The kitchens aid the cause of temperance by furnishing nutritious food without the accompanying temptations to drink. While it is expected that these kitchens will be self-supporting, yet their highest usefulness depends

[1] Die Arbeiterheilstätten der Landes-Versicherungsanstalt Berlin bei Beelitz. Berlin, Löwenthal, 1902, pp. 95.

upon the supervision of intelligent persons who are willing to render voluntary service.

The purpose of the diet kitchens is to furnish poor people kinds of food which are required by invalids and which cannot be prepared in their houses. Only in a few cities are these arrangements found; diet kitchens for all classes being known only in Berlin and Stuttgart.

The German National Society of Charity passed two resolutions, in 1903, approving these agencies, and asking the workingmen's insurance authorities to promote them, in coöperation with poor relief officers.[1]

Care of Drunkards.[2]—Experience seems to require in the institutional treatment of inebriates that there should be a reception department where the patient shall be kept under careful medical observation for 4-6 weeks; then a convalescent home, under separate direction should follow; afterwards the patient, if proved reliable, may be placed in the care of families where abstinence is practised, where the patient may be paid a little for his labor, and where he may remain 3-4 months. In more difficult and obstinate cases a colony is advisable, and here the cost is about 2 marks a day and that of installation is 2,000-2,500 marks per bed. But most frequently the case comes too late; habits are fixed, and disease is deep-seated. The greatest hope is in the progress of the temperance societies.

The Blind.—It is estimated that there are in Germany about 40,000 blind persons. Children are frequently cared for at home and in ordinary schools up to the tenth year, and after that they are trained in special schools. The raised Roman and the Braille point systems are both used in their books, and of late much has been done by societies to multiply copies of good works and lend or give them to the blind. The children are instructed in the ordinary school branches, so far as possible, and the effort is made to train them in simple hand industries by which they make themselves independent.

Care of Deaf Mutes.[3]—The first institution in Germany for the

[1] Schriften des Deutschen Verein f. A. u. W., 1903; and Zeit. f. d. Armenwesen, October, 1903, p. 299.

[2] Zeit. f. d. Armenwesen, July, 1903, p. 219 ff.—Articles of Samter, Waldschmidt, Die Aufgaben der Armenpflege gegenüber Trunksüchtigen Personen in Schriften d. D. V. f. A. u. W.

[3] See Review of J. Kurth, Das Taubstummenbildungswesen in XIX. Jahrhundert in den wichtigsten Staaten Europes, in Zeit. f. d. Armenwesen, June, 1903, p. 162.

training of deaf mutes was founded at Leipsic, by Samuel Heinicke, April 14, 1778. In 1788, his son-in-law, Dr. Eschke, established a second school in Berlin, the first in Prussia. The Prussian institution prepared teachers. The first Bavarian school was established at Freising in 1804; and others followed. In order to supply funds various devices were employed. At first an attempt was made to mingle deaf children with those in ordinary schools, and train teachers to give instruction to all; but this was found to be impracticable. The movement received an impetus in Prussia after 1828 from a ministerial circular, and the number of teachers and schools increased. After 1873 the provinces were charged with the duty of educating deaf mutes and special schools were built for them. In 1900 there were in Germany 91 institutions with 673 classes, 732 teachers, and 6,458 pupils. The average school period was 7 1-3 years.

During the development of the movement there has been much controversy over the question whether the pupils should all be boarders; of late the tendency is to employ both methods, boarding within the establishment and living at home.

Prussia made instruction compulsory and very stringent laws have been made in several states to require indifferent parents to send their children to school. The ordinary studies are pursued, naturally with the exception of singing. Especial emphasis is laid on drawing and feminine handwork. Trades are not taught in these schools, but are learned in later years. The school assumes no responsibility for the mature life of the youth, although directors advise with parents about the choice of a calling. The trades which they can most easily and profitably learn seem to be tailoring, shoemaking, saddlery, bookbinding, gardening. Girls learn dressmaking, ironing, and ornamental work. Trade schools especially designed for the deaf exist. There are 12 asylums for helpless women and various homes for the aged deaf.

Cripples.—In 1902 in the Rhine provinces were found in a population of 5,759,798 not fewer than 49,508 cripples; of whom 32,242 were males and 17,266 females; 40,928 were over and 8,580 were under 16 years of age. Of the 49,508 over 16 it was found that 2,101 were mentally unsound; 5,865 mentally sound persons, children and adults, were without education. For all these there was only one institution with 46 places, 2,753 adult cripples were entirely and 2,682 partly supported by public relief.[1]

[1] Zeit. f. d. Armen., 1903, p. 315.

Insane.—It is estimated that 1 in 300-400 inhabitants are insane, and that in Germany 2 out of 1,000 of population need institutional treatment. In 1890 only 56,234 insane persons were in hospitals and asylums (43,251 in 122 public establishments, and 12,983 in 114 private establishments); 7,537 epileptics and idiots were included in these figures, distributed among 47 special institutions.

The legal regulation of insanity is chiefly referred to the legislatures of the several states; imperial laws touch the matter only at a few points. Most, but not all, the states have their own institutions for treatment of the insane, frequently in connection with the university clinics and scientific study of insanity. The provinces generally erect the buildings and provide for administration. In some states the ministry has a limited right of control over the institutions, in relation to plans of buildings, competence of superintendents and granting corporate rights to private associations. The reception of a patient into an institution and his discharge are regulated by laws of the states, and ordinarily a medical man's certificate is necessary. The police authorities can act when that person is dangerous, even without the consent of relatives.

The insane person can be declared incapable of managing his own affairs (*Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch,* Sec. 6 and refs.).

There are numerous private institutions for the treatment and custody of the insane, which generally owe their origin to the desire of rich and well-to-do families to give their relatives more comfort than they would have in public institutions, and also to spare themselves the humiliation of dependence on public support, and the pain of knowing that their friends are in close contact with patients of an inferior social class. The state recognizes and regulates these establishments.[1]

Family care of the insane has not been carried so far in Germany as in Scotland and Belgium, and still it has met with favor and success. Before 1880, Dr. Wahrendorff in Ilten was one of the first to employ this method with selected cases of the insane. Dr. Alt in Uchtspringe has developed a colony and gradually trained families to care for the patients. Very interesting is the experiment made with a hospital serving the great city of Berlin. At the Dalldorf

[1] Löning, Lehrbuch des Deutschen Verwaltungsrecht (1884), §77, Das Irrenwesen.

Hans Laehr, Heil und Pfleganstaltan für Psychisch-Kranke des Deutschen Sprachgebietes, Berlin, 1891, and his article in Handwörterbuch des Staatswissenschaften.—Schönberg's Handbuch der Pol. Oek., Art. Irrenwesen, by Jolly.

asylum the cost in the institution for each patient, between 1893 and 1897, was 2.12 marks per day, while the cost in families was only 1.28 marks, a saving of about 40 per cent. During the years 1893-1897 the Dalldorf institution sent out into families 822 male and 517 female patients, or about 13 per cent. of all; and it was found practicable to find boarding places in the city itself, without sending to the country.[1]

Feeble minded and epileptics are treated, says Laehr, in a rather stepmotherly fashion. Only exceptionally are they received into hospitals for the insane, and most of the institutions for their care are private and receive only those who are capable of improvement.

One of the most famous institutions in the world for epileptics is that founded by Pastor von Bodelschwingh, near Bielefeld, Westphalia. It is a colony with many houses and arrangements for classifying the patients according to sex, occupation and stage of the malady. It is supported partly by charitable gifts, by subsidies and by payments for care. The population is under the treatment of earnestly religious people and the church edifice is the center of all the life of the place. Not on this account is medical advice neglected, and the nurses, both men and women, are carefully trained for this peculiarly difficult branch of service.

K. Children.

As in America, so also in Germany, relief organizations have given special attention to caring for children. Whenever it becomes necessary to interfere, or to take charge of a child, they aim to secure for it good, healthy surroundings, careful training and thorough instruction; such children enjoy the protection and care of the respective charities even after entering the business world, while they are already earning their own livelihood. But here again we meet with the very same mischief already mentioned above in connection with the support of forsaken women. In an extraordinarily large number of cases the care of children by public relief is welcomed by faithless parents as a very convenient way in which to receive aid themselves. This is especially true in the cases of the illegitimate offspring of workwomen and servant girls, who are hindered by their child in returning to work. One favorite trick is to place a child in another and strange family on promise of payment for its keeping; the promise is not kept, and the foster parents are forced to appeal to charity. It is, of course, impossible completely to abolish

[1] Zeitschrift f. d. Armenwesen, March, 1904, Dr. E. Nawratzki.

the nuisance; it may be checked to some degree by dealing severely with the parents and, under circumstances, by legally prosecuting them. Here (in Germany), as well as in other highly civilized countries, the principle of anonymity has been entirely abrogated; foundlings, *i. e.*, children who are found entirely helpless, and whose parentage is really unknown, are comparatively very rare. Whenever a child is received into a charitable institution, its personal relations are fully established. It is attempted, wherever possible, to leave the child in its natural surroundings,—to return it to its parents, or to its mother. Only when domestic relations and domestic environment prove such as would expose the child to too great danger, the child is cared for by public charity, which, in the matter of care for helpless children, is now usually exercised by placing them in good healthy homes (*Familienpflege*). As a rule a child is first placed in an institution which serves the purpose of a temporary home. Here the children are carefully observed, and every effort made, particularly in case of the older ones, to determine whether they are better adapted for care in an orphanage or in a private family (*Anstalts, oder Familienpflege*). The orphan board (*Waisenverwaltung*) has connections with a large number of respectable families, mostly in the country; to these the children are entrusted, certain fixed rates being paid for their keeping. When so placed a child is under the guardianship of an inspector, usually a local clergyman or teacher, who may, in case of necessity, return it to the orphanage. Here, as elsewhere, experience has taught that cases of total depravity are rare. Most of these children improve immediately when placed in new and healthy surroundings. Thus nearly all of the orphanage work has taken the form of family care, which has given by far the most satisfactory results in the matter of development of character. The sick, the frail, and the feeble-minded, are placed in separate institutions, which afford such care and instruction as the nature of the malady may permit or demand. Institutions for the care and keeping of children while the mother is away at work are not maintained by the public relief. This department is left entirely to private charities, which are sometimes assisted by public appropriations.

Unification of Methods[1].

Where the mother, even with the aid of poor-relief, cannot care for

[1] Das Ziehkinderwesen, by City Councillor E. Pütter, Schriften d. D. V. f. A. u. W., Heft 59. Cf. Heft 62, p. 94, for the vote on Pütter's recommendations.

her child, or when an unmarried mother deserts her babe, modern charity turns to family care as the best substitute. Foundling asylums have fortunately not been accepted in Germany. But the supervision of infants is vital to the success of the modern methods. In former days in great cities the helpless babes were often entrusted to incompetent or immoral persons, and in their hands the mortality was so frightful that these "baby farmers" acquired the grim title of "angel makers" (*Engelmacherin*). Associations of good women, shocked by disclosures of charity visitors and police, began to organize methods of inspection of the homes of the nurses and brought them under such a measure of control that actual murder became rare; but the mortality from other causes continued. It is now clearly seen that constant medical inspection of the infants placed out is necessary, and that along with voluntary visitors, a few trained women, paid a modest salary, under the direction of the poor-relief and medical officers, are most efficient agents. The infants are examined and weighed by these city visitors and at intervals are brought to the city physician for inspection. If they need treatment by a specialist, or in a hospital, or a change of diet, or if the foster mother is ignorant or negligent, the proper order is given by the physician and the visitor sees that it is executed.

There is no imperial law on the subject, and the legislation in the several states is by no means uniform. In some cases the infants are under police control and in others under the care of the poor-relief board. This matter was fully discussed at the 22d annual meeting of the national conference (in 1902). It was agreed that all infants who are placed out should be under the supervision of a board; that medical advice and supervision by women are necessary; that for infants under two years trained and paid nurses were the best inspectors; but the conference was not ready to recommend any general law on the subject.

An example of the care of infants is the maternity hospital of Breslau, which in its 21st annual report (1902) showed that it had cared in that year for 112 infants and 111 mothers, the average time of care being 26 days. In 21 years the hospital had sheltered and treated 1,597 infants and 1,533 mothers; 1,452 of the infants having enjoyed their mothers' milk and 130 were artificially fed. The children which had natural food showed a mortality of only 1.1 per cent.[1]

[1] Zeit. f. d. Armenwesen, July, 1903, p. 222.

The children's clinic (*Kinder-Poliklinik*) at Hamburg treats children which suffer from defective nutrition. It weighs the infants, teaches mothers how to feed them, and furnishes artificial food when necessary. In 1902 it treated 1,611 infants, with excellent results.[1]

Medical Examination of School Children.—Physicians are appointed by the authorities of Berlin, one person to four schools; and it is their duty to examine twice a year all the pupils who enter the school with reference to the senses, the spinal column, the development of the limbs, etc.; to make examination of those pupils who should receive a special form of instruction on account of stuttering or other defect; to make a quarterly inspection of the school rooms with reference to their sanitary condition; also of the health of the pupils and the presence of contagious diseases. The school physician does not prescribe for the children, but sends information to the parents, so that the family physician, who knows them best, may give them treatment. When necessary a specialist is called in.[2]

Child Labor.—On January 1, 1904, a new law (of March 30, 1903) went into effect. There had already been laws regulating child labor, as that of June 1, 1891, which prohibited the employment of children of school age in factories and certain other places. It was forbidden to employ children in wandering occupations, as exhibitions, and in local plays, except under certain restrictions. In 1897 it was ordered that children under 14 years should not peddle wares and engage in street traffic. The most recent law goes further and prohibits child labor in all manufactures, except under strict limitations named in the law; but this law does not yet fully regulate domestic service and agricultural labor of children. It does, however, go further than ever before in the control of working children in their homes; for hitherto the state has permitted parents to exploit their own children with hard labor while outside employers were prohibited to do so. The execution of the law, so far as it does not belong to the factory inspectors, is in the hands of police authorities. It is required of teachers and visitors of the poor and physicians to coöperate with the police in discovering cases of violation of the law, but they must first inform the parents of the requirements and report them only when they refuse counsel and persist in violating the law.

[1] Zeit. f. d. Armenwesen, July, 1903, p. 222.

[2] Consular Report, April, 1904, p. 173.

The protected age is up to 13 years or the end of the obligatory school period.[1]

Summer Outings.—The central bureau of the union for summer outings in Germany, in its report for 1903, shows that its branches had given outings to 35,596 children at a cost of 1,040,381 M.; 15,465 in colonies, 2,669 in rural families, 6,423 in sanatoria, and 10,857 in city colonies. Of the societies 27 give treatment in winter. The reports include the work of 185 societies in 116 cities.[2]

Educational Guardianship of Neglected Children and Youth.—Closely related to both the relief and preventive action is the recent legislation in Prussia and other states called the law for educational guardianship (*Fürsorgeerziehungsgesetz*). Before the enactment of the civil code (1900) there was a general law which enabled the judge in cases of guardianship to protect children whose parents treated them with cruelty, led them into immorality, or refused to maintain them. The child might be taken away from such parents and entrusted to suitable guardians for education and support. In common law also the parental authority was restricted on account of gross neglect or abuse. But use was rarely made of these legal provisions, especially when parents were too poor to pay the cost of such transfer of responsibility.[3]

The enactment of the penal code brought the subject of state control of neglected children into clearer light and forced direct action of authorities. In Sec. 56 of the penal code of the Empire, it was enacted that any minor between the years 12-15 who is released from condemnation on account of a punishable act by reason of lack of discernment, might be sent to an educational or correctional institution. But the judges seldom availed themselves of this permission of the law. It was Sec. 55 of the penal code which gave the impulse to important advance in the employment of compulsory training. This article said that a child which had committed a punishable act before its twelfth year might be brought under control by a court, and the judges began to make frequent use of this permission.

Prussia (March 13, 1878) enacted a law which included the care

[1] Blätter für das Hamburgische Armenwesen, March, 1904.

[2] Zeit. f. d. Armenwesen, 1903, p. 224, from Bericht der Zentralstelle der Vereinigung für Sommerpflege in Deutschland, 1903.

[3] F. Schiller, H. Schmidt, and P. Köhne, in Schrift. d. D. V. f. A. u. W., Heft 64, 1903.

of children between the ages of 6-12, who had committed a punishable act; but those children who were in danger of physical and moral ruin through the fault of their parents or guardians were not aided by this law. The child must commit a crime in order to secure the attention of the court. Prussia modified this law of 1878 in 1881 and 1884. But the principle of state intervention was so novel that the law was resisted or set aside in action. Poor-relief officers did indeed give aid to neglected children, very often without express legal authority. As late as 1880 only 612 children in all Prussia were brought under compulsory training (*Zwangserziehung*).[1] But gradually the good effects of the law made it more acceptable to the courts and in 1882 the number rose to 1,887. On April 1, 1901, the number was 10,759, and the expenditures in 1900 were 1,677,977 marks. It became more and more apparent that compulsory training should be extended not only to all morally imperilled children but even to all who were in danger of moral contamination and demoralization. Eminent experts in the national conference of charities, in the conferences of teachers, prison societies, criminalistic associations and the central committee of the Inner Mission advocated the new idea, until the governments were convinced that the whole matter should be reformed, no longer on the basis of penal law but of social policy. The Prussian law of 1878 was related to the penal code, but it did not in fact diminish juvenile offenses. The new idea was to make the effort on the basis of education. The child under 12, however imperilled, was left to himself; and the child over 12 received no notice until he had committed a crime, although he might be in a situation which would certainly make him a criminal in time. True the church and the school were everywhere ready to influence the child, but all was in vain, so long as the child was held in the grasp of a vicious domestic environment.

The enactment of the imperial civil code (1900) did not embody the new principle, but made room for it and left the several states free to make laws on the subject for themselves, and very rapidly have they made use of this liberty. The most noteworthy legislation of this type was the law of educational guardianship of Prussia (passed July 2, 1900; went into effect April 1, 1901). The very title of the new act is significant; it is no longer "*Zwangserziehung*" but

[1] The phrase "compulsory training" is used only for neglected children. In Germany all children of school age attend school.

"Fürsorgeerziehung;" no longer a penal but an educational statute, in which the parental function of the state is distinctly expressed. The novel element in this action was this: there is no lower limit of age for this providential care, and any child who is neglected or in danger through the guilty conduct of parents is brought under the shield of the courts. If the spiritual or physical welfare of a child is imperilled by the neglect or vice of the father or mother, or if the court of guardianship decides that the child shall be sent to a correctional institution or to the care of a suitable family, or if precaution is necessary to prevent injury, the provisions of the law apply.

In most of the states besides Prussia the statute of the Civil Code of 1900 has been applied by the enactment of administrative laws which secure the educational guardianship whenever the minor under 12 years has committed a punishable act, and when such protection is necessary to prevent the moral ruin of the child. The statutes vary in details but agree in principles.

In respect to the cost of care the laws of the states differ widely. Most of the laws lay the burden in greater part on the state, but in some cases the commune and poor-union may be required to share it. As a rule the state or union may recover the cost from the parents or relatives, if they are able to pay, and this by administrative process. But it has been made quite evident by experience that such laws fall far short of their purpose unless the state guarantee the means of administration. It is precisely where parents are poorest that the need of guardianship is greatest.

The tendency of recent legislation is to give the communal authorities the right to lay complaint and bring morally imperilled children to the notice of the court; and thus the officers of poor-relief, who have the most intimate knowledge of neglected children, have a very direct part in the administration of the law. But, even when there is no direct law for it, teachers, pastors, and other responsible citizens, as well as the police, may initiate proceedings. Since the question of cost must generally be considered, it is thought that the poor-relief officers should always be heard. The poor-relief agents usually deal with children under 14 years, and the police most frequently with the older minors who are arrested for punishable offenses. School physicians discover physical signs of parental neglect, abuse or cruelty, and it is their duty to institute proceedings. Parents will, though rarely, appeal to the court for help, and when they are

too poor or too weak to perform the duty of oversight, their appeal is heard. But when they simply wish to be rid of the cost and burden of support the case is critically investigated.

There are many societies which charge themselves with the education of neglected children, and which offer their assistance to the authorities. It does not yet seem possible by any public or private agency to enter homes merely on suspicion, with the purpose to inspect and discover possible cases of neglect or temptation. The discoveries must be made in the indirect and occasional ways already mentioned, and it is not likely that many will escape notice.

It seems to have been the intention of the legislature to protect not only children already morally injured and depraved, but also those exposed to physical and moral neglect through the extreme poverty or the vice of parents. It has been claimed that judicial decisions have very much restricted the usefulness of the law. No doubt amendments will be found desirable and improved administrative regulations. Very curious examples of the methods of the bureaucratic "circumlocution office" are given in the discussions.[1] In the year 1901 Prussia spent on 7,787 wards, 2,296,474.98 marks in in educational guardianship, of which the state paid 1,530,983.29 M. and the provinces 765,491.69. Experience under the law seems to indicate that state funds should assure the support for the law and state control should direct its administration. Local poor law officers have not the proper facilities nor training for a social task which is essentially educational. The local poorhouse is not a fit place for wayward or neglected children.

Schools for household arts for girls of 13 years of age have been opened in Berlin since 1893. In the first year there was one school with 20 pupils, taught at an expense of 415 marks. In 1903 there were 5 school kitchens, with 19 courses of instruction, 500 children from 22 ward schools, carried on at an expense of 6,400. School gardens are also used for training the children. The methods of instruction have gradually improved and for two years the teachers have been required to pass an examination. The city and royal authorities promote the enterprise which is carried on by the society for instructing youth in household arts.

[1] Heft 64, Schriften des Deutschen Vereins f. A. u. W. 1903, L. Schiller, H. Schmidt, and P. Köhne.

M. Preventive and Constructive.

Legal Advice.—The trade unions have found it difficult to secure the legal assistance which the law provides and so have established an advisory office. In 1901 there were 35 such societies, the most important being in Nuremberg and Frankfort. In 1900 information was given to 94,581 persons in respect to poor-relief, pensions, funds, police rules, civil rights, adoption, etc.[1]

Workingmen's Insurance.—In all countries with advanced methods of production, steam-driven machinery, specialized division of labor, and world markets, an industrial group of wage earners has grown up and presents difficult problems. Separated from the land, the primary source of food, and without ownership or control of the materials and instruments of production, the members of this group are compelled to face the ever imminent danger of beggary or starvation in times when the income of the family is cut off by reason of injury, sickness, unemployment, invalidism, old age, or death of the breadwinner. To provide for these emergencies is one of the chief problems of modern society. Taking an average of years, classes and trades, the probability of occurrence can be calculated near enough for the introduction of the principle of insurance and of associated action for mutual help. The subject of insurance is one of highest interest to students of charity because it is the alternative of poor relief in the case of vast numbers of the wage earners who are always living close up to the margin of subsistence and who depend on the daily wages for the daily bread.

In all modern countries and for a long time various systems of insurance have been tried and with encouraging results. It is a principle almost universally accepted that public and private charity should be held in reserve as a last resort, after all other measures have failed. In many ways the working people have themselves organized associations for mutual benefit and help. In other instances employers have established funds or subsidized those founded by the employes. Especially have great corporations, relying upon the permanence of their organization, called into existence funds for the assistance of their workingmen.

But in no nation has it been found possible to organize the ma-

1 Die deutschen Arbeitersekretariate, von Richard Soudek (1902), Schott, Das Armenrecht der Deutschen Z. P. O.—Goldschmidt, Zur Reform der Armenpflegerecht (1899).

jority of the wage-earning group, and especially those who are unskilled, by any device of voluntary association. Immense as has been the advance in this direction the merely optional schemes fall far short of their aim.

The German Empire has embarked upon a system of compulsory insurance against accident, sickness, invalidism and old age, which is far in advance of the methods of any other people; and the motive of that system was set forth in the famous message of Emperor William I., November 17, 1881. In that instrument the founder of the Empire acknowledged the moral obligation of the nation to give greater security and help to its least prosperous citizens. He would begin with the voluntary associations already existing and develop them into a comprehensive system by means of state protection and assistance. In this place we can do no more than indicate the essential features of the German plan and its relations to public and private charity.[1]

Sickness Insurance.—This was made compulsory by imperial laws of 1883 and 1892, for all workingmen and employes in trades and industry, with an annual income of less than 2,000 marks. It may be extended to persons with a higher income at their option. According to the statistics of 1898, out of a population of 54,300,000 inhabitants, 14,000,000 wage workers were under this law. The form of organization is that of a local fund, with a measure of administrative power in the local association. Voluntary auxiliary funds are also established and recognized. In 1898 there were 22,997 funds, and 9,200,000 members. The premiums are paid, two-thirds by the workingmen and one-third by employers. In the voluntary associations the employers are not obliged to pay.

The benefits given are: free medical treatment and payments in money (50 per cent. of the average wages), or free treatment in a hospital and one-half the sickness money to the family. Payments continue 13 weeks. Women at the time of confinement receive the same rate for four weeks. In case of death the payment is 20 times the amount of a day's wages of the person. The benefits may be

[1] The limits of space forbid a complete analysis and explanation of the German system of workingmen's insurance. See 4th Special Report of the Commissioner of Labor, Compulsory Insurance in Germany, prepared by John Graham Brooks, 1895 (revised edition).—Workingmen's Insurance, by W. F. Willoughby, 1898.—Leitfaden zur Arbeiter-Versicherung des Deutschen Reichs, 1900.—N. Pinkus in Yale Review, Feb. 1904. (Many references).

made higher by the regulations of the fund. The sum expended in 1898 was 137,000,000 marks, or on the average of 2.5 marks per day. In case of disputed claims the matter is decided by a supervisory board without cost of litigation.

Accident Insurance.—The laws on this subject were enacted in 1884 to 1887. The scheme is available and obligatory for wage earners and foremen in agriculture and manufactures, with annual income of less than 2,000 marks. The benefits may be extended by regulations to foremen with a higher income and to small capitalists in building trades and farming. The form of organization is a trade society, with special organizations for state industries. In 1898 there were 113 trade associations, with 5,100,000 industrial plants and 16,700,000 persons interested. The premiums are paid entirely by the employers on the basis of the yearly cost divided according to the number of employes and the estimated rate of liability to accident in each calling. The benefits given to the injured are: free treatment and accident payments up to 66 2-3 per cent. of the annual wages; or, free treatment in a hospital and payment to the family of a sum not more than 60 per cent. of the wages rate. Payments begin with the end of the thirteenth week. In case of death a payment equal to 20 times a day's wages is made, and further payments not more than 60 per cent of wages. Disputes are settled without cost by a court and by the imperial insurance office. The employers and workmen are equally represented in the hearing.

Invalidism and Old Age.—The compulsory law was enacted in 1889 and 1899. All wage workers and employes with an annual income under 2,000 marks are included. Small capitalists and house workers are also included; and voluntary use may be made of the office by those workmen who are not under the compulsory law. The form of organization is a territorial insurance institution, with special kinds of funds for employes of state railroads and mines. The premiums are paid one-half by the employers and one-half by the employes; while the imperial government adds an arbitrary lump sum of 50 marks annually to each account. The benefits are: (a) payments for those unable to work,—after they have contributed premiums for 200 weeks; (b) old age pensions for those who have passed 70 years, —if they have been contributors for 1,200 weeks; (c) free treatment, together with aid to the family, in order to prevent permanent invalidism; (d) repayment of premiums in case of death or of marriage be-

fore the right to receive pensions is secured. The sum expended in 1898 was 130,000,000 marks for invalidism and 140,000,000 marks for old age pensions,—an average of 200 marks for each person. The disputes are decided by a court and by the imperial insurance office, the workmen and employers being equally represented.

There is a disposition in America and Great Britain to look upon the German insurance system as merely poor-relief disguised in a form more agreeable to the wage earners. But, even if there be a humanitarian motive in the scheme, it differs in certain vital and essential points from poor-relief and private charity. A characteristic difference lies in the fact that the insurance system compels all wage workers to save a part of their wages for the future, and this is not done by any legal system of poor-relief. In the case of accident insurance the payment of risk by the employers is merely an act of social justice, a method of distributing the burden among consumers who reap all the enjoyments of the sufferings and losses of the disabled workingmen. In the case of sickness insurance, it is also just that the burden be in part distributed, since the causes of disease are, in great part, social neglect and ignorance, and the fault does not lie wholly with the laborers. The nearest approach to charity is in the moderate subsidy given to the old age pension by the state; but here again social obligations and interests justify the burden upon taxpayers. The cost is not great considered even as a military pension, since every able-bodied German citizen is obliged to serve a term in the army almost without pay and be ready at any moment to lay down his life for his country. Property, which would have little value in a land surrounded by armed nations, some of them not excessively friendly, can easily afford to carry this slight cost.

Influence of Insurance on Public and Private Relief.—The time has not arrived for a final judgment on this point. Longer experience and fuller knowledge of all pertinent facts are necessary. That the experiment, on the whole, has been successful in this respect seems to be made fairly certain by the following considerations.[1]

[1] The influence of insurance on charity has been carefully watched and constantly discussed by German experts in poor relief. Among other important contributions to this subject are:

L. Zeitlin: Fürst Bismarcks social-, wirth- und steuerpolitische Anschauungen, p. 111 ff.—H. von Poschinger: Fürst Bismarck als Volkswirth, 3 Bd., and Aktenstücke zur Wirthschaftspolitik des Fürsten Bismarck (2 Bd.).—John Graham Brooks, Fourth Special Report of the Commissioner of Labor on Com-

It was hoped by the friends of the measure that it would tend to diminish dependence upon charity by providing a fund in advance for the emergencies of life, for those moments of special stress when the individual is powerless in presence of a combination of unfavorable forces. The promotion of thrift was the fundamental reason for establishing the system. It was hoped that the spirit of association in mutual benefit societies would be promoted. It seemed natural to expect that dislike to be regarded as an object of charity would be made more intense and that it would become less customary and reputable to live at the expense of the community. It was expected that the increased security of life would tend to bind the industrial persons to their country, would increase their efficiency as producers, and would give a more sure guaranty of order and peace which are so necessary to the continuous and most successful operations of manufacture and commerce. It was believed that both governments and employers, under this system, would be more careful to protect the health of workmen and so extend their years of industrial productivity. It was never expected that the system of insurance of workers could be made to protect the non-workers and defectives; and these must ever remain the proper subjects of public or private relief. Where the family is excessively large no system of insurance devised for normal situations will be adequate. Conflagrations, floods, epidemics and financial catastrophes may disturb the working of the best instrumentalities. The entire abolition of pauperism and of charity is a dream of visionaries. In view of the history of this imperial experiment what is the verdict of experience? Have the hopes of the prophetic founders been fulfilled?

The Insurance System Tends to Improve Health, Strength and Productivity.—Prior to the introduction of the new laws a wage earner would naturally defer consulting a physician as long as possible, for he must individually bear the expense; and when he was barely able to walk he would return to the factory or mill, because his family were wholly dependent on his earnings for their existence. But now the worker goes to the physician, as his right and duty, at the first indications of disease, and this promptness in seeking relief multiplies the chances of speedy cure and diminishes liability to incurable sickness. The hospital benefit and the indemnity to the

pulsory Insurance in Germany.—Die Schriften des Deutschen Vereins für Armenpflege und Wohlthätigkeit, 1895.—Zeit. f. d. Armenwesen, May, 1903, p. 143.

family roll the burden from the heart of the breadwinner in his days of weakness and enable him to remain under treatment until wasted tissues are rebuilt and energy returns. There are fewer widows with fatherless children dependent on the poor fund, and fewer poor sick persons to relieve.

It is a fact of common observation and record that the means of preventing accident and disease have been greatly improved, because the employers now have a direct interest in diminishing payments for accident and sickness insurance premiums. It has been found more economical to build up enfeebled men in sanatoria and restore them to useful labor than to support them in helpless idleness. The consequence is that a new and more robust type of workingman is coming into existence, a finer soldier and a more effective agent of production of wealth.

One of the most encouraging signs of success is the reduction of the cost of pauper burials in consequence of insurance; first, because the family is not so wretchedly impoverished by long illness which precedes the death, and largely also because the spirit of association which has become universal provides burial funds through voluntary societies. There is a growing sentiment which favors avoidance of poor law burials, a fine proof that the tendency of the system is to build up a manly spirit of independence and of social coöperation.

In spite of the increased cost of food and rent, industrial depressions, bad harvests, severe winters, strikes, floods and epidemics in the years following the introduction of the new system it was strong enough to weather the storm and yield its happy results.

The rapid growth of urban manufacture has thronged the cities where pauperism and crime tend most to increase. Under ordinary conditions a positive increase of dependency should be expected. But,—and it is believed largely in consequence of the insurance laws,—this increase has not occurred; and many experts claim a positive reduction, both absolute and relative, in the amount of pauperism.

In Berlin, between 1883 and 1890, the number of dependents decreased from 1.29 per cent. to 1.21 per cent. of population. Figures for Barmen, Dortmund, Elberfeld, and Erfurt showed similar decrease of the burden of poor-relief. While a temporary rise occurred in consequence of the crisis of 1893 and the great increase of population in cities, this seemed to be a transient phenomenon.

The amount paid for poor-relief has not decreased, since the rates per person are higher on account of higher prices for commodities; but that there has not been an increase in numbers in spite of the rapid growth of industrial centers is enough to indicate that insurance has arrested the tendency to increase of pauperism.

While the system has not yet been extended to insurance in favor of widows and orphans, one direct result of accident insurance has been to reduce the number of those who appeal for public relief. In Berlin, between 1883 and 1890, the decline was from 0.34 per cent. of population to 0.29 per cent.

There is close coöperation between the administration of insurance and that of relief. In giving relief the subsidies from the insurance funds are counted as part of the resources of the applicant for charitable aid. Whenever an annuity is granted by the invalidism or pension fund a notice is sent at once to the office of the poor authorities.

CHAPTER II

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

BY PROFESSOR E. C. HAYES, PH. D., AND THE EDITOR

The charities of Austria-Hungary present a remarkable juxtaposition of mediaeval survivals and modern innovations in the midst of customs that are German, Magyar, Sclavic, Italian and Greek. Very few statements could be made that would be true of the charities of the Empire as a whole. Not only do Austria and Hungary differ from each other but within Austria itself several districts are distinct. First, western and northwestern Austria have a legal and social development like that of Germany, but with features that are characteristically Austrian. Turning to the southwest we come to provinces including Dalmatia, Kuestenland and southern Tyrol, the charities of which have shared the historic development of Italy. Here the religious brotherhoods have continued to be the significant agency. A third set of conditions is presented by the northeastern provinces of Galicia and Bukowina. This region is divided between nobles and poor peasants. Cities and the commercial and industrial development that bridges the gulf between the ancient social extremes are for the most part wanting. Regular poor-relief is absent save in a few cities, and a very little which is in the hands of religious societies. The lines between Catholics and Protestants are sharply drawn. Finally, in the Grecian provinces of the south care of the poor is in a backward state.

In the middle ages such established care of the poor as existed was in the name of "Christian charity," issued from the cloister and the church, and was administered by ecclesiastical brotherhoods. The first governmental efforts in this field aimed to direct and organize this voluntary activity. In the western provinces the brotherhoods were suspended, but parish priests were recognized as being, for the purposes of poor-relief, civil officers. This new form of

clerical poor-relief (*Pharrarmen-institute*) became one of the characteristic features of German Austria. The practice which originated in 1782 still survives, and influences existing methods even in places where it has been superseded. The original intention was that the necessary means should be for the most part provided by voluntary subscriptions and by collections at church and from house to house. Joseph II. prescribed certain supplements to these resources, including especially one-half of the property of the brotherhoods and gilds which had been suspended. The aid, under this system of Pharrarmen-institute, was originally given in cash and without regard to legal residence, except in cases requiring permanent support This encouraged an army of traveling beggars, which by the middle of the sixteenth century had become such a nuisance as to evoke strenuous protests. And in 1789 a royal order was issued to the effect that a poor person might claim a share in the aid provided in a given place only if he had lived in that place for ten years consecutively, and that other applicants were to be referred to their places of birth.

A. The law of 1863, which was valid until recently, did not relax the severity due to this old revulsion of feeling. It enacted that legal residence could be acquired only by birth or by marriage, widows and divorced women to retain the settlement right of their quondam husbands; by holding public office, including the offices of pastor and public teacher; or by formal admission into citizenship on terms entirely at the discretion of the municipality. It provided further that only legal residents of a given state could be legal residents of any municipality within that state, and that every legal resident of a state should have settlement in some municipality within it. But it was often a matter of uncertainty and delay to determine to what municipality a person should be assigned. The legal residence of a child was not the place of its birth, but the legal residence of its father. Therefore, to establish the place of residence it was necessary to ascertain the settlement of the father and of the grandfather. All this involved a *probatio diabolica,* a delay which might involve the starvation of the subject, and a heavy expenditure of money without affording relief. In the end the person might be assigned to a residence totally foreign to him in language. Persons were "sent home" in a way that violated recognized principles of freedom of travel and settlement, that impaired the remaining power of self-

support of those only partially dependent, and that increased international friction within the empire. Legal residence became a privilege of the well-to-do. In 1869, 25.5 per cent. of the inhabitants of Austrian municipalities had not legal residence where they lived; in 1880, 41.2 per cent. lacked it, and in 1890, 53.60 per cent. In rural districts the proportion of those without legal residence was smaller. Thus in Galicia in the years mentioned the proportions of those lacking legal residence where they lived were 7.3, 10.5, and 16.2 per cent., and in Dalmatia 4.2, 5.8, and 6.8 per cent. On the other hand in 1890 in all the cities and in three of the provinces the number of those lacking legal residence where they lived exceeded those having it. In Vienna 65.2 of the population lacked it; in Prague 74.7 per cent.; in Marburg a. D. 85.7 per cent., that is, 6 to 1. One of the smaller municipalities had 583 legal residents and 33,948 non-residents, another 387 legal residents and 40,849 non-residents. People flocking to the cities filled them with inhabitants who under the existing law could not acquire legal residence.

The whole question of legal residence is an affair of imperial legislation. But the individual provinces had power to suspend the ecclesiastical administration of public relief and to transfer it to political officers, and this many of them have done; Lower Austria in 1870, Upper Austria in 1869, Carinthia in 1870, Carniola in 1883, Silesia in 1869. Not until 1896 was provision made for any easier change of legal residence, and the cities seeing themselves threatened with sudden responsibility for the mass of their non-resident paupers exerted themselves to see to it that the terms of the new law should be none too easy. The law of 1896 provides that a citizen of any province of the empire has the right to claim legal residence in a given municipality without the necessity of paying any fee or complying with any conditions locally imposed, provided that subsequent to attaining majority he has lived in that municipality voluntarily and uninterruptedly, and without becoming a public charge upon the charity of his original home, for a period of ten years. The law set January 1, 1891, as the earliest date from which the required ten years could be computed, so that claims under the new law first became valid in 1901. A wife or child can make good the claim as well as the new resident himself, so also can his former home municipality if it wishes to be rid of responsibility for its absentees. The right is forfeited if after the required ten years' residence a

period of residence elsewhere intervenes before application is made. Children born before legal residence is acquired do not acquire it when the father does.

Legal provisions more or less characteristic of Austria generally are the following: No person can claim a share in public poor-relief for whose support any third party is legally responsible. Such legal responsibility for a wife rests upon her husband; for children, both legitimate and illegitimate, upon their parents; for grandchildren upon the grandparents; for parents upon their children, and one who has received valuable gifts is responsible for aid to the giver if the latter becomes impoverished. One who has received public aid and later secures means is bound to restore that which he has received in charity, so far as this does not impair his power to support himself and family.

No poor person has any claim upon the public in excess of the means provided for poor-relief by the existing institutions, agencies and funds. And as to the form and method of aid the applicant has no legal voice. The aid given is not to exceed (a) that which is necessary for subsistence, or (b) for the care of the sick, or (c) for bringing up children. These necessities are defined as including under and outer clothing, lodging, bed and bedding, medical care in sickness, with medicine and nursing. Mention is also made of transportation as necessary aid in some cases. Some provinces include the cost of simple ritualistic burial, while others devolve this upon the police account of the temporary abode. Among the legally recognized necessities of children which municipalities are required to provide, are religious and moral instruction, schooling when the proper age is reached, setting the child to an occupation adapted to make it self-supporting, and when necessary the securing of guardians. A municipality has the legal right to set to work any person found within its borders who is able to work and is without means of support.

Among the wholly disabled and dependent who must be entirely supported a distinction is made in some places between the poor of the burgher class and others who are expected to get along with cheaper fare and accommodations. The common poor receive, according to circumstances and local practice, the value of from 5 to 20 kr. a day, the poor of the burgher class 6 to 10 florins per month. Permanent aid is usually given in cash; attempts made in Vienna to

change this practice will be described below. Temporary aid is often given in commodities, and oftener without than with adequate investigation. Lodging houses are few and without system.

Oveerseers or visitors (*Armenväter, Armenpfleger*) are not found in all regions of Austria. Where such officers do not exist applications are made directly to the municipal executive. A conspicuous rôle is played by "certificates of poverty," filled out by the parish priest and attested by the political authority of the locality or ward. These are superfluous in small neighborhoods and worthless in large ones. City priests can not know all who apply to them. And when no investigations go behind these testimonials all sorts of abuses follow, securing and filing certified applications for aid becomes a regular method of securing a living.

The provinces of Austria now legislate independently with reference to the detailed regulation and administration of poor-relief. This has proved to be a distinct advance over the earlier condition when, according to the law of 1863, the provinces were hampered by the control of the home department. We cannot here give details for all provinces, and among the 12 provinces of Austria proper, Lower and Upper Austria and Styria deserve special treatment.

In Lower Austria, the province in which Vienna is situated, a law was passed in 1893 and went into effect in 1895 which relieved all municipalities except Vienna of direct responsibility for poor-relief, and laid the responsibility upon districts into which the towns were grouped. All available sources of income are made to contribute to maintain a single district treasury. In each district there is a council for the poor made up of fifteen or twenty members who are required to meet at least once each month. Each municipality in a district has one or more overseers of the poor (*Armenpfleger*). These local overseers are organized into commissions of from three to fifteen persons. The overseers are, first of all, investigators. They report the results of their investigations in commission, and the reports having been approved by the local commission are referred to the district council and this body takes action to meet the need. Exception to this procedure is made in urgent cases, the overseers having power to make immediate requisition for means to relieve distress. The duty of the overseer does not end with investigation and reporting. But after aid has been given he continues to have oversight of the beneficiaries, to maintain personal relations with them

and to endeavor to awaken them to morality, industry and thrift. A single overseer can not be required to have charge of more than six cases, individuals or families.

VISITORS TO THE POOR, THEIR OCCUPATIONS, AS COMPARED WITH THOSE IN GERMAN CITIES.[1]

	Vienna	Hamburg	Breslau	Leipsic	Frankfort
Population	1,680,000	705,738	422,738	455,089	288,489
Total visitors (*Armenpfleger*) of whom were:	1,872	1,561	1,442	975	631
Teachers	180	111	175	133	39
Clergymen	13	17	19	16	39
Physicians and druggists	6	20	47	39	14
Innkeepers	182	3	86	6	4
Private officials	103	56	41	21	17
City and other officials	154	58	63	58	5
Mercantile occupations	258	213	263	312	248
Handworkers and industrials	677	632	575	327	247
Landlords and capitalists	198	60	134	47	43
Women	90	307	200-300	..	60

In 1897 the 68 district councils had in Lower Austria 1,131 members; there were 994 local commissions and 7,238 overseers. In the same year the number of cases of aid given (not always to different persons) was as follows: To men, 13,716; to women, 18,206; to children under 14 years, 4,944; total, 36,866. That about 8,000 persons, nearly all serving without pay, were active in poor-relief, when previous to the adoption of the district system there had been little or no popular interest in the subject, is the most gratifying result of the new system. The chief objects of the law were to increase the personal element in the care of the poor and especially to equalize the burden of poor-relief among the towns by grouping together districts with heavier and lighter burdens. The district system has, however, shown itself open to serious objection. With reference to the first object sought there has been difficulty in securing competent and even honest overseers. With reference to the second object it is found that needy persons feel free to apply for aid to a patron so rich and impersonal as the district, and that they

[1] Blätter für das Armenwesen der Stadt Wien, March, 1903, quoted in Zeitschrift für das Armenwesen, April, 1903, p. 115.

secure it. The expenditures in 1896 were greater than those of 1895 164,645.77 flor., the total for 1896 being 1,856,595.67 flor. Moreover, the administration is too bureaucratic, aid comes too tardily, and in too large a proportion of cases is given in cash. Thus 73 per cent. of the aid granted in 1895 was in cash. The existing system has been a subject of great difference of opinion, of emphatic commendation and quite as emphatic condemnation. Some hold that it requires only modification to remedy its admitted defects, others that it should be entirely abolished, while experts agree that frequent and radical changes in the poor laws are sources of mischief. A law has been proposed to supersede the district system and to restore the care of the poor to the separate municipalities, while retaining the extensive contact between overseers and beneficiaries.[1] The proposed law, while dropping out the district authorities, would introduce more effective provincial supervision and give to municipal commissions legislative and executive authority in local affairs. The care of defectives in institutions is not affected by the district system, but is an affair of the province, as in the case of neglected children.

The total number relieved by public charity in Lower Austria in 1899 was 39,000 persons. Indoor relief has increased since the district institutions were erected. The expenditures for outdoor relief in 1900 were 3,166,356 kr., for indoor relief 868,332 kr., total 4,034,668 kr. The administrators of poor-relief are now 1,153 members of the district poor councils, and 7,429 visitors.[2]

In Upper Austria, by a law of 1849, the parish ceased to be a political unit and the old system of Pharrarmen-institute became less adapted to the situation than before. By a law of 1864 a double system was recognized, appeals could be made either to the clerical or to the political authority. The municipality was required to provide funds but had only partial control of their expenditure. A law of 1869 finally suspended the parochial system and turned over all the sources of income for poor-relief to the municipality. An addi-

[1] This proposed bill has not yet become law, and there does not seem to be much prospect of its adoption.

[2] Zeitschrift f. d. Armenwesen, April, 1904; review of F. Gerényi, Der gegenwärtige Stand der n.-ö. Armengesetzgebung, in Der barmherzige Samaritan, 1903, Heft 3-5; Berichte des n.-ö. Landesausschusses über den Zustand der öffentlichen Armenpflege; J. Bunzel, Zur neueren Armen und Heimatgesetzgebung in Oesterreich, 1901.

tional law was passed in 1880, which had these provisions. In case of non-resident poor the home municipality is to be notified, whenever it can be determined readily, and expenditure in which the temporary abode is involved because of delay on the part of the home municipality to the call is legally collectible from the latter. If the legal residence cannot be legally determined investigation is to be referred to the political authorities. Eight kinds of poor-relief are mentioned: (1) Placing in a poorhouse, (2) doles of money and supplies, (3) boarding with private persons, (4) care of the sick, (6) transportation, (7) burial, (8) bringing up children. Municipal poorhouses are at the foundation of the system and the law with regard to them requires separation of the sexes, avoidance of crowding, separation of the sick and those suffering from disgusting diseases, and light occupation for those still capable of it. Begging is forbidden both to resident and non-resident poor on pain of imprisonment not over eight days. But the municipal council has the right in exceptional cases on recommendation of the poor commissioners, to grant individual residents the privilege of gathering gifts upon specified days and within the limits of the municipality. These persons must provide themselves with a permit from the poor commission. This is a concession to rural neighborhoods.

The poor commission is made up of the chief executive of the borough, a priest and the overseers (*Armenväter*). Of the last there must be three and may be as many more as the municipal council thinks necessary. The poor commissioners are unpaid officials. They administer all endowments and incomes available for the poor, oversee the charitable institutions, prescribe the methods of relief, and are expected, as far as possible, to guard against pauperization of persons hitherto self-supporting, and to indicate to the courts persons who by extravagance give reason to fear that they will become impoverished, in order that appointment of guardians or trustees may be considered (*Oesterreichs Wohlfährts-Einrichtungen*, 1:45). The commission must report to the municipal council its preliminary budget and its annual accounts, and secure approval of the same for extraordinary expenditures. The duties of the overseers (*Armenväter*) correspond to those of the armenpfleger in Lower Austria. They have the immediate personal care of the poor, receive applications, make visits and investigations. They are not paid and the office is obligatory upon those appointed, except for cer-

tain grounds of excuse legally specified. As in Lower Austria women may be appointed to care for women among the poor; but women are not required to accept office. The proposal to introduce the district system prevailing in Lower Austria did not meet with favor, but the law of Upper Austria allows municipalities of the same political district to unite for certain purposes of poor-relief, particularly the erection and maintenance of poorhouses and hospitals. Exercise of this privilege is subject to the approval of provincial authorities, and in 1898 had been exercised only in one instance.

The province of Styria, like Upper Austria, has not followed the example of Lower Austria in the policy of transferring the burdens of poor-relief from municipalities to larger districts. The law in force dates from 1896. It devolves the chief activities upon local overseers. Here also the poorhouse occupies a prominent place in public relief. The reason for giving special mention to the administration of the province of Styria is its extensive application of the "Einlage" system, mentioned above as one of the forms of poor-relief in vogue in Upper Austria. This system is not relief of paupers in their own homes, but a substitute for institutional care. The indigent person is assigned to a house to which during a certain period he goes for food, or to several houses, among which he circulates, a day at each house. Sometimes lodging as well as food is received at these houses, and sometimes lodging is otherwise provided by the borough. About one-fifth of all cases are thus provided for in Styria and formerly the proportion was still larger. In 1892 the number of those thus fed was 4,271. It is chiefly in the country that this custom obtains. The recipients of this form of entertainment do for their hosts such work as they are able to perform, and a very friendly relation often exists. Aged and partly broken-down persons are by this means maintained in comfort. According to the new law the "Einlage" system is not applicable to children, to the criminal poor, the intemperate, nor to persons over 70 years old unless they declare their willingness. Well as it works in the case of poor persons who have grown old in the community, it works very badly when paupers accustomed to the city are sent to a country place which is their legal residence, to meet among strange surroundings a grudging reception. The system is far more popular with the taxpayers than any would be which required a poor fund raised in money, because in the customs of the rural population of Styria the use of money has

as yet but partially replaced the ancient traffic in kind. The law provides, however, that any citizen who can and wishes may discharge his "Einlage" obligation in money not given to the poor, but paid to the municipal treasury.

The great importance of poor-relief in Vienna, metropolis and capital of the Empire, entitles its administration to special description. (Municipal Government in Continental Europe, by Albert Shaw, p. 410 ff.) The municipal legislative council (*Gemeinderath*) of 138 members, elects from its own membership an executive council (*Stadtrath*) of 25, who appoint the men who fill all the offices created by the larger body. The heads of departments thus appointed are salaried experts who hold office permanently or during good behavior, and together form the mayor's cabinet, spoken of as the magistracy. The head of the poor department may make suggestions for general legislation to the Gemeinderath through their standing committee on his department. Administrative policies he may introduce for discussion and action by the magistracy. Vienna is divided into 19 permanent districts or wards, each of which elects a district committee through which local needs find expression. Each district committee elects a board of commissioners for the poor (*Armenräthe*) within its district, subject to the approval of the Stadtrath. The members of the Gemeinderath, among whom are professors, economists and publicists of national and international reputation, and business men of the first rank, serve without pay, as do also the district committees and commissioners for the poor.

There is a second separate municipal department for orphans, under which foster parents (*Waisenväter und Mütter*) who have charge of the education of dependent children. These officials are unpaid and appointed by the magistracy on nomination of the poor commissioner for the respective districts in which they serve. The various officials in this complicated system are governed by printed instructions. Each of the district poor commissioners has assigned to him a subdivision of his district and within that subdivision all applications come to him and he must convince himself personally of the truth of the representations made. As a rule each commissioner refers each case within his subdivision requiring temporary relief and minor expenditures, to the district board of commissioners, while cases that require expenditure above a certain sum or more permanent relief from a fund or admission to an institution go up to the

magistracy for action. Moreover, each commissioner is required periodically, at least twice a year, to visit all the poor within his subdivision to learn their condition with reference to earning self-support. In 1894 a rule was made that an overseer should have charge of not over 10 "regulars." The number of overseers in 1898 was 1,799, varying from 16 to 190 in a district. In addition to these were the foster parents for orphans, 4 to 60 in a district. The chairman of the district poor commissioners calls a meeting at least once a month to consider cases which because of their urgency have been treated since the preceding meeting by individual commissioners consulting only with the chairman, to consider also the cases to be sent up to the magistracy and to learn the action of the magistracy upon cases previously sent up. The district chairman thereupon puts into execution the prescriptions which have been sent down by the magistracy. Each district chairman is also responsible for having a house to house canvass for poor funds within the one of the 19 districts which he represents. At least once a year there is a conference of all the district chairmen, presided over by the director of the magistracy and attended by the heads of the departments for the poor and for orphans. Appeals on behalf of absent citizens go, not to district commissioners, but direct to the city executive department for the poor, and the sums allowed are paid at the mayor's office. In other cases they are paid at the offices of district treasurers, as each of the 19 district committees has a treasurer, or to convalescents about to be discharged they are paid at the hospital. When complete permanent support is granted to persons 60 years old or more the amount is regularly 5 flor. a month. But to persons over 80 years old, the blind, or crippled, and others totally unable to add anything to that amount by their own exertions and who might otherwise be in a public institution 8 flor. a month may be allowed, and in some cases 10 or 12 flor., usually to persons who after a year in such an institution express willingness to give up their places in the institutions. Ordinarily any pension or other regular income which the person receives is deducted from the amount of aid allowed, but sometimes to persons who have surrendered indoor support enough has been allowed to make a total of 15 flor. when added to the pension or other income. If it is discovered that a beneficiary, at the time of receiving his allowance, had property that yielded 24 flor. or more a year, and concealed the fact, he then has to pay back

all that he has received in public aid. District overseers have a certain amount of care of the lodging of the poor and allowances for rent are often considerable in amount.

Of other Austrian cities it is to be remarked that a number, including Trantenau, Reichenberg, Karlsbad, Tetschen, Liebenau, Warnsdorf, Troppau and Salsburg, have adopted the "Elberfeld system," at least with respect to the districting, the assignment of cases to unpaid visitors, the attempt to introduce a personal element into public relief, and to adapt it to individual conditions. The result is that in spite of larger permanent aid to certain cases expenditures have not increased but diminished, that there are fewer cases and that street begging in these cities has been very nearly abolished. Among the maxims current in connection with this system of poor-relief, though not peculiar to it, are these: Every excess of charity to one means shorter allowance to another; the duty of responsible relations should be insisted on; as much as possible should be left to private charity; the sum of that which one receives from public and private charity should not exceed that which those receive who depend on public charity alone; individual earning power should be conserved and made to go as far as it can; to promote morality, industry, cleanliness and economy is the best aid to the poor. The administration is in some cities complicated. As a rule district poor commissioners are formally inducted into their office by a ceremonial hand grasp of the mayor at a special session of the Gemeinderath. The "Elberfeld system" aims to substitute for impersonal bureaucratic administration of public relief the agency of citizens working unpaid in their respective neighborhoods, to educate the citizens themselves to lay aside the immorality of thoughtless almsgiving, which is induced only by actual contact of many with the work of relief, and to secure a knowledge of individual cases, so as to fit the aid to the need, remove causes of suffering, and especially to supplement gifts of money and commodities with personal aid and counsel through frequent visits.

C. It is difficult to draw a clear line between public and private charity in Austria-Hungary because of the practice of uniting public and private funds to be administered by public agency. This belongs to the essence of the system called Pharrarmen-institute. Much of the cost of Austrian charities is met by the income from endowments. These are largely public funds voted in honor of some anniversary

or other event in the royal family or some other noble household. At the end of 1898 there were in Vienna 951 endowments, mostly under municipal administration, with a combined capital of 6,140,939 gulden, annually yielding 247,548 gulden. According to the provisions of the various foundations 136,892 gulden of this income went for temporary relief, 90,365 for permanent aid, 15,975 for care of inmates in city institutions, 3,710 for the same purpose in non-municipal institutions, 606 for the sick poor. The persons who received temporary aid from this source numbered 11,069 and those who received regular aid numbered 1,618. These endowments cannot be classified strictly as private charity. But in the same year, 1898, there were in Vienna 136 societies with 32,229 members engaged in private charity. That year by their own funds they gave temporary aid to 25,695 males, and 37,368 females, to the amount of 482,087 gulden. Enough other private contributions to the same purpose were reported to raise the sum to 574,807 gulden, and the number of those aided to 68,897. In a number of Austrian cities the activities of private charity equal or surpass those of public charity. The financial contributions of private charity in the province of Lower Austria, including income from private endowments, in 1896 amounted to 696,495.91 flor. The invested property of private associations amounted to 2,258,283.21 flor.

Private charitable societies exist in 184 of the municipalities of Lower Austria, namely in 33 cities, 92 market towns and 59 villages. The number of such societies is 264, and they maintain about 100 charitable institutions. Though they are very considerably developed in the Alpine province of the southwest, and Jewish ecclesiastical societies play an important part in the Polish northeast. In Bohemia and the other provinces of the extreme northwest they are less numerous, and are very slightly represented in the Greek provinces of the southeast. Where they exist the voluntary associations supplement public charities in attending to the forms of need least adequately met by official activity, and especially, in that they are not limited by regulations as to legal residence, though many of them are limited by creed or some other social distinction. Like public charity, they afford emergency aid in money and supplies, and meet special requirements of particular cases. There are societies devoted to the care of cripples, convalescents, poor school children, and neglected or abused children. They maintain hospitals and homes, stations for render-

ing aid in case of accident or sudden illness, soup kitchens that save from theft or despair the poorest of the poor, warming rooms, lodgings, employment bureaus, schools for training servants, vacation colonies.

Certain knightly orders, as Der Deutsche Ritterorden and Der souveraene Malteser-Ritterorden, maintain charitable activities. The former has ten general hospitals. It affords stipends or pensions to over 70 needy persons; it maintains 4 homes for 62 other persons, and keeps free places at sanitaria. It has 12 schools and 2 kindergartens, employing over 100 sisters of the order. The membership of the order includes 80 priests. Its schools afford free instruction to some 3,000 children per year. The order participates in the sanitary service of the army in time of action. The second of the knightly orders mentioned is likewise engaged in the service of the sick and wounded. The Austrian societies of the White Cross and of the Red Cross are efficient agents of relief in war and times of catastrophes. The first organization to aid wounded soldiers was formed in Vienna in 1859, shortly after the outbreak of war with France and Italy. The purpose of this original society was to supply money, underclothing, bandages and medicines to wounded soldiers without distinction or rank, creed or nationality, and to aid disabled soldiers and the widows and orphans of the fallen. Austria was ready to take part in the movement that centered in Geneva. The development of women's societies of this character has been strong since an impetus received from the empress in 1878. In 1880 the numerous societies formed a federation known as the Austrian Red Cross Society. The main purpose is to be always ready to supplement government activity in the care of the wounded in case of war. Depots of necessary materials are maintained. The women prepare underclothing and bedding and themselves receive instruction in volunteer nursing. In time of peace the agencies care for widows and orphans of soldiers and meet emergencies occasioned by flood, fire or other disaster. In numerous emergencies the society has rendered great service. It possesses property valued at over six million florins.

The Society of the White Cross founds and maintains homes for the recuperation of soldiers and to make existing sanitaria accessible to them. The health of the standing army is its care, but especially of the officers of the standing army and militia, including also officials of the war department, members of the families of such persons, their

widows and orphans, and students at military schools or at the institutions for the daughters of officers. The society has existed since 1882. Up to 1894 4,671 persons had received care in the societies' sanitaria or in places supported by it in institutions. The society owns a number of fine sanitaria equipped with every comfort.

D. The historical importance of ecclesiastical charity in Austria-Hungary and its survival in the Pharrarmen-institute already mentioned can not be further dwelt upon. The activities of the church and of other voluntary associations, together, nearly if not quite equal those of the state and municipality. The Christian, especially Catholic, church charity is largely characterized by the spirit of mediaeval almsgiving, that is, not so much by discriminating and intelligent adaptation of means to ends as by impulsive kindness, obedience to religious duty, and sense of merit in the giver. The Hebrew charities, on the other hand, are a calculated effort to restore the power of self-support where it has been lost and to prevent the loss of it where it is imperilled. This is most often accomplished by loaning capital, which may be in the form of a little stock of goods, tools, a beast and cart. At other times a trade is taught. A family is pretty thoroughly wrecked in which the agents of Hebrew charity can not find some member with an earning capacity that can be nursed into effectiveness.

Although the system of Pharrarmen-institute went far to amalgamate Catholic poor-relief with public charity, Catholic societies for special benevolent purposes continue. Once at least, May, 1900, in Vienna, there has been a congress of the Catholic benevolent societies of Austria attended by representatives of almost every organization of the kind in Austria and participated in by high nobles as well as ecclesiastics. Special attention was given to the care of children and youth, foundlings, cripples, orphans, and the scope of the discussion was extended to include popular education, trade schools, free libraries, and protective legislation for apprentices, girls, and minors.

The Protestants of the Augsburg and of the Helvetian confessions combined number in Austria (1898) 436,352 communicants. Their charities consist mainly of parish relief. They support schools and libraries, and in their schools poor children are instructed free and often receive a large part of their food and clothing. They maintain eleven orphanages and they are active in caring for the sick, not

alone in ordinary parish charity. The "Inner Mission Society of Upper Austria" maintains a hospital community with four departments, for the sick, for incurables, for the insane, and for epileptics. The Protestant Deaconess Society of Vienna has a deaconess home in that city and a summer sanitarium in the country. Four other similar institutions are maintained by the Protestants of Austria: "The Home of Peace" in Graz, a general hospital in Teschen embracing eight pavilions, two other buildings and accommodating 130 patients, a home for the sick in Waiern, and a hospice in Karlsbad.

Several funds and one central home which has property amounting to 310,728.56 flor. are devoted to aiding aged Protestant ministers and teachers, and their widows and orphans. There is a mutual benefit burial society for evangelical ministers and teachers. Besides this there is in Vienna an evangelical funeral society which had in 1898 spent 154,955 flor. and possessed property valued at 89,315 flor. The Gustavus Adolphus Society is a general supporter of the Protestant benevolences. It has in Austria 15 branches, with 30 women's societies, 49 children's bands and 324 local societies.

In 1898 there were in Austria 1,261,600 Hebrews. The Jewish population is largest in the province of Galicia where in 1898 it numbered 772,213 or 116.6 to every 1,000 of the whole population. In Galicia the charitable associations among the Hebrews appear to outnumber those among all the other people, more than two to one, with a membership correspondingly greater. Their receipts and expenditures, however, are less than those of the other charitable societies, yet only by about 14 per cent., while the charitable endowments administered by the Hebrew societies are somewhat the greater. The smaller income of the Hebrew societies is divided among twice as many beneficiaries. This is in part because in many cases the aid is given in the form of loans with the intention that the beneficiary shall recover economic standing and repay. Lower Austria comes next to Galicia in the absolute number of Hebrews, because of the influx to the commercial capital, Vienna. Of the 128,729 Hebrews in that province 118,495 were in this city, and there is a large amount of charitable activity and expenditure among the Jews of Vienna. Available reports include information of Jewish charitable endowments in Austria of over two million florins. Besides the funds of charitable societies the authorities of many synagogues are trustees of funds. The sums thus administered are said

to amount to 2.3 million gulden, including about 1.5 millions devoted to charity. The Hebrew charitable societies have a custom of requiring contributions from their members in honor of notable events in family life, such as a betrothal, a marriage, a birth or the occupation of a new residence. Mutual benefit societies exist among them that tend to prevent the need of charity, as by caring for the sick and burying the dead. The mutual feature includes the obligation of members themselves to attend the sick of their number, especially at night.

The common classification of charitable societies according to their objects is not easily applied to the Hebrew organizations. The kinds of activity are determined less by their constitutions than by the kinds of need encountered, and of some societies it would be hard to tell which of several kinds of ministration is their prevalent activity; but it can be said that the Jewish charities apply to almost every form of need and include almost every recognized method of relief.

Bohemia: *Catholic Societies.*—In the archdiocese of Prague in 1900 there were 14 orders of men, with 35 places of residence, and 632 members; 15 orders of women, with 83 places of residence, and 1,089 members. Only a part of these are devoted to charity; many are ecclesiastics, teachers, etc. The church sustains almshouses and all forms of relief; has 200 endowments, with an annual income of 31,659 kr., and distributes food at monasteries and elsewhere. The Society of St. Vincent de Paul had in 1899, 34 conferences, and there are many local societies. The Brothers of Mercy have existed since 1620 in Prague, and have cared for 389,518 sick persons. During 1899 they ministered to 3,863 patients. There are 9 orphanages and institutions for the blind, deaf, epileptics, etc.[1]

E. Co-operation.—While some creditable advances have been made in the direction of such coördination of charities as is represented by the phrases "charity organization" and "associated charities," yet the condition of Austria in this particular is on the whole backward. In towns too large to permit each citizen to know the others the need is apparent. Especially in great cities where there are numerous dispensers of charity it is possible for one to receive aid from many sources, and the decline into professional mendicancy is thus made easy. The money and effort are dissipated, often doing

[1] Zeit. f. d. Armenwesen, 1904, p. 151,—reference to Das soziale Wirken der katholischen Kirche in Oesterreich, Vol. X.

harm instead of good, and for lack of concert some forms of need are left without provision. State and provincial unions exist, but they do not meet the situation. The congress of Catholic benevolent societies held in Vienna, May, 1900, devoted especial attention to the need of reform in this direction and passed resolutions outlining and approving methods of coöperation between public, religious and other private charity.

The societies against impoverishment (*Verein gegen Verarmung und Bettelei*) are often in the closest coöperation with the public charities and to this end frequently elect public poor officials as officers of their societies.

In promotion of coöperation between public and ecclesiastical charity the law of some provinces (*e. g.* Upper Austria) provides that the Armenrath shall include a parish priest. Styrian law specifies promotion of coöperation with church charities as one of the duties of the Armenrath. The coördination of charities is a feature of the Elberfeld system, and progress in this direction has been made by the cities where this system has had most influence. There is a recognition of the necessity of learning whether an applicant for public relief is also a recipient of private charity. Troppau and Innsbruck require by ordinance that private charities, where they grant aid larger in amount than that allowed by the city, shall act in consultation with the public poor officials. They also give to chairmen of district poor committees the right to invite to particular sessions of these bodies the heads of private charities. In Innsbruck these chairmen are expected to request from every private benevolent agency in the city regular reports of every case aided within the districts over which they respectively preside. Among the cities Trent deserves especial mention for the coördination of its charities. Graz also holds a leading position. In that city a charity organization society was formed January, 1897. It aims to introduce individualizing treatment into the municipal poor-relief and to promote such reorganization of that department as is necessary to the exercise of intelligent discrimination and persistent fostering care in the treatment of cases, while at the same time it is the aim of the society to secure systematic coöperation of public and private charity. One hundred and fifty women were among those who responded to the call to enter such an organization. The year following its formation it had 410 supporting and 310 active members, the latter apportioned among the districts of the city. The

most notable movement in this direction is the provincial society for charity coöperation in Styria (which aims to bring all the charities of that crown land into a league). The movement was initiated by official action and has the support of prominent personages, though from its nature it must depend on private contributions for the necessary funds. The aim, measurably fulfilled, is to include in one organization the public, private and ecclesiastical charities of the crown land, to secure a general view of all means and agencies, without curtailing the independence of any, to avoid duplication of effort, to promote the formation of agencies that will provide for needs still not met, to enlist private activity, to diminish the burden of municipalities, to disseminate sound principles for the guidance of practice by means of conventions and a periodical. An innovation in this connection is the establishment of a registry of the poor, aiming at nothing less than a record of the case of every person who is aided anywhere in Styria, a copy of the same to be forwarded to every agency interested.

The Katholische Lands-Wohlthätigkeits-Komittee für Niederoesterreich was founded in Vienna in 1900. It seeks to unite all Catholic agencies for the care of children, popular education, social help, relief of the poor and sick, and to guide all to the most effective and economical methods. In December, 1902, it had united 67 societies in its federation. The central bureau gives information, but not material relief. In 1902 a movement was started to extend this union to include all Catholic charities in the Empire.

F. Institutional Relief.—As early as the thirteenth century there were institutions for the care of the poor. Toward the close of the middle ages, and later, they were founded within their respective districts by princes and nobles and by ecclesiastical orders. A "Burger-spital" existed in Vienna from the middle of the thirteenth century. These early institutions received the poor, the sick, the insane, children and the aged. It was Joseph II. (1765-1790) who reorganized the administration of such institutions, especially in Vienna, and assigned to each one specific functions, to one the care of the sick poor, to another those with incurable or repulsive diseases, and to another orphans. But up to 1863 the mingling of these classes was general in the Empire, and the institutions in which they were congregated, though quite numerous, met inadequately the humblest requirements for the care especially of those with sick inmates. Often they were unclean and malodorous. Progress in knowledge

of hygiene, backed by a new sanitary law of 1870, has occasioned marked improvements. This law gave to provincial authorities power and responsibility with reference to hygienic conditions in all such institutions within their territories. The organization has been slower to improve and there are still institutions of the sort, even in great cities, where incurables, as the consumptive and the cancerous, sufferers from disgusting ailments, epileptics, the aged, crippled children, idiots, cretins, the deaf and dumb, blind, and wrecks of alcoholism are congregated without individualization or classification. By far the largest number of such poorhouses are supported by municipalities, many are maintained by endowments, more than a score are district institutions (system of Lower Austria) and half as many provincial, while three are supported by societies. The total number is 1,486. The number of inmates in 1895 was 43,055. In 1870 there were 114 inmates in such institutions to each 100,000 of the population in Austria; in 1880, 156; and in 1890, 179. As to their administration they are of three classes: (a) Those which furnish to their inmates entire living, either *in natura* or by allowances of over 15 kr. a day per head in cash. This is by far the largest class and in different institutions of this class the expense per day per head varies from 22 to 89 kr., and the average is 44 kr. (b) Those which furnish lodging and less than 15 kr. per day. (c) Those which furnish lodging only, relatively few, numbering probably between 190 and 200 in all Austria. In the country districts there is pitiful lack of care for the disabled poor. The bidding off of paupers to those who will support them at the lowest rate tends to the most wretched results. Many of the poor end their days in barns and outhouses, subsisting on refuse and covering their nakedness with rags. The aged and utterly broken down, after lives spent in hard and honest toil are reduced to a state from which death is a deliverance; and younger persons suffering from incurable diseases are in a plight no less pitiable. Proper institutional care for such persons in country districts is possible only when large districts or whole provinces unite in the support of infirmaries. Certain provinces have a regulation that the provincial board can compel the incurable to enter provincial institutions against the will of the individuals and without the request of the municipalities concerned, when it is recognized that a municipality is not in a position to furnish shelter and care compatible with the demands of humanity.

In discussing the crying need of better organization and classification Inspector Gerényi recognized six classes now existing in the Austrian poorhouses or infirmaries. First are the mentally defective but not dangerous. These would be far better off in the departments for incurables or labor colonies connected with hospitals for the insane. Often there is in them considerable power of useful labor. Not a few such would be taken home by farmers for a small consideration and, under proper regulations, good results could be expected. Second are the incurably diseased, for whom there should be special provincial homes. Third are drunkards and tramps, whose proper treatment remains to be considered. Fourth are orphans and foundlings. And according to the author cited these should be brought up in rural homes. Fifth are the sick and crippled children requiring special homes, as also do the deaf mutes and the blind. Sixth are the aged and broken-down, the proper inmates of infirmaries. This class alone, Inspector Gerényi thinks, should be left to local care and support.

Brighter aspects are presented by certain institutions, as the six municipal "houses of maintenance." The first has a three-story central structure containing the offices and residences of officials, and two-story wings in which are wards of 12 beds each, accommodating 540 persons—240 men and 300 women, with air space of 29½ cubic meters per head. A second has a front and a rear building, with wards of 14 to 20 beds, allowing 20 cubic meters air space per head and accommodating 1,726 persons—744 men and 982 women. A third is located about 114 kilometers out of the city, has wards of 15 beds, 20½ cu. m. air space per head and places for 694—267 men and 427 women. A fourth, about 14 kilos. from the city, occupies an old cloister, and as the location and building are less sanitary than the others no more beds are allowed than will leave 26 to 35 cu. m. of air space per head. It has 596 places—285 for men and 311 for women. A fifth is 61 kilos. from the city, allows 15 cu. m. space per head, and has 330 places—155 for men and 175 for women. The sixth has wards for 16 beds, with 20 cu. m. per head and places for 831—313 men and 518 women. The six have places for 4,717—2,004 men and 2,713 women. The buildings cover 37,837 sq. m. and have yards and gardens 170,465 sq. m. in extent. This plant cost 3,543,000 gulden, and the daily expense per inmate averages 60 krz.

The second institution described is large and in the city itself,

and receives indiscriminately all persons admissible. Here they are divided into three classes: (1) The aged and broken-down; (2) idiots, epileptics and incurable; (3) persons requiring strict discipline. These three classes are kept by themselves by being transferred from this central institution to others of the six which are set apart for special classes. Though these institutions are for legal residents of Vienna, others may be temporarily admitted till provided for by their home municipalities; and when there is vacant room non-residents who pay for their care are sometimes admitted for longer periods. In the conduct of these institutions the head of the poor department acts as agent of the magistracy, and the latter is supervised by the Gemeinderath. Each of the six has a manager with one or more assistants, one or more house physicians, and a Catholic chaplain, while a Protestant clergyman holds service for those of his faith on sacred days. All these officials of an institution are required to meet monthly to discuss the suggestions of the month's experience and the requests and complaints of the inmates. The inmates receive lodging, board or a portion of money, clothing, bed, bedding, washing, medical treatment and nursing in sickness, and after death a decent burial. Formerly the inmates were not boarded in commons but received, every fifth day, a money payment, and connected with each institution was an eating-house keeper who was under contract to supply food to the inmates according to a schedule of prices that made proper living possible with the stipend allowed. When prices have risen it has been necessary to allow a bounty from the city to the eating-house keeper. The inmates were not required to buy at the restaurant attached to the institution, save a few, whose mental capacity or other special reason gave ground for restriction. Too much of the allowances went for stimulants, and in 1862 it was decided to try an experiment at the great infirmary described above (second); only a little money was allowed each inmate for incidentals and they were boarded in common. The aim was to furnish a healthier diet without excess of brandy or coffee. It proved impossible to satisfy the inmates without greatly exceeding the outlay under the former system. Opposition to the new arrangement caused it to be given up within a year. After an experiment in 1888 there was a special tariff for the sick at the official eating-houses. In 1893 the magistracy introduced boarding in commons at all the institutions outside the city, and two years later the practice was adopted in all the six

infirmaries except the one first described. This one was for persons of the burgher class and its inmates were allowed their choice between an allowance of 40 kr. a day and 22 kr. a day with board in commons. In the other five infirmaries the daily allowance had been 26 kr. and it was now reduced to 4, and regular meals were furnished three times a day. The ordinary bill of fare was somewhat modified on Sundays and holidays, and the sick were fed according to the orders of physicians. A bar was established in each infirmary, and wine and beer were sold at cost. Brandy was prohibited. Though the inmates could not justly complain of the board furnished them, and although physicians approved of it on sanitary grounds, the free disposal of their money was so missed that the inmates by agitation succeeded in having the plan modified after two years. Accordingly, by the rule of 1887, inmates were given choice between taking full board in commons, and taking only breakfast and dinner, and receiving a money allowance for supper. The quantity of bread for all inmates was cut down from 45 to 30 deka. and by that means the money allowance of those taking full board was increased from 4 to 5.5 kr. a day, and those who took only breakfast and dinner in commons received 8 kr. a day. A year later the rule was further modified so that inmates are not required to take any of the board in commons but may receive instead the former allowance of 26 kr. a day paid in advance every five days. One who takes board and wishes to take money instead must give 30 days' notice before the change is made. One who takes money can receive board instead after 5 days' notice. The manager or the physician can refuse the money option to inmates who are sick or cannot be trusted with money. Inmates are not required to work but may be employed at a wage. They are not required to stay in the institution after breakfast is eaten and the rooms are put in order for the day. The manager may grant leave of absence for not over 4 weeks. Infraction of house rules may be punished by reprimand, detention in one's room not over 48 hours, forbidding to leave the institution for not over 4 weeks, exclusion from paid services, or transference to the fourth house of maintenance, which is for those who require strict discipline. Punishments are inflicted upon a majority vote of three officials, the manager, the physician and one other specified. In each case of punishment a record is to be kept stating on whom it was inflicted, the offence and the penalty.

G. VAGRANTS.—Drunkards and begging parasites find their way into Austrian almshouses where they form the third of the six classes of inmates already mentioned, and prove themselves the dread of the officials, the plague of the physicians, and the terror of the other inmates. They undermine discipline, prevent arrangements favorable to the welfare of others, and in no sense belong in a poorhouse or infirmary, but require restraint, severe discipline and efforts at reform. In seven provinces of Austria there are road stations on the Württemberg plan, known also in other parts of Germany, Switzerland and the Netherlands. The purpose of these stations is to give lodging to homeless wayfarers, remove the excuse for beggary and facilitate the search for employment. The purpose is to afford such food and lodging as to preserve health and require labor in return, always making the reward for labor less than that received for equal exertion at regular employment. The stations are usually 15 kilometers apart. None are received who cannot do the prescribed work, and usually a passport is required and a certificate showing that the person has been employed within the last two or three months. At each station is kept a list of opportunities for employment in the neighborhood. The system was first put in operation in Lower Austria, in 1887, and later in Moravia, Styria, Upper Austria, Bohemia, Silesia and Vorarlberg. The expense is borne by districts, municipalities or provinces. In the period 1895-97 there were 814 stations which reeceived 1,495,983 guests and found positions for 43,125.

In Vienna there is an institution similar, in some respects, to these road stations, but at the same time very different in that it is intended not for wayfarers but for legal residents of the city. It is an asylum and voluntary workhouse for the shelterless. It is open only to persons who are in health and able to labor. They are admitted between 6 and 9 p. m. in summer and 5 and 8 in winter. There is a section for late comers. Those regularly admitted are at once examined by a physician and may be sent to a hospital. Persons of both sexes are accommodated and there is a special section for women having children. Children under 14, unaccompanied by a relative are received, but the next day they are turned over to the magistracy for appropriate care. Applicants must present certificates of legal residence in Vienna. A compulsory bath is furnished, and a light supper and breakfast. The institution has two departments: the asylum and the workhouse. Persons who come for more than seven nights are

transferred to the workhouse and persons who become shelterless and have recourse to the asylum a second time within three months are sent directly to the workhouse, and a person coming for the first time may be sent there upon decision of the competent authority. One who declines to go to the asylum for lodging loses claim to any other kind of municipal aid. Those who come so often as to indicate idleness become subject to the law for the treatment of vagabonds. Persons are admitted to this voluntary workhouse in order to maintain themselves during a period of lack of employment. All such, as well as those transferred from the asylum as just described, must perform a daily minimum of work, Sundays and holidays excepted. Wages are allowed for work in excess of the required minimum. Work begins at 6 in summer and 7 in winter. After the day's task is done there is liberty to go out in search of employment. Special privileges are allowed the best behaved in beginning early the search for work. Clothing is loaned to some while their own is being washed, but they are not allowed to leave the building while wearing the borrowed clothing. To inmates of long standing and good record clothing may be given to make them presentable while searching for employment. Too frequent recourse to the workhouse is disciplined by increasing the daily task or diminishing the rations, or finally by turning the offender over to the police. Drinking alcoholic liquors, smoking tobacco and games of every sort are prohibited in the workhouse. Unwillingness to do the work forfeits claim to any other form of aid and may lead to turning the shirk over to the police. The work done by the men and women is partly for the market, including the manufacture of paper bags and pasteboard boxes, partly for consumption in municipal institutions, including the making of clothing, underwear, shoes, carpenter and cabinet work, painting, locksmithing and whatever else is required to keep the institution in repair, and all the whitewashing, scrubbing, etc., required to keep it neat.

At the beginning of the year 1897 there were 430 inmates in the voluntary workhouse, 397 men and 33 women; during the year 10,889 were admitted, 10,122 men and 767 women, and at the end of the year 376 of these men and 36 of the women, 412 in all, were still in the institution. That year the income from labor done was 29,761.37 flor. The running expenses were 28,577.40 flor. and the wages paid for extra labor 8,203.34 flor.

H. Medical Relief.—In 1890 there were in Vienna 19 physi-

cians for the poor besides three oculists, an aurist and a dentist. By the incorporation of surburbs into the city the number of physicians for the poor was increased, in 1891, to 52, besides the specialists mentioned and physicians who conducted dispensaries at each police station. At the end of 1896 the number, including specialists, had increased to 64 in addition to dispensary physicians and heads of clinics at hospitals, all of whom are authorized to furnish free medical aid. According to regulations of 1895 the city physicians are required to attend all the sick poor in their respective districts, whether legal residents of the city or not, and the attendance is to be either at the physician's office or by visit, according to the needs of each case. They are also required to investigate, and at least twice each year to report upon the health and sanitary surroundings of all orphans boarded out by the city. They attend the sick in the poorhouses and they take part in the conferences of the district poor commissioners. Each must reside within his district and have on his house a sign "City Physician for Treatment of the Poor." A monthly report must be made to the chief city physician. This official, in addition to the regular duties, upon requisition of the magsistracy, has to investigate the cases of those who seek the benefit of any fund or pension or admission to any institution. The prescriptions are filled by authorized apothecaries upon their presentation accompanied by a certificate of worthy poverty from the district poor commissioner. When non-residents receiving free treatment use medicines costing over 19 gulden a claim for the amount is sent to their legal residence. Similar arrangements apply to the filling of prescriptions, not only of medicines, but also of bandages, dressings, glasses for the eyes, and medicinal baths. In each case the official prescriptions that have been filled are turned into the city as valid claims against its treasury. There is a "cure house" for the poor in Baden, where sulphur baths can be taken with the proper accompaniment of medical treatment. Board and lodging are furnished and the beneficiaries usually remain six weeks. This institution was founded in 1808. There are 169 beds at the disposal of Vienna and 400 to 500 persons each season go there cost free from Vienna alone. Admission is conditioned upon presentation of certificates showing the physician's prescriptions and the patient's inability to pay for the enjoyment of the baths, but the degree of poverty need not be so great as is necessary to secure admission to a poorhouse or the grant of a stipend.

There are other baths and sanitaria to which the poor of Vienna may be sent. With this exception the care of persons in hospitals is not at the cost of the city but of the province. When hospital patients are recipients of a stipend payments on the stipends falling within the time spent in the hospital are paid over to the hospital management and defray, in part, the expense of hospital care. The burial of the destitute is regarded as an expenditure for sanitation and is not charged to poor funds.

Not only in Vienna but elsewhere in Austria the number of dispensaries is large. They are either independent or connected with hospitals. The most completely appointed is the general clinic in Vienna. It has a building erected in 1893, with special reference to its uses. The building has a garden and is constructed in 8 subdivisions, each with a waiting room, a room for the physicians in charge, an assistant's room, an auditorium and toilet rooms for men and for women. The institution has a chemical and bacteriological laboratory and a Roentgen closet. There is an isolation room where persons found to have infectious diseases are placed until they can be taken to hospitals. There are electric lights, central heating, a ventilating plant which renews the air every thirty minutes, washable walls, xylolith floors, hot and cold water in every room and all aids to diagnosis and treatment. There are 20 departments, 20 head physicians, 37 assistants and 43 "aspirants." The departments are: two for children's diseases, two for diseases of the eyes, two for surgical cases, two for skin and syphilitic diseases, five for internal maladies, one for throat and nose, one for women's diseases, one for the ear, one for urinary organs, and one for dentistry. All treatment is free, persons of means not being received.

Austria has well developed agencies (*"Rettungswesen"*) for the rescue of those whose life is in sudden peril, and restoration of those who are at the point of death by asphyxia, drowning, strangling, poisoning, lightning-stroke, etc. Conspicuous notices of the location of stations are posted. At each of these stations the most necessary implements are kept packed in a small box that can be hurriedly carried to the place where the endangered person lies. More extensive apparatus is also provided, including an operating bed and often an ambulance. Persons who would die before they could be carried to a hospital are saved at these neighboring stations. This development is due largely to voluntary private agency, especially to the "Wiener

Freiwillige Rettungsgesellschaft." This society founded stations, provided lectures on the treatment of emergencies, made an agreement with the government sanitary service with respect to rendering aid, and when the army is mobilized places means of rescue at water courses and prepared to do service in cases of flood, fire and wreck. The activity of this society has been imitated in Budapest, Prague, Bruenn, Krakau, Triest, Lemberg, Innsbruck, and elsewhere. Due to the same initiative, firemen have been instructed in restoring and in transporting the injured, and also taught to make themselves useful in other emergencies than fire. A full description of the utensils found desirable for the stations can be found in "Oesterreichs Wohlfährtseinrichtungen," Band III, pp. 458, 462 seq.

Of Austria in general it may be said that hospitals have outstripped other forms of beneficence. In 1848 there were 189 Austrian hospitals with 12,701 beds, and in 1896 there were 207 public and 395 private hospitals, in all 602 with 39,588 beds. In 1848 there was one hospital bed to every 1,416.9 inhabitants. During this interval the population has increased nearly 7,000,000. In 1848 the number cared for in hospitals was 116,410, in 1896, 402,904. The increase is due in part to the opening of hospitals during epidemics which have been maintained after the passing of the epidemics. The greatest cause of increase is industrial activity, mining, iron works, factories, with their armies of laborers to be cared for, with greater resources. The largest increase has been in Upper and Lower Austria, Styria and Bohemia, where in 1859 there was one bed to every 1,058 inhabitants and at last report one bed to 630. In provinces chiefly rural the accommodations are still inadequate; thus Dalmatia has one bed to 1,054 of the population, Galicia one bed to 1,559.5, and Bukowina, one to 1,576. The general public hospitals have the legal right to draw on the treasury of the province of which a patient was a legal resident, for the cost of care and treatment in every case where the patient is unable to pay and the expense is not met by some benefaction or by a corporation, labor union or society with which the hospital stands in relation. There are agreements with some states outside the Empire by which the latter honor bills sent in for treating their citizens who fall ill while in Austria. Austria in turn pays the cost of caring for her own citizens who fall sick and are taken into the public hospitals of these foreign states. Poor persons from foreign states that make no such agreement are received in the

Austrian hospitals and the cost is borne by the province in which the hospital is located. Though hospitals are provincial institutions, municipalities have legally defined duties with reference to their maintenance. The capacity of single public hospitals varies from 13 to 1,964 beds and floor space per bed from 12 to 893 sq. met. Many are overcrowded. The 395 private hospitals receive no public aid and are under no administrative control of city or province. As a rule they do not have fixed rates, they often care for the sick gratuitously, and otherwise upon terms agreed upon in each case. Of the private hospitals 128 are founded and managed by independent corporations, 61 by mutual benefit societies chiefly of laborers, 56 by Catholic ecclesiastical bodies, 26 by Protestant and Hebrew bodies, 23 by benevolent societies, 15 by landlords and nobles for the people of their domains, 13 are private sanitaria existing for purposes of gain, and there are 73 others. Some are very small, having only 2, 4 or 6 beds. In 1896 there were 71,947 cases treated in the private hospitals. There are in Austria seven homes for convalescents, so far as reports show. This kind of aid for the sick is comparatively little developed. Such homes not only economize the rooms in hospitals but also facilitate recovery. Neither the often crowded wards of hospitals nor the homes of poverty are fit places for convalescents. In times of epidemics such homes can be used as hospitals. Austria has 18 maternity hospitals, most of which were founded in the eighteenth century. They employ 66 physicians, 53 midwives and 140 attendants. The number of beds in each institution varies from 6 to 594 and the total number of beds in the 18 institutions is 1,576. During the years 1848-1877 there were from 11,300 to 14,908 births annually in these hospitals. The number increased to 19,029 in 1896. The administration in most cases is by the provincial authorities. Subordinate to them is usually a superintending board of physicians, then the resident physician, who often is director of a larger hospital in which the maternity hospital is a department. In such cases the head of the maternity department is under a pretty complicated government, especially when as a teacher he is also under the dean of the faculty of medicine in the university. In most of these institutions instruction is given to midwives or to medical students or both. There is generally lack of sufficient rooms for the purposes of instruction and research. The greatest maternity hospital in the world is a section of the general public hospital in Vienna.

The building is half a century old, but during its existence it has been provided with means of ventilation, a disinfecting house in the court, extensive baths and tile floors. The worst housed of these institutions is probably that in Czernowitz, unless the plans for enlargement and alteration of the building have been recently carried out. The building was a private house of eight rooms of moderate size. Here 10 or 12 or even 18 women are taken as patients and 20 to 34 midwives receive theoretical and practical instructions. Under such conditions it is exceedingly difficult to prevent the spread of contagion. The best equipped was built at Lemberg in 1895, and is so constructed that 9 separate sections can be shut off, each with its room for attendant, kitchen, bathroom and sickroom. Cases recognized as septic when received are taken by a special way to the second story without touching the corridor, and all washing from this section goes to the basement by a chute and thence by a special exit to the disinfecting room and the laundry. The mortality in the maternity hospitals has greatly diminished, the main point of progress having been in the antiseptic treatment of birth cases. This progress is largely due to the Austrian Semmelweiss, who in 1847 recognized the danger of carrying infection to the women by the hands of physicians and attendants. The precautions which he introduced resulted in a reduction of mortality, at the clinic with which he was connected, from nearly 10 per cent. to 3 per cent. By insisting that not the hands only but also instruments, etc., be disinfected, he caused the death rate to fall further to 1.27 per cent. The teachings of Semmelweiss were not generally followed in Austria till after they had been reënforced by those of Lister of Edinburgh in 1867. The carrying of infection by students is particularly to be feared. No student should be allowed to approach a bearing woman who is known to have been in the presence of contagion, and researches that involve contact with contagion should not be allowed in the same semester with instruction in these institutions. Safety requires that, on the average, women should be at least three weeks in the establishment, of which at least 10 to 14 days should be spent in bed. But from lack of room this is impossible except in a few institutions. In most the women are crowded out by newcomers as soon as they have spent 7 or 8 days in bed and 9 or 10 days in the house. The mortality of women in Austrian maternity hospitals and its relation to the length of stay is as follows: In the 11 hospitals mentioned the

women are allowed to keep the bed 7 to 9 days. In Ragusa though in bed but 9 days they regularly remain in the house 14 days and the mortality is 0.1 to each 100 births; in Zara, a very small house, the mortality is 0.2 per cent.; in Czernowitz; 1.1 per cent.; in Laibach, where they remain in the institution 10 to 14 days and may remain four weeks, 1.1 per cent.; in Triest, 1.4; in Klagenfurt, 1.6; in Vienna, 1.7; in Bruenn, 2.0; in Prague, 2.1; in Krakau, 2.8; in Linz, 3.2. In six other establishments where the women remain in bed 10 days or more the mortality is as follows: Lemberg, 1.7; Lebenico, 1.1; Salzburg, 0.2; Olmutz, 0.3; Graz, 0.3, and in Spalato, a small house, 0.07. The highest average was in 1854, 4.8 per cent. In 1880 it was 1 per cent. and has never since been greater than that; during recent years it has been .05 to .06. One of the seven homes for convalescents is for poor women who have just given birth.

The care of consumption is in a backward state. But for several years it has been a subject of agitation, and in 1897 there was one hospital for consumptives which the year preceding had 100 patients. In 1898 an institution for those suffering with diseased lungs was opened at Alland, near Baden. This equipment cost 600,000 flor. There is a similar institution for Hebrews at Kierling, but with imperfect arrangements.

Regular provision for free vaccination is offered at many of the Austrian dispensaries. In 1894 there was one vaccination to every 19, and in 1895 one to every 19.5 of the population. Vaccination is not so nearly universal as in Germany, where it is compulsory. In 1886-1895 seventeen Bohemian cities lost 4,078 by smallpox, while the disease was little known just across the border in Germany. To make the example more specific, in the town of Warnsdorf and its immediate vicinity in northern Bohemia 539 persons died of smallpox in the years 1876-1899. Intercourse across the boundary is very active, scarcely any separation at all being made by the national line, and in the whole of the adjoining district on the German side, during the statistical period 1883-1893 there was not a single death from smallpox.

J. Defectives.—Though of course much has been done for the care of defectives the provisions remain very inadequate. It has been said that there are 10,000 defectives in the relatively advanced province of Lower Austria alone who require institutional care but for whom it is not provided. The first institution in Austria for the

instruction of the blind was founded in Vienna in 1806, and the teacher was Klein, whose ingenuity and devotion have caused him to be regarded as the greatest teacher of the blind among the German peoples. It was in 1816 that Klein's school became a permanent state institution. According to the latest available report it had 71 pupils, 44 boys and 27 girls. The largest number that has ever been in the institution at one time was 82. This school gives a regular eight years' course, including besides subjects always taught to the seeing, practical and theoretical instruction in music and trades. In music instruction is given upon the organ, piano, and string, reed and brass instruments. The institution has its own orchestra, writing of scores in prick-note is diligently practiced, many learn piano-tuning, and all learn to sing. The trade instruction aims at thorough preparation to practice some trade suited to the blind. The trades taught include brush-making, chair-bottoming, machine-knitting, rug-making, and all feminine handiwork. The hand is strengthened and the sense of form developed by means of hand and finger gymnastics, Froebel work, modelling, drawing, wood work, work at the lathe and the potter's wheel. Great heed is paid to the physical health and development, which are promoted by gymnastics, baths, walks and a vacation colony, belonging to the school. A physician visits the institution daily, and a dentist examines the pupils every two months. There are three hospital rooms for pupils suffering with light ailments, those seriously ill are sent to the hospital. The instruction at this institution is highly successful. A large number of those who have enjoyed its courses become entirely self-supporting, and most largely so, yet many require aid and receive it in a variety of ways. There is in Vienna a home for blind single women and another for blind men, and an additional institution to afford home and occupation to the blind.

The second institution for the blind in Austria was founded in Prague in 1807. This establishment carries on two kinds of work, the instruction of poor blind children, and also the free treatment of blind children whose sight may be wholly or partially restored by medication or by operations. Because of limited funds as late as 1880 only 31 could be received. To supplement the small regular staff of teachers benevolent persons have given gratuitous instruction in music and in mechanical occupations. At present the house has the necessary school rooms, shops, dormitories, etc., to accommodate 80.

Children are admitted between the ages of eight and twelve, who are incurably blind, poor and residents of Bohemia. Beside usual school studies, music, gymnastics and trades are taught. A competent and adequately large corps of teachers is now employed. The care of health is similar to that in the institution at Vienna. Among the trades taught is basket making. Since the foundation of the school 1,374 blind children have been educated here, 796 boys and 578 girls. The attendance never falls below the full capacity. Another school for the blind exists in Linz. It was founded in 1824 and has capacity for 54 inmates. It receives children between the ages of seven and fourteen if they are blind, able to learn, and not afflicted with any other incurable malady. Poor children of other provinces than Upper Austria are received, but for such a fee of 50 flor. a year is required. In Bruenn there is a school for the blind of the provinces of Moravia and Silesia, founded in 1822. It provides for 116 pupils. Among the trades taught are the making of straw coverings for bottles, reed mats, table covers, trunks, and the use of the sewing machine. The occupations by which the largest numbers of graduates of this school have made themselves self-supporting are those of musician, piano tuner, basket weaver, brush maker, and feminine handwork. The institution has a fund of 128,201 flor. for the aid of its graduates; this is annually increased by about 2,500 flor. An essential part of the work of such an institution is to have a paternal care for those who have gone out from its instruction, and the ways in which it can aid them are many. Another school for the blind is in Lemberg, Galicia. It accommodates about 40, and the admirable handiwork of its girls is an object of remark. In Vienna there is a school for blind Hebrew children, with between 50 and 60 pupils. It has a large collection of models for use with its beginners in extended exercises for the development of the sense of touch.

At Purkersdorf in Lower Austria a school for the blind was founded in 1873. Its new edifice was built in 1879 with a model equipment. It has capacity for 100 pupils, and has 15 teachers in addition to the director and one male and one female nurse. At Graz there is a school for the blind with 62 pupils. Another at Klagenfurt was opened in 1898. In one of the public schools at Vienna there is a department for the blind. They live at home and are conducted to and from school by relatives. But a noon meal is

furnished free, and street car fare is free to blind pupils. The number in this public school division for the blind is between 15 and 20. The work, like that at regular institutions for the blind, is in three departments, literary, musical and manual, though the two latter are not in so great variety. After five or six years' attendance the pupils are usually transferred to a regular school for the blind.

A benevolent society founded at Vienna in 1885 an asylum for blind children under school age. It is a boarding home and kindergarten. The kindergarten methods are modified to meet the requirements of blind children and much of the attention is devoted to exercises in touch, hearing and orientation, finger-play, hand gymnastics, marching and motion plays. The kindergarten poems and songs and most of the kindergarten occupations are successfully used. The inmates number 25 and the expenses are 5,300 flor. a year.

There is an institution in Vienna for those who have become blind late in life. The aim is to restore courage to live and the joy of activity by fitting these unfortunate persons either to return to their former callings or to take up new ones. All are required to learn to read and write the characters for the blind and to learn to read the musical notation for the blind. Among the occupations taught are those of typewriter, organist, piano tuner, and teacher of foreign languages. Those who have received instruction here are expected to become self-supporting.

Among those sightless from childhood and educated in an ordinary school for the blind are many who but partially support themselves and who must be aided. Klein—that father of the blind—felt this necessity and there is an institution in Vienna, grown from the seed he planted, which affords home and occupation to the blind who are no longer in school. Here none are admitted under 15 years of age; there are about 100 inmates, slightly more women than men, and there are many applicants for admission. Those who live together here carry on all the trades usually taught the blind and their products are exceedingly well executed. Great attention is given to music. Health is promoted by required exercise in the garden and by baths. Furloughs for visits are allowed to those who have relatives, and life is cheered by concerts, theatres, lectures and social festivities. The running expenses for a recent year were 59,860.77 flor.; profits on labor done, 2,051.76 flor.

There is an institution for the blind in Prague which besides doing

the work of an ordinary school for the blind with over 100 pupils, and maintaining a kindergarten with about 20 blind children, also gives a quite exceptional place in its activity to aiding those who have received its instruction. Still other institutions exist primarily or wholly to furnish homes with occupation for the instructed blind. A finely appointed one is at Linz, another is at Prague, and one at Graz, one each for men and women at Vienna, as above stated, one for women at Bruenn and one for women at Melk a. d. Donau; so that there are in Austria nine institutions of this class besides the 12 schools.

The Deaf.—Those informed long ago abandoned the idea that the deaf mutes are necessarily or usually mentally inferior save as the mind is dormant and undeveloped because of the defective access through the senses to the external world. Catholic priests were the first in Austria to teach deaf mutes. The first public institutions for their instruction was founded at Vienna in 1779, in imitation of the school of Abbé de l'Épée in Paris. The written language is the basis of instruction. Sign language is used both as a means of teaching the written language and for its own usefulness. Spoken language, formerly attempted only with the most gifted, and as a subordinate factor in their education, with experience has been given a more and more prominent place. The so-called "German method" of instruction is used. Manual training is taught, but no trades. However, there is a trade school for deaf mutes with a two years' course which supplements the eight years' school course. Children are admitted between the ages of seven and twelve. There is accommodation for 120 pupils. Religious services are held on Sundays from 10 to 11 o'clock, and from 11 to 12 review exercises for those who have left the institution but gather there on that day. This is an imperial institution, open to deaf mute children from the whole Empire, if sound in body and able to learn.

There are now 25 institutions, the principal being Prague (170 pupils), Linz (100), Lemburg (100), Graz (128). In July, 1903, there were in all 1,784 pupils; 22 institutes are boarding schools, and 3 receive pupils from outside. Of 6,000 deaf children of school age in Austria only 1,800 could be provided for in existing schools. The school period is usually from 4 to 8 years. There are 3 continuation schools, but no homes or asylums for adults.[1]

[1] Zeit. f. d. Armenwesen, June, 1903, p. 169.

The Hebrews maintain an institution located in Lower Austria which receives Jewish deaf mute children from all Austria. At St. Poelten in the same province there is a diocesan institute for deaf mutes. Other schools for the deaf are situated at Linz, Graz, Goerz, Mils, Trient; private ones at Prague and Lemburg; one for Moravia and Silesia at Bruenn; one recently founded by the Landtag at Salzburg, and there is a second one in Vienna besides two departments for deaf mutes in connection with public schools. Others are at Klagenfurt, Budweis, Letimeritz, Koeniggraez, Eibenschitz, Leipnik, Lemberg, and one for girls at St. Michael.

In the treatment of the insane, in Austria much as elsewhere, the transition from the shocking conditions of a few decades ago has been by way of the following steps. First came the relaxation of cruel bonds and imprisonment, and the readmission of the insane to the circle of human sympathy. Next was the realization that many cases are curable and a separation of the curable from the incurable, that went so far as to placing them in entirely distinct institutions. This was proved impracticable because of the impossibility of predicting which were incurable, and which, under proper conditions, would be restored to sanity, as well as because of the extravagance of the duplication of plants. Accordingly the method most approved by experience is to have separate departments in the same institution. The classification, moreover, not being into curables and incurables but rather according to the outward manifestations of disease, as quietness, disturbance, violence, etc., avoiding associations injurious to the patients and likely to interfere with the progress of possible cures. This of course does not exclude the removal of cases proved incurable. The latest and most important advance is the rational employment of the insane, and the idea of outdoor work as a therapeutic agent. The most recent phase of this advance is the formation of labor colonies of the insane for systematic employment. In great asylums there is a class of patients who are far better off when taken out of the institutions and put in such colonies. Of course the great asylum may maintain such a company of workers as one of its departments. But the labor colony should not be within the surrounding wall of the asylum, and in no case should the room occupied by its members have barred windows. On the contrary these patients should be housed on the open-door system in separate cottages like ordinary country homes. Even incurables who do not

require restraint should, if possible, be freed from the sight of all symbols of force and restraint. The number of hospitals for the insane in Austria is 36. One of the largest has been built recently. December 31, 1896, the number of inmates in the 35 asylums then existing was 12,432, or more than four times as many as were in the asylums fifty years earlier; the general population meantime had increased only one-third. The number of insane persons in Austria in 1873, according to official statistics was one to every 1,077 of the population, and in 1896 one to every 825, an increase of 3 to each 10,000 (Dalmatia is omitted in each report). The per cent. of insanity in different provinces varies widely; in 1873 this variation was from 1 in 390 to 1 in 5,098; in 1896 it was from 1 in 383 to 1 in 2,089. The fact that during this period the number of inmates in institutions increased from 5,965 to 12,432 indicates great progress in hospital facilities for unfortunates of this class. The 36 hospitals mentioned are public, and while most of them contain facilities for caring for patients from the well-to-do classes in accordance with their habits of life, yet they are chiefly intended for patients from the more numerous classes of the population. There are in Austria 8 private hospitals for the insane, of which 5 are in Lower Austria and 3 in Vienna. One is at Bubenc near Prague in Bohemia and 2 are in Galicia. The 8 have all together 359 beds. These institutions are under strict legal regulations, especially with reference to the admission and release of inmates.

K. Children.—Among the public officials of Austria for the care of the poor are Foster Parents for Orphans (*Waisenväter, Waisenmütter*). Each of these foster parents has charge of three or four of the children who are boarded at public expense. Each of these children the foster parent is expected to visit if possible several times a month. The representative of the public is to see that the boarding places of the children are suitable, their dwellings sanitary, their clothing adequate, clean and whole, the child itself kept clean, and to learn whether it is in good health, and whether school and church are regularly attended. Every six months each foster parent gives a concise report to the chairman under whom they are organized, and these reports go ultimately to the magistracy. In spite of what can be said of well planned activities here and there it must be admitted that on the whole the care of orphans in Austria is totally inadequate, and oversight of the education and bringing up of orphans outside

of institutions is generally lacking. There are private organizations for the rescue and protection of children. The aim of such organizations are: (1) After thorough investigation of cases of abuse of children to report to the authorities; (2) to oversee persons to whom abused children are transferred or to secure the transfer of the children to persons chosen by the society or to institutions; (3) to move the appointment of some person as guardian when the parents have legally forfeited the right of guardianship, or the child is for other reasons without a guardian; (4) to see to it that persons responsible for the support of children perform their duty.

In Vienna in case of legal residence outdoor aid is granted for children whose parents are living if it is proved that parents are too poor to support the child, especially if one parent is arrested or in a hospital or other institution, or if the mother or grandparents of an illegitimate child are willing to care for the child but unable to do so without aid. Such aid to parents cannot exceed 2 flor. a month for one child. Orphan stipends are 3 flor. a month, and the latter sum under certain circumstances is allowed for the child of a widow. Outdoor aid for children is allowed only for those under the compulsory school age, that is to the end of the school year following the fourteenth birthday. The grants are made for terms of six months or a year and are renewable; grants for orphans are for one or two years. Unless proof to the contrary is given it is assumed that even a widow can support one child and accordingly no grant is made for only one child. The magistracy may pay the monthly allowance for a child to a family not related to it, who in return agree to board the child, when: (1) Both parents are dead, or (2) their residence is unknown, or (3) both parents or the only surviving parent are arrested or in a public institution, or for other exceptional reason unable to care for all their children, or (4) in the case of foundlings discharged from the asylum at the age of ten and turned over to the magistracy. Of every family that receives money thus it must be proved that they inhabit healthy quarters, are fit to rear children and in such circumstances as to preclude the suspicion that they take a child in order to improve their own condition at its expense.

The original and for generations the only system of foundling asylums was that of the turning box (*Die Drehlade, le tour, la ruota*). A circular box was fixed in the house wall so that part was within and part without. The infant was deposited in the turning box outside

the house and a bell was rung, whereupon the box turned around and carried the child inside and allowed the person who had deposited it to depart unseen. Thus no child could be refused admittance and the anonymity was complete. Under the present Austrian system children are admitted, without charge, if the mothers are legal residents of the given municipality or of other municipalities that will pay charges, but only when the children are illegitimate and the mothers have submitted to the purposes of instruction at the obstetric clinic. A fee is charged for the admission of children born in the pay sections of the lying-in hospital. Admission is either temporary or permanent. It is permanent when the mother binds herself to serve four months as a nurse. Children taken thus permanently are kept in the institution until they can be placed in families and remain under the care of the institution for from 6 years (Prague) to 10 (Vienna), and the maternity is kept secret during that time, but not longer, the child being then turned over to the magistracy of the mother's legal residence unless she has meantime found the means to provide for it. The Vienna foundling asylum is the largest in the world. It regularly contains from 200 to 300 children, 20 to 25 per day are admitted, or 7,000 to 8,000 per year. Outside of the institution are always from 23,000 to 24,000 of its wards, of whom a part are with their mothers or other relatives and the rest are placed in the homes of married people. Thus the total number under the care of the institution in a year is 31,000 to 32,000 children. The great mass of these are illegitimate; during ten years only 902 legitimate children have been received. There is a foundling asylum in Prague where the numbers are about half as large as those of this institution in Vienna. At least five smaller asylums are situated in other parts of Austria. As a rule the institution acts only as a bureau for receiving the children and placing them out as soon as may be done. When possible the children are sent to the country. They are entrusted to respectable married couples or to widows, whose fitness is attested by the clerical and political authorities of their places of residence. The certificates include, with more obvious requirements, statements as to the physical health of the parties who offer to take children, and vouch that the places where they live are not in sanitary or other respects unfit for children. Only one child is placed in a family, except in case of twins or triplets, and two may be entrusted to a family specially commended. Each child must be taken from the institu-

tion by the woman who is to be its foster mother. An allowance for travelling expenses may be made. On taking the child the foster mother receives a printed booklet which gives a statement of the rights and duties of child and foster parents, and directions for the care of infants. Those who have a child in charge receive 6 flor. a month till the child is one year old, 5 flor. a month during its second year and 4 flor. thereafter to the end of the period of six or ten years. A party which has kept a child for 8 consecutive months of its first year receives extra 10 flor. Another extra 10 flor. is allowed at the end of the full period when the child has been well cared for at least one year and the party agrees to keep it free thereafter. If the foster parents return a child to the institution they receive 5 flor. Every year 50 or 60 especially good foster mothers are distinguished by an extra reward. Sometimes the natural mother furnishes the necessary documents and takes her child, and sometimes other relatives do so. These receive only two-thirds as much pay, and after one year they cannot give back the charge to the institution nor turn it over to other parties except by special permit from the provincial government. This two-thirds pay is allowed to the natural mother even if she is married, if she declares before witnesses that the husband is not the father, and if the husband agrees to take the child with her. In any case the natural mother has the right to claim her child at the end of the full period of 6 or 10 years. If investigation shows that the natural mother is too poor then the foster mother has the right. If neither the mother nor the foster mother takes the child it is turned over to the authorities of the municipality which is its legal residence. No child is given into permanent adoption unless the mother is dead or has relinquished her right. Whenever a foundling is ill, after being placed out, the foster parent is bound without delay to summon one of the public physicians for the poor who reports semi-annually to the institution. At the asylums the children are vaccinated, and on certain hours of certain days of the week any one can be vaccinated without charge.

The institution also serves as a bureau of wet-nurses, since nurses who have served two months in the asylum and are no longer required can go into private service at the market rate. All but the older children and those who are ill, or suspected of being so, have the service of wet-nurses as long as they remain in the asylum. One hundred and thirty-eight nurses are constantly employed at the

asylum in Vienna; from 80 to 125 at Prague. The whole number that come to the latter institution from the maternity hospital in the course of a year is about 3,000.

The asylum at Vienna was founded in 1784, and in that year 2,366 children were admitted, of whom 54 per cent. died before completing the period during which children regularly remain under the watch and care of the institution. The death rate gradually increased until of the 4,307 taken in 1811 it was 74 per cent. Thereafter the death rate diminished as expenditure was increased, until in 1829 20,540 children were admitted, of whom 13 per cent. died before completing the normal period. The next year the expenditure was cut down, and the death rate rose in consequence, and 32 per cent. of the 25,050, who were admitted in 1866, died. In 1873 the rate of expenditure was again increased, and the death rate diminished gradually thereafter until in 1883, 35,008 were admitted, of whom 10.9 per cent. died. Since that year expenditures have again been cut down, and the death rate has responded with an increase, so that in 1896, 27,433 children were admitted, of whom 12.3 per cent. died.

At the institution in Prague 80.8 per cent. of those taken in their first year, in 1863, died. This rate fell steadily, until of those taken in 1868, 66.1 per cent. were lost. The per cent. of deaths among those taken in the next three years increased until of those taken in 1872 it was 74 per cent. Children taken up to this time remained in the care of the institution until the completion of their tenth year; thereafter this care ceased with the sixth year, and of those received in the year 1873, 63.1 per cent. died before completing the sixth year. Thenceforward the death rate diminished steadily, and among the infants received in 1893 it was 39.4 per cent. and the diminution has continued from that time.

The foundling asylums of Dalmatia date from not later than the fifteenth century, and are organized on a plan quite different from the one just described. Children are received and no questions asked. None are refused, and complete anonymity is allowed. In Dalmatia there are five such asylums connected with maternity or general hospitals.

In the asylum at Styria an attempt has recently been made to replace the use of wet-nurses. Though doubtless this is the best, it is far the most costly method of maintaining the infants, and it seems

an inconsistency to afford, for children thus dependent on the public, a luxury scarcely within the reach of the well-to-do. However, with weakly children, especially with those of imperfectly developed digestive organs, no substitution is practicable. The death rate in the Styrian asylum, including those who are classified as sickly from the first, falls to a point between 12½ and 13 per cent.

There are two other classes of homes for children, those designed for orphans and those designed for children whose parents are living. Each class, as a rule, admits only children who have reached school age, that is, six years, although a few maintain a kindergarten department and receive children between the ages of three and six. In institutions of these classes care of the health does not cease to be the main concern. Where the management is most intelligent, health is promoted by open-air occupations, walks, baths, gymnastics, games, skating. The management is as a rule under two head officials, one of whom has the care of physical well-being, and the other the care of instruction and discipline. These homes are numerous in Bohemia. Information is accessible concerning twenty Bohemian homes for children who are not orphans, which receive from 30 to 300 children each, and in all care for about 2,500 at a time. These are not altogether charitable institutions, though mainly so, and the expenses are partly met by fees from the parents, which in most cases are small, and supplemented by municipal funds, endowments, societies, private subscriptions and the patronage of noblemen. There are also over fifty homes in Bohemia that receive orphans, most of them orphans exclusively. The number of homes where orphans are received, in all Austria, exceeds two hundred.

While great institutions located in cities, where children are brought up to trades, will always be necessary, it has come to be recognized that it is far better for children born in the country, to remain when they can in the conditions from which they have sprung, rather than to be thrust into the crowded labor markets of the great towns. The state orphan asylum of Lower Austria owns a farmhouse in the country, which is carried on as a branch home. It is thoroughly equipped for farming, and in charge of a practical farmer and his wife, who become "father" and "mother" to a large family of eight orphan children. As soon as the children reach the age of fourteen, they go out to service in the region round about, and are replaced by others. The "father" and "mother" are under obliga-

tion to keep the home always open to those who have been its inmates, and to stand by them permanently with aid and counsel. If the "parents" are able to make money in managing the farm and rearing such a family, they are allowed to do so. But they are controlled with reference to the standard of living and the manner of bringing up the children. This control is exercised by a responsible committee which consists of the local pastor, burgomeister and public physician, a teacher, and two women who are expert in housekeeping. The women have the right and duty to make requirements with reference to the housekeeping; the minister is responsible for the moral and religious character of the home; the physician for the sanitary condition and the care of the children's health; the burgomeister must see that thrifty farming is carried on. When the farmer and his wife grow old, they will be called "grandfather" and "grandmother," occupy a room in the house, and help with the children and such work as they are able to do, while a younger pair come in as a new "father" and "mother." The cost of equipping a number of such institutions would be no more than that of founding one great asylum to accommodate the same number of children, and while the maintenance of a child in a great orphanage in the most economical way does not fall below 360 to 480 crowns a year, a child of school age, in such a country home, costs not over 96 crowns a year.

There are three important kinds of institutions for the *partial* care of children, of which the first is the crêche. The crêche is a private institution where infants and children under three years of age are cared for during the working hours of their parents. The first crêche was founded in Paris in 1840 by the physician Firmin Marbeau. Sanitary conditions are of prime importance. Rooms used for this purpose must be dry and have abundance of pure air and sunshine. An ideally equipped crêche will have a waiting room for mothers, so that they need not enter the nursery with the dirt of the street, the home, and workshop, and possibly bearing germs of contagion. There will be a bathroom, where the babies can be washed and the little ones cleanly dressed before entering the nursery; an isolation room for those who are suddenly taken ill and suspected of contagion; there will also be a room for nurselings, provided with little iron beds or cradles, a diapering stand, a case with numbered compartments for each child's eating utensils, and an air-tight receptacle for soiled diapers. There should be another room with

padded enclosure for the creeping children, and for the toddlers little chairs, tables, playthings, and a carpet, perhaps of cork; also a nap room. Besides all these there may be rooms for the attendants, a kitchen and cellar, or else a refrigerator to contain sterilized milk; and a washing and drying room. The personnel will include a matron, a cook and washer, who may be one person, and one attendant for each three to five children.

The second kind of institution of this class cares for children from three to six years old during their parents' working hours. The first institution of this kind was founded in 1780 at Waldbach in Alsace by Pastor Friedrich Oberlin. Such institutions should be provided with a play room, kindergarten, nap room, isolation room, garden or playground, and water closets.

The third kind of institutions for the partial care of children is the simple kindergarten, like those first founded in 1837 in Blankenburg by Friedrich Froebel. These differ from the second kind in that they do not feed the children, nor keep them for more than a few hours.

In the year 1896 seven crêches in Vienna cared for 1,674 children, of whom 502 were under two years of age. Multiplying the number of children cared for by these seven institutions by the average number of days each child was kept, gives a total of 111,119 days' care. Five per cent. of the children were illegitimate; only two per cent. could be fed by the mothers, the remainder were fed artificially. The older children were expected to take breakfast and supper at home, and received at the institution a midday meal of such food as porridge, meat, soup and vegetables, each child having its own utensils. These institutions provide one attendant for each five or six infants, and one to each twenty or thirty of the older ones. The floors lack coverings, and there are no isolation rooms. The annual cost of these seven crêches, including rent, is flor. 17,617.55. Two other crêches in Vienna care for 214 children a year. The larger of the two receives a fee of 5 kr. a day for each child. The last of the ten institutions of the kind in the city furnished 4,460 days' care in 1896. It is open all the working days of the year, receives no fees, and admits only the children of the poor. The expenses of this crêche were flor. 3,575 for that year, the average cost of a day's care for one child being 7¾ kr.

In Upper Austria there are two crêches. One is in Stadl Paura,

It has ordinarily about 15 children, of whom three per cent. are illegitimate. No fees are received. The hours are from 5 a. m. to 6.30 p. m., and the expense about flor. 1.50 per day. The other is in Wels. A minority who are able to do so, pay fees of 40 kr. a month and 3 kr. additional for dinner. No infants are received. The hours are from 8 to 11 a. m. and 1 to 7 p. m. In Salzburg there is one crêche where children are taken from their first days until six years of age. The ordinary attendance is 80 children, the hours from 6 a. m. to 5 p. m. It is open all the year round. A fee of 10 kr. a day is received; and for 10 kr. additional the children will be kept all night. In Graz in Styria, there are three crêches, founded in 1853 by a society. The ordinary attendance at the three is 194. Children are taken from the fourteenth day to the end of the third year. In winter children are received between 7 and 8 a. m., in summer between 6 and 7; and they are taken away between 6 and 7 p. m. The addresses of the parents are required, the baptismal certificate of each child, and evidence of poverty. The costs are 16.8 kr. per day for each child. The total cost for the three amounts to flor. 2,439 a year; and the society is assisted in their maintenance by appropriations from the city and from the province. In Carinthia a crêche was founded in 1893, and is supported from the private purse of a baroness. The average attendance is 24. There is a crêche at Trieste in Küstenland, and in Bohemia there are ten, four of which are maintained by a society in Prague. In 1896 these four gave 23,312 days' care, and in the same year the six others, located in six different places, had an attendance of from 14 to 38, respectively, or a total of 156. In all of the ten, children are received from the age of two weeks to four years. At the one situated in Zuckmantel the mothers are required to bring milk for their infants; all the others prepare their own sterilized milk. The equipments of the Bohemian crêches include wicker or iron beds, diaper stands and rooms for washing, baby carriages, little benches and tables, and in the play rooms railed walks for those learning to go alone, and in most the floor is covered with cork carpet or linen, in which particular they are better equipped than most crêches in Austria. They lack waiting rooms for the mothers, and proper bath rooms with arrangements for warming the little clothes, all of which is done in the kitchen. Nearly all, however, have separate laundry and drying room, except the one in Dobrovitc. The last mentioned is inspected daily by a

physician—a practice common in many of the other Austrian crêches. None has an isolation room. Evidence of poverty, and the addresses of the parents are required, and in some a certificate of the health and the legitimate birth of the child. In most of the ten no fee is taken, but in the four crêches in Prague, 3 kr. a day must be paid. All are open throughout the working days of the year, and the hours are in general from 6 a. m. to 7 p. m. In most of these ten institutions it is a rule that the children must be bathed before being brought, and on arrival they receive clean underclothes for the day. The commoner practice in the Austrian crêches is to bathe and dress the infants after they have been received in the morning. One nurse to five children is the rule in the Bohemian crêches. Crêches exist in four different places in the province of Moravia. The expense incurred varies from 3 kr. to 17 kr. a day for each child.

Day nurseries of the second class which take children from the age of three, or in exceptional cases at two, are more numerous, but deal with a less difficult problem. The day nursery should occupy rooms with walls that are light in color but not white, well heated and lighted, and with abundant ventilation. The furniture should include little chairs (though benches are common), little tables, closets, blackboard, pictures, and a piano or organ, an article only occasionally found. There should be good water closets, which often are seriously missed; a garden, which in Austria is nearly always present, and in the garden there should be a sand heap to play in, and if possible flower beds and shaded places. The occupations for children in the Austrian day nurseries of this class are mostly based upon the system of Froebel. In many there is periodic medical inspection. Some divide the children into two sections according to age. Many furnish food to the children, which is usually free to the poor, and for others the fee varies from 3 kr. to 10 kr. per day. Admission is usually free, but there is required a certificate of good health and effective vaccination. Of the twelve Austrian provinces only Dalmatia and Bukowina seem to be wholly without such an institution. Lower Austria has 79, Upper Austria 74, Bohemia 104, and all Austria 405—with an attendance of 37,682 children. Some of these are maintained by public funds, others by the patronage of nobles or by benevolent societies or religious bodies, others by large employers of labor, and a few by benevolent private individuals.

Of the third class of institutions, kindergartens pure and simple,

Vienna has 56, varying in attendance from 12 to 450, and with a total attendance of 5,255. There are kindergartens in every province except perhaps Galicia. Information is accessible concerning 604 kindergartens in all Austria, which have an attendance of 50,932. Some of these are maintained by public funds, some by school authorities, others by ecclesiastical bodies, benevolent societies, private individuals or employers of labor. The support of some is more or less assisted by fees and by the possession of slight endowments. The quarters occupied by these kindergartens vary greatly in character. Some have five or six rooms with modern heating and ventilation, frequently there is an organ or piano, closets with numbered compartments, charts, and pictures; many, but by no means all, have gardens or play grounds; others occupy a single room, meagerly equipped. Suitable water closets are by no means always present. Many have regular medical inspection, but a still larger number do not. There is usually a forenoon session of three hours, and an afternoon session of two hours, work and play alternating in periods of 20 to 30 minutes. With reference to the methods of instruction and occupation, the Austrian kindergartens are in general loyal to the system of Froebel, but in Bohemia considerable additions to it have been made as well as modifications and substitutions.

In summer, walks and excursions in the public parks are common. There is always one experienced kindergartener, and usually at least one assistant. Frequently the children are divided into two and sometimes into three sections, according to their ages. In some instances a kindergarten is open only to children of a single school district. The usual requirement for entrance is a certificate that the child is in good health, and the certificate in some cases must include additional particulars, for example, a statement that the child has been successfully vaccinated, and a certificate of baptism. As a rule a fee is charged which varies from one florin to flor. 3.20 per month. Frequently the registration fee is exacted varying from 50 kr. to flor. 2. These charges are reduced or remitted in the cases of poor children.

In order to secure treatment adapted to children, and also for considerations of morality, it is necessary to have separate hospitals for juvenile patients. The earliest children's hospital on the continent of Europe was the "Hôpital des Enfants Malades," founded in 1802 in Paris. The earliest in Austria was founded in 1837.

Institutions of this class in Austria have owed their existence to the intelligence and self-sacrifice of a relatively small number of persons, who realized their importance, and especially to physicians who have been willing not only to render their services free, but also to incur expense. All institutions of this class in Austria exist as private charities, for the most part under societies for the purpose, which secure funds in the form of legacies, endowments, endowed beds, members' dues, etc. They are, however, not entirely without aid from public funds, part of which comes from the profits of public savings banks. The first children's hospital built in Vienna, beside the original building, which has been enlarged and contains both medical and surgical departments, now has also a separate pavilion for scarlet fever, and another for diphtheria. Of course no children's hospital can properly admit contagious diseases without the means of thorough isolation. There are in all 23 sick rooms, six with one bed in each, two with two or three beds, and fifteen with from four to ten. In the diphtheria pavilion there are single rooms which may be rented by mothers who wish to attend their own children. The pavilions are equipped with every modern improvement for lighting, heat and ventilation, bath rooms as well as movable bath tubs, inhalation cabinets, improved sewerage, steam disinfecting apparatus, furniture of iron and glass, and tile floors. This hospital serves the purposes of instruction in children's diseases, in connection with the University of Vienna. It has also a dispensary and free vaccination station. The medical director and the chief surgeon are both professors of the university, who serve without pay, as do most of the physicians connected with institutions of this class, only resident assistants receiving remuneration. The Vienna children's hospital has three official physicians, twenty-five attendants, and ten servants. The institution is under the direction of a benevolent society, and has received numerous legacies and gifts.

In all Austria there are sixteen hospitals for children, having 1,114 beds, and caring for about 12,500 children annually, giving them nearly 300,000 days' care. The cost per day for each child in the city of Vienna averages flor. 1.42, in the two hospitals situated in Prague flor. 1.25, and a somewhat smaller sum in those located elsewhere. At least four additional children's hospitals are either in process of erection or have been so recently opened as to furnish

no figures. Most of the sixteen institutions receive children up to the age of fourteen, others only those of twelve years and under. Some do not receive children under one year old save in exceptional cases. Three hospitals employ wet-nurses, and the one at Krakau has a separate department for nurslings.

Success in the treatment of children depends largely on proper diet, and the proper feeding of children has received great attention at these institutions.

Beside the direct benefit to the children treated, the Austrian hospitals have done important service by their contribution to the science and practice of medicine for children. The most important recent advances in this field are O'Dwyer's incubation in croup, which replaces cutting the wind-pipe; the treatment of diphtheria according to the method of Behring; and achievements, particularly those of Lorenz, in orthopedic surgery. At almost all these hospitals there are vaccination stands and dispensaries; and the suggestions given to mothers at the dispensaries are perhaps as valuable as the medicines prescribed.

There is great need of additional provision for the children of the poor in times of epidemics of juvenile diseases,—either in special pavilions in connection with hospitals, or in buildings erected in the outskirts of cities. And supplements indispensable to the success of children's hospitals are country homes for the convalescent, vacation colonies, seaside homes, and bathing sanitaria for the cripples and those afflicted with rickets. Seven such sanitaria at bathing places already exist in Austria, and one home for convalescents is for children exclusively.

L. Among the most difficult problems of charitable activity, and of all perhaps the most important, is that of dealing with morally imperilled children and youth—children who, because of the poverty of their parents, the lack of proper oversight, the wild life of the street, insufficient schooling, and evil example and association, inherited mental or moral defects and promise to recruit the ranks of wretchedness and crime. The normal family affords the proper model and source of suggestions for dealing with this class of persons. Literary and moral instruction, and such teaching in trades, in farming, domestic work and woman's handicraft as makes it possible to earn an honest livelihood, are the means to be employed. The agencies available in Austria are altogether inadequate to this

great and melancholy task. In Lower Austria there is one public, provincial home for neglected children of both sexes, with a capacity for 450 inmates. A "protective association" maintains in Vienna two other homes for the rescue of neglected children—one for boys, with a capacity for 100, another for girls, with capacity for 60. Another institution is in Loosdorf, Lower Austria. There are two children's homes in the province of Upper Austria. One of these is at Linz, and at the time of the last available report it had 68 boys and 53 girls. Its aim is preventive—the rescue of children from neglect, and not the reform of those who have already fallen into vice or crime. In 1891 this institution inaugurated the practice of admitting among children morally unspoiled, others who are under correction. This bold experiment has resulted in remarkable success, and the effect on the subjects of correction is said to have been so good as to entitle the experiment to be regarded as an important invention in "social technology." Another institution in Upper Austria, situated at Baumgartenberg, has upwards of 161 inmates. This home combines two functions, the bringing up of neglected children and the rescue of fallen girls. Many of the latter, after leaving the institution, prove to have been genuinely reformed, and earn an honest livelihood; others remain permanently in the institution. At Graz in Styria, there is a reformatory for boys. Besides ordinary schooling, the boys receive instruction in gardening, tailoring and certain other trades, and freehand drawing and music. This home was founded in 1879. Since that date 282 pupils have been received, and 228 of these have been discharged. Of the 228, 149 proved to have been reformed, 10 were discharged as unreformed, 11 have died, 12 have been transferred to other institutions, and 46 have backslidden. At Klagenfurt, in Carinthia, there is a successful institution for fallen girls, with between 40 and 50 inmates. At Waiern, in the same province, there is a home for neglected children, which at the time of the last available report had 80 inmates and 300 on the waiting list. In Bohemia there are three institutions of this class, one for boys of school age, with 22 inmates, another in which there are 80 girls and 40 boys, and another with 56 inmates. The last named publishes an estimate that 75 per cent. of its pupils prove to have been rescued. A reformatory for boys, founded in 1890 by the provincial government of Moravia, had in its first five years 199 inmates, of whom 143 have proved to be reformed, and 46 have

backslidden. Its pupils at the last report numbered 152. At this school particular attention is given to the development of the health of the body, by gymnastics, games, military drill, excursions, baths and out-of-door employments. There is a similar provincial reformatory at Olbersdorf in Silicia, founded in 1893 having between 30 and 40 inmates. Among the trades taught are wood engraving, book binding, cabinet making, and gardening. An institution founded in 1886 at Volders, in Tyrol, takes children as well as youth, and gives particular attention to teaching out-of-door employments—farming, orcharding, gardening and forestry. Its inmates number 100. Another school in Görz, with about 40 pupils, trains orphan girls to be employed as domestics.

M. Among preventive measures, compulsory insurance holds a place of conspicuous importance in the German-speaking nations. Such a system of insurance is in harmony with the modern ideal of poor-relief that seeks to avoid breaking the spirit of the recipient of charity and reducing him to pauperism, it substitutes for precarious aid a regular legal claim to that which has been earned in the days of health and strength. And when insurance for the aged or disabled laborer is coupled with insurance against illness and accident, it is believed by many that we may reasonably anticipate a time when the historic forms of poor-relief will survive only as a supplementary agency.

The experience of Austria, which as yet is much less than that of Germany, cannot be said to prove this proposition. The statistics of poor-relief in Saxony, which include a statement of the causes of poverty, yield the following evidence: In the year 1885, when compulsory accident insurance first went into effect, the number of those who were receiving permanent aid because of accidents which had been sustained was 1,665. After compulsory accident insurance had been in effect for five years, this number had fallen to 981. Those who received temporary aid because of accident, in 1885, numbered 735, and the corresponding number five years later was 397. Insurance against sickness had gone into effect a few months earlier, and the number of those who received aid because of sickness during 1885 was 11,583. Five years later this number had fallen to 8,856.

It is claimed for compulsory insurance that it not only affects the economic welfare of the laboring classes, but that it promotes the

care of the public health, improvement of tenements for working people, and general prevention of injurious conditions of life and of labor, that it leads to increased safeguards against accident and more efficient care for the injured, and that it thus becomes an important social agency for the diminution of physical suffering and the conservation of the laboring power of the working classes. The insurance agency has great interest in the completest possible restoration of the labor power of an injured man. Cases of sickness and of accident fall under the direct attendance and care of the agency, since the permanent burden which is to be borne in behalf of the injured, depends upon the success of the nursing afforded during the first weeks, and the least neglect may result in heavy permanent expense. The popular realization of the importance of first aid is also stimulated. Activities like those of the societies for the rescue of imperilled persons, previously described, are inspired by the maxim, "the first bandage may determine the result of the injury." From the point of view of the insuring agency, of the public and of the individual, it is alike necessary to afford not only efficient medical treatment and nursing, but also to teach the injured such occupations as may enable them to continue to earn a livelihood. The insurance agencies have also direct interest in the prevention of illness and the treatment of incipient diseases, for example, incipient consumption, and have been clothed with special legal powers in this direction.

The favorite objection to compulsory insurance is that it withdraws capital from industry and ties it up. But capital that secures from poverty the aged and crippled, widows and orphans, cannot be looked upon as unproductive. Moreover by exercising proper care with regard to security, the reserves accumulated for this purpose can, without injury to their primary object, be employed in industry. The Germans, who lead in the matter of compulsory insurance, could not be induced to abandon it, and Austria is second only to Germany in this movement. Accident insurance was made compulsory in Austria, December 28, 1887, and insurance against sickness March 28, 1888. The latter became compulsory in Hungary, April 9, 1891.

The aims of the compulsory and governmental feature are: (1) Universality—that all (or as nearly as possible all) laborers and those dependent on them may be kept from dependency. (2) Greater security. (3) Avoidance of litigation. (4) Lessening of class bit-

terness. (5) The continuation of their insurance when workmen change their places of residence and employment. (6) The least possible cost. Accident insurance is compulsory for those employed in factories, mines, smelters, foundries and other metal works, upon wharves and docks, in quarries, in the building trades, wherever explosives are made and used, wherever power machinery is a regular part of the equipment, including all transportation except by craft under the laws regulating sea navigation, in dredging, the cleaning of streets, windows, sewers or chimneys, in warehouses or elevators, in handling wood and coal, in theaters or as firemen, stone cutters, well drivers, or structural iron workers. The Minister of the Interior has large discretionary power, and is expected to require all employers whose employes are necessarily exposed to danger to come under the compulsory insurance regulation, and to excuse all others.

The benefits received in case of fatal accident are in general the payment of funeral expenses and a stipend to the widow amounting to 20 per cent. of the rate of wages earned by the deceased at the time of the accident; the same to be paid until the widow dies or remarries; in addition 15 per cent. of the amount of wages for each child until it reaches its fifteenth year, or 20 per cent. of the wages received by the father for each child in case both parents are dead. For illegitimate children 10 per cent. of the father's wages is allowed. But the income allowed to the widow and children together cannot exceed 50 per cent. of the wages which were earned by the deceased father. In case of total disability, the injured receives a stipend equal to 60 per cent. of the wages which he had earned, and in case of partial disability, aid not to exceed 50 per cent. of the wages previously earned. In 1897 the moneys paid in accident benefits of all these sorts amounted to flor. 3,959,887. In 1895 the laborers who were insured against accident were receiving wages that amounted to 437.32 million gulden. The premiums on their insurance amounted to flor. 6,654,874, or 1.52 per cent. of their wages. The insurance against sickness during 1896 furnished, in money, medical aid, medicines, hospital care and funeral expenses, 15,252,194 gulden, of which 9,015,255 gulden were paid in money.

Pensions for old age and disability have been largely developed in Austria. Soldiers' pensions were known as early as 1750, under Maria Theresa. Pension rolls for government officials go back as

far as 1771. The next step was to allow pensions for the superannuated clergy of the state church. More recently, especially since the year 1850, great industrial concerns have been establishing pension institutions for their employes of the higher class, chiefly office employes. Since 1869 there has been a regular system of pensions for public school teachers. A variety of voluntary associations provide pensions for their members, and among these are included some classes of laborers, in the narrow sense of that word.

There are in Austria laws for the protection of laborers against danger to life and health, which forbid excessive hours for women and children, prescribe pauses in work, and Sunday rest, forbid employment in factories before the age of fourteen, but allow apprentices to be received at the end of the twelfth year, at other than factory work, limit the working hours for such apprentices to eight hours per day, and prohibit night work for them. The last two provisions apply also to factory laborers between the ages of fourteen and sixteen. There are protective laws in reference to the forms of contract between employers and laborers, stipulating the times of payment, that payment must be made in cash except to apprentices, limiting the power to impose fines, prescribing certain rights and duties of overseers of the young, regulating the "notice" which must be given, and specifying cases in which the relation of employer and employe can be severed without notice.

It would scarcely be an exaggeration to say that that in by far the larger part of Austria employment bureaus are absent. The old spirit prevails which looks only upon those who are unable or unwilling to work as the proper objects of public relief. But agitation has been made and investigation instituted, and resolutions passed looking to the establishment of a general system of public employment bureaus open to all workmen at the least possible cost. Provisions have existed for engaging the unemployed in public works in the cities of Vienna, Salzburg, Reichenberg, Trautenau, Prachatitz, and Vienna, Prague and Reichenberg have maintained municipal employment bureaus. The Styrian State League for Charity Organization disseminates information as to those who seek and those who offer employment. In one year it published notice of 1,626 employers who were seeking help, and 3,168 who were seeking employment, and was the means of filling 1,234 positions. In the year 1810 private employment bureaus for domestics were made illegal in

certain cities, and the function was assigned to the police department. And although such private employment bureaus have again been allowed since 1848, they are not free from familiar abuses. One of the most frequent abuses is the publication of bogus openings, which decoy the laborers and encourage them to enroll in the agency and pay their fee. In 1895 there were in Austria 916 employment bureaus or intelligence offices; 814 of these found positions for 180,692 labor seekers; 630 of these agencies enrolled 257,944 employment seekers and 330,515 employers; 429 agencies dealt only with domestic and agricultural servants, and others with nurses, with skilled and unskilled laborers, coachmen, waiters and other servants for hotels, teachers, actors, clerks and other office employes. The fact that the number of offers of employment enrolled largely exceeds the number of employment seekers is due to the fact that those who offer employment to domestic servants are generally enrolled without payment of a fee, and therefore frequently enroll in several bureaus, while applicants must pay a fee, and usually enroll in but one. In some provinces the amount of fees that can be charged is limited by law. The function of an employment bureau is exercised by trade organizations and a variety of benevolent societies and trade schools.

Savings banks deserve to be mentioned among the agencies preventive of poverty. In 1848 there were in all Austria but seventeen, while Prussia had 200, and England over 600 savings banks. In 1895 Austria had 488, 158 of which were in Bohemia; and the next largest number in a single province was 74 in Lower Austria. There was then in Austria one savings bank to each 614.78 square kilometers of area, and one to each 51,172 of the population. Even then several provinces were exceedingly ill supplied with such institutions. Bukowina was worst of all in this respect, having one savings bank to 344,059 people. There are still numerous political districts that have not a single savings bank; 13.5 per cent. of the savings banks which were in existence in Austria in 1899 had been founded by societies more or less benevolent in character, 81 per cent. by municipalities, and 5.5 per cent. by administrative districts. In 1882 there were 75 savings bank accounts for every 1,000 of the inhabitants of Austria. In 1889 there were 96, and in 1895 there were 115. It would probably be wise to set a legal limit upon the profits which may be realized by savings banks that are founded by

municipalities and districts. There is no reason why the savings of the poor should be made a source of government revenue.

A society was founded in Vienna in 1894 with the purpose of erecting groups of buildings, simply but substantially built, and divided into small, convenient and sanitary tenements, to be rented at the rates prevailing among the laborers of the neighborhoods in which the buildings stood. It is estimated that the investment made will pay 3 1-3 per cent. and replace the capital in eighty years. The buildings erected are intended to accommodate 5,000 persons. It is not enough to secure the erection of such buildings; it is an equally important and difficult problem to administer them so as to secure the good results intended. Agents of the society must keep in touch with the tenants and carry out the suggestions that have been made in the writings of Octavia Hill. A house committee should be elected by the occupants of each building, and once or twice, and oftener if need be, there should be a meeting between this committee and the general society to discuss the complaints and desires of the tenants and the possibilities of improvement. Periodically, perhaps twice each year, all of these committees should meet together and discuss arrangements for promoting the common good of the tenants. Out of these meetings there may develop neighborhood guilds, with social, educational and ethical, as well as economic aims. In order that such a movement may be a genuine contribution to the solution of the tenement-house problem, and for the interest of the tenants themselves, such buildings must pay interest on the capital invested, and not be a charity in any objectionable sense. At the same time the rent which is charged must not much exceed that which is charged for other houses in the neighborhood. As a rule it is unwise to admit tenants who do not regularly earn five times the rent which they agree to pay; and the owners must insist, for the success of their experiment and for the interest of the tenants and themselves, that the payment of rent shall be as regular as the succession of day and night. There must be a prescribed maximum number of occupants for each tenement, which cannot be exceeded. A failure to keep the house in order according to the rules prescribed by the owners, must be followed by warning, and, if the failure continues, by notice to move. There should be an understanding that tenants who have kept their apartments in good order for three successive years acquire thereby the right to have them thoroughly renovated.

The functions of janitors are important, and these officers must be chosen with care.

It is proposed that in such a system of buildings there should be one central building, to contain: (1) the crêche, for infants; (2) a nursery for children up to six years of age; (3) a retreat for children of school age out of school hours, which shall be provided with games, magazines, music, a gymnasium, and an attendant who sees to it that children who wish to do school work out of school hours, and others who wish to do handiwork, are undisturbed, and who assists them at their tasks. If the system of buildings accommodates 5,000 tenants, this number will include about 1,000 children of school age, and such a retreat could be maintained for them at a cost of about flor. 4,000 a year. The central building should also include: (4) A central kitchen, making it unnecessary for each family to do its own cooking; (5) a coöperative store; (6) a bath house; (7) a steam laundry, washing in private kitchens being a thing to be avoided; (8) a reading-room and waiting-room. While no one of the women in such a city neighborhood may be able to employ a cook of her own, or maintain a home laundry, it is entirely possible for a large number to do so, and the economies made possible by serving many persons in a single set of processes may make these conveniences which have been the luxury of the rich, even an economy to the poor.

There are in existence a number of societies that maintain coöperative kitchens similar to those suggested in connection with model tenements. They prepare food in a hygienic manner, and either serve it in a society dining room or send it to individual dining rooms, at the lowest cost possible. Incidentally they make it possible for both public and private charity, by the use of meal tickets, to be honored at one of these common dining rooms, to avoid indiscriminate gifts of money, and give good food instead, to those who apply for temporary relief.

In Austria there are a considerable number of coöperative stores. In 1896, 495 such societies were in existence; of these, 30 had been active for thirty years, 95 for twenty years, 45 for ten years, and 345 for shorter periods. These societies had a membership of 133,783, of whom 118,199 belonged to the German-speaking peoples of Austria, and 15,584 to other nationalities. In 1895 the purchases made through these societies amounted to 17,908,534 gulden—an

increase over the purchases of the preceding year of 12.47 per cent., the purchases of each member amounting on an average to 163 gulden.

Among the most important private preventive agencies there are the "Societies against Impoverishment and Beggary," copied from the Berlin "Verein gegen Verarmung und Bettelei." These societies flourish especially in Vienna and vicinity and in northern Bohemia. They do not propose to make giving their main activity, but afford aid in the form of loans of money, of tools, stocks of goods, aids to travel in search of employment, and the like. Their aim is not to assist those who have already become impoverished, but to enable those who are in danger of that fate to remain self-supporting. The methods of this society are eminently reasonable. Men become broken-spirited paupers who by a little judicious aid at the right moment would have been able to retain their economic footing and their self-respect. A society of this sort has existed in Vienna for twenty-five years. It requires each person who receives aid, to fill out a blank statement, and it has gathered results numerous enough to have statistical value and of particular importance because they deal with a somewhat different class of persons from those reached by ordinary charitable agencies. This society in Vienna in a single year made 1,193 loans without interest, which amounted to 68,553 gulden, and made gifts of 47,685 gulden, distributed among 3,242 persons.

Hungary[1]

A-C. The legal regulation of poor-relief is of comparatively recent origin. According to the law of 1724 the parish was charged with the care of the poor. Endowments, supplemented by a tax, have provided funds. Most parishes lack both the means and the agencies for adequate poor-relief, the need of which is less felt in the rural life where neighbors and employers care for the needy ones. With the growth of cities there is a corresponding development and specialization of poor-relief. Budapest in 1898 spent 3.6 million crowns on its poor fund. The most notable progress has been made in the care of the sick and of children, under the law of 1898 and the ministerial ordinances of 1899.

An ordinance of the ministry requires each parish to form an

[1] We add here some more specific facts relating to Hungary.

organization for poor-relief which must have the sanction of the parish directors and in great cities of the Minister of the Interior.

A law of 1875 defined the obligation of parents to care for children, and children for parents, spouse for spouse, employer for employe, so far as there is ability; and when these sources fail the sick must be relieved by the parish. A law of 1885 provided that the larger political units, county and state, should share the burden with parishes; and arrangements were made for joining parishes together for the relief of the poor.

But up to the present time most of the parishes have lacked both means and suitable organization for relief, and traditional sentiment has not hindered the authorities from giving indigent persons license to beg. Municipal administration is in the hands of notaries who collect state, county and parish taxes and attend to other duties, as recruiting the army and reporting men liable for military service. At a recent date only 1,832 large parishes had a notary, while the remaining 10,723 parishes had among them only 2,336 notaries. If persons legally liable for support are able to reimburse the parish they are required to do so. The relief is generally in money, but sometimes in provisions.

There are no "workhouses" and indoor relief is very rare. Vagrants in centers of population sometimes menace public safety.

H. Medical Relief in Hungary.—The number of physicians to 100,000 inhabitants is only 26.5 (in 1895), while Austria (in the year 1892) had 27.6, the German Empire (1881) 33.8, and France (1893) 39.1. In at least 10,000 communes there was no resident physician. In 1876 a law was enacted which ordered that every city and every commune of 6,000 inhabitants should have a physician and that smaller communes should be united for the support of a medical man. The sanitary regulations were systematized and placed under administrative direction. Croatia and Slavonia enacted a similar law in 1894. In Hungary there has been marked progress, and while in 1873 there were only 12.5 physicians to 100,000 souls, in 1897 there were 27.6.[1]

The provisions for hospitals have been greatly improved. In 1877 there were of all forms only 237; in 1897 the number was 359, including 4 hospitals for the insane. Separate hospitals are connected with prisons and houses of correction. The number of pa-

[1] A. v. Matlekovitz, Das Königreich Ungarn, I, x, and 149.

tients treated in hospitals rose from 87,025 (with 2,083,819 days' care) in 1877 to 189,675 (with 8,725,720 days' care) in 1897. The mortality in 1877 was 8.3 in 100, and in 1897 only 6.39 in 100. In 1897 there were in 2,398 communes epidemic hospitals with 8,412 beds. The census of 1895 reported 8,032 insane and 14,650 feeble-minded. The expenditures on hospitals for the insane in 1897 were 500,000 gulden.

The leaders of Hungarian thought[1] are awake to the importance of maintaining the numbers and the efficiency of the people. The population has by no means reached the limit which a fertile soil can maintain. To the square kilometer there are 54 inhabitants, while France has 71, Austria 79 and Germany 91. The increase of population is indeed relatively rapid since the encouraging ecomomic prosperity which followed the establishment of constitutional freedom and security. There are 9.4 marriages to 1,000 inhabitants, while France has 7.6, Germany 7.9, Austria 8.01. That is a vigorous people who show the high birth rate of infants born alive 42.5 to 1,000 souls, whereas France has 22.9, Germany 36.7, and Austria 37.9. Naturally the rate of infant mortality is high,—31.3 in 1,000; while the rate in France is only 22.7, in Germany 24.6 and in Austria 27.1. But in spite of this excessive death rate the population grows, but at great cost; and the authorities are moving with intelligence and energy to discover and diminish the causes of sickness and mortality.

There are in Hungary 105 orphan asylums with about 5,000 inmates. Of these 31 belong to the state and 16 are entirely private.

The state has not followed the policy of providing asylums for foundlings, but a private institution exists in the capital city. Cities and parishes usually board out foundlings with persons who accept them for low wages, and about one-half such infants die. A public health law of 1876 required the parish physicians to exercise superintendence over such children; but as only about one-third of the parishes employed physicians the law was not generally effective.

Guardian Schools (*Kinderbewahranstalten*).—The evils of leaving little children alone while parents were at work were realized by a few persons early in the nineteenth century. The Countess Theresia Brunswick opened a school in 1828 at Kristinenstadt. In 1867 there were 97 schools, and in 1897 there were 1,143. The rise of the kindergarten movement began to affect those arrangements about

[1] Das Königreich Ungarn, von Dr. Alexander von Matlekovitz, Leipsic, 1900.

1869, and associations were formed to propagate the ideas of Froebel. Legislation brought these schools under state care in 1891. The law then passed prescribed as their function the protection of infants between the ages of 3 and 6 years during the absence of their parents, and their training in order, cleanliness, neatness, and the care of their health and physical and moral development. The schools and shelters must be in charge of trained teachers. They are supported by the state, by communes, churches, associations, cities, endowments and private persons. Wherever there are enough children to require it a guardian school must be established. Formal instruction is not given. The little ones learn informally to pray, to talk distinctly, to sing, and to play, without subjecting them to strain. Children who are not directly watched over by parents are required to be placed in such schools.

There are in Hungary three houses of correction for delinquent children which are used for the morally perverted who in some countries would go to reform schools, and also for criminals under 16 years of age.

Since 1867 Hungary has made great progress in elementary education. The number of common schools (outside of Croatia and Slavonia) in the year 1869 was 13,789, and by 1897 had risen to 16,951, or 22 per cent. The number of pupils rose from 1,152,115 in the year 1870 to 2,341,624 in the year 1897, or 103 per cent.

M. Hungary's Savings Banks and Social Policy.—The deposits in savings banks increased from 72.6 million gulden in 1867 to 837.2 million gulden in 1897.[1] The government organized postal savings banks in 1885. The number of depositors increased from 539,064 in 1886 to 1,002,369 in 1897, and the deposits from 3,934,630 gulden to 20,802,025.

The development of industries and cities has brought to Hungary the "labor question." The Socialists carried their propaganda into Hungary as early as 1867 and have been strongly influenced by the German movement and parties. Trade unions grew up in the more advanced trades. The "social policy" of Hungary began with the organization of funds to help in sickness, and in this movement the employers frequently took the initiative, about the middle of the last century. It was discovered that this voluntary form of insurance was confined almost entirely to the well-paid artisans, and that

[1] A. v. Matlekovitz, Das Königreich Ungarn, I, xxix, II, 569.

those who most needed it, the unskilled, derived no benefit from it. The voluntary principle broke down. In 1891 the government made it obligatory on all employes in certain industries to contribute to a fund, not more than 3 per cent. of their wages, the employer paying one-third of the premiums. In return medical care and money indemnities are guaranteed. In 1897 there were 426 funds, with 594,778 members, and receipts of 4,783,373 gulden.

Very important in the prevention of pauperism is a system of factory regulations protecting laborers against danger and sickness, with a force of inspectors to inforce the law. In 1872 the government provided regulations and administrative agents for this purpose. In later years this legislation has been improved and made more effective.

CHAPTER III

SWITZERLAND

BY C. R. HENDERSON[1]

A. Legislation.

The constitution of Switzerland, which may be revised by Federal legislation, under the rule of the referendum and initiative, is the supreme law of the land. Under it a Federal government acts for the composite nation in matters of peace, war and treaties. The highest legislative and executive authority is vested in a parliament having two houses, the State Council and the National Council; these united are called the Federal Assembly.

The nation is divided into cantons, each of which, within the limits of the Constitution, makes its own laws, by direct action of the voting citizens. Each canton is divided into districts (*Amtsbezirke*), and districts are made up of communes. The people dwell chiefly in small towns or villages, and none of the cities are large. Geneva, the largest, in 1897, had 86,535 inhabitants.

Historical Sketch.—Mediaeval relief in Switzerland, as in other parts of Europe, was administrated by the church, through parish and monastic agencies, and by indiscriminate and impulsive almsgiving. The plague of beggars spread through the valleys of Switzerland as along the Thames, the Tiber and the Rhine. The same causes everywhere produced similar results; the breaking up of serfdom and feudal control, the habit of wandering, the vicious customs of almsgiving without consideration of effects on character, and the inadequacy of ecclesiastical machinery to deal with sturdy mendicant rogues, all increased the swarm of parasites. The evil was aggravated in this land by the custom of sending out mercenary soldiers to earn their living in foreign armies. Military life demoralized

[1] Here, as in many other places, the articles of Dr. E. Münsterberg have been drawn upon for materials, as stated in the preface.

young men; the long absence of husbands broke up homes; and of those who returned many were without skill and habits of regular industry. The ordinary agencies of relief could not manage this dangerous and aggressive element of the population, and it was found to be necessary to invoke the police power of the governments to give security to life, property and order. The first intervention of government was therefore repressive, punitive, deterrent; and the cantons enacted strict regulations against begging and vagabondage. Since the principle of local responsibility for local dependents had long been accepted, the cantonal authorities required those who sought assistance to make their appeal to their neighbors in their own commune.

The Influence of Communism on Pauperism.—The common land of the communes in various parts of Switzerland formerly was used for the general benefit, all members of the neighborhood having certain rights in it. In more recent times, as the land was taken up for private ownership and so came to be better cultivated, that which remained as a common possession became a source of income reserved for the poor, that is, for the most inefficient persons in the population. The consequence was that the inefficient were still more pauperized, and wherever it was possible persons of the same type were attracted to the places which had the largest common fund.[1] The richest city of Switzerland, Basel, has relatively the largest number of dependents. In the well-to-do city of Zurich, as the report of 1861 said, those districts which had the largest poor fund had the most poor. The Zurich administration in 1865 gave as one of the causes of increasing poverty "the existence in certain communes of communal properties on which many a young man relies instead of seeking to advance his interests elsewhere." In the Canton Bern, between 1840-50, a commission declared: "The highest numbers of dependents in proportion to the number of citizens is: (1) In the city parishes where large poor funds foster the carelessness of the poor; (2) in communes where the common estates are relatively greatest; (3) in communes where the greatest gratuitous enjoyments are furnished; (4) in communes where the situation is most unfavorable for opportunities of employment." The statesman, Blosch, of Bern, said: "It is a fact that everywhere where

[1] V. Böhmert (in Emminghaus, Armenwesen, p. 468).

there are the largest incomes from common estates there is most indolence, laziness and shunning of labor."

But since the resident poor must be provided for at home if they were not to be compelled to wander elsewhere to beg, the cantons gradually advanced from merely repressive measures to positive assistance, at first depending entirely on voluntary gifts for the sources of relief, and slowly adding means from regular revenues. In the year of 1551 Baden legally adopted the principle that every locality should support its own indigent people, and the German cantons (with the exception of Basel), during the Reformation period developed a civil system of poor-relief. The French cantons and Basel continued to depend on legacies and voluntary contributions. In recent times even some of the French cantons have followed the same plan; as Freiburg in 1869, Waadtland in 1898, Neuenburg in 1889, and the Bernese Jura in 1897; so that now only Geneva and the city of Basel are without public relief organization, and Basel is moving in the same direction. Generally where there is public relief its privileges are quite rigidly confined to citizens, and when one who possesses full civic rights moves to another canton or country he retains his claim to relief from the place of legal settlement. There being no legal provision for foreigners these must be aided by voluntary charity, and the number of such cases is considerable.

Laws of Settlement.—In a country like America where men travel freely, settle where they like, and generally soon acquire all the rights of the place of residence, it is somewhat difficult to imagine the traditions and customs of Switzerland where ancient ideas have still deep influence. One custom which has long had legal force is that of reserving for local citizenship the right to receive relief in time of need. This right was inherited from a line of ancestors who have shared the fortunes of the commune, or who have purchased the right to a place in the ranks of the population, or who have been accepted by formal action. It was difficult to gain admission to those privileges, and the rights would follow a citizen even if he moved to another region. This is the principle of *local citizenship* (*Ortsbürgergenossenschaftsrecht*). It is manifest that this legal arrangement would become more and more unsatisfactory under modern industrial conditions which require men to travel and reside in various parts of the country as their employments change. A different principle is that of *territorial* right to poor-relief, according to which the mere

fact of residence in a place gives rise to a claim, without any formal adoption into the ranks of the association of ancient families. Thus Bern, in 1857, made a law which required the communes to give poor-relief on the basis of residence and not as a citizen's right; and relief on the basis of local citizenship might be retained only in communes which were able to cover the entire expense of relief; and the number of such communes has steadily decreased. In 1901 only 13 such existed, the city of Bern being one. The obligation to give poor-relief was limited to citizens resident in the township. A distinction was made between those who require continuous relief (*Notarmen*) and those who require only temporary relief (*Dürftigen*). The regular paupers were to be formally accepted and permanently listed, while the transient paupers were treated as casual. Regular paupers were to be assisted out of the income from certain fees and the products of community property, with a subsidy from the state; while the relief of transient indigents was left in the main to organized private charity (*Spendgut und Krankengut*).

The law of 1857 revealed defects in the course of administration; the relief of transient poor was not adequate, since the sources were too meager. In the Bernese Jura district the customary voluntary charity of the commune was retained. In 1897 a new law was enacted governing relief and settlement, the ground having been carefully prepared by the thorough investigation of Ritchard, Director of Poor-Relief. By this law poor-relief in the entire canton is placed under uniform regulations, and the Jura region is included in its provisions. Adjustments are made for the period of transition. All residents in the territory are entitled to relief and the terms of settlement are fixed. Residence (*Wohnsitz*) is the condition of sharing in the relief. Residence implies taking a dwelling with the purpose of remaining in the place. Members of a community share the rights of settlement (*Unterstützungswohnsitz*) according to certain rules. Registration for settlement is not accorded without conditions; it can be made dependent on having a dwelling or something equivalent. The person may be excluded when he becomes a permanent burden on public relief and when the home commune, in spite of official notification, does not provide adequate support. Relief is an obligation of the commune of residence, with the provision that it is entitled, if the person relieved has not lived two full years in the commune, to demand of the former commune of residence repayment

of the costs. When a citizen of a canton leaves its territory with the purpose of residing elsewhere, then for two years from the time when he departs he retains his former settlement. In certain cases part of the cost is paid by the state. In the new law the state has been made responsible in a greater degree for equalizing the burden of poor-relief by taxing income in proportion to ability, and distributing funds in proportion to need. Close organization has been effected and placed under supervision and control. The distinction between permanent and transient paupers is retained, and there are separate sources of relief, the permanent paupers being supplied from fees and income from domains, and the temporary indigent from voluntary contributions. But a significant change is here to be noted: The state gives a subsidy for the permanent paupers of 60 to 70 per cent. of what is lacking in a commune, and voluntary gifts may be supplemented when necessary by the commune and the state. In case the income from free gifts, legacies, fines, repayments, etc., are not sufficient, and the commune must pay additions out of its treasury, then the state grants a subsidy of 40 to 50 per cent. for the adults and 60 to 70 per cent. for children. Relief of outsiders includes persons who reside in Switzerland but outside of their own cantons and are citizens of communes which have local (*örtliche*) relief; and these are to be assisted out of the voluntary fund (*Spendkasse*) during two years from their departure from their former residence. On the contrary, paupers who are absent more than two years and have not already been relieved or have not been excluded on account of being dependent, are helped by the state from its fund for strangers. The expenditure of the state for the transient indigent in the old canton is reckoned at 205,000 fr., for the new at 39,500 fr., and for the relief of non-residents at 150,000 fr. The state takes a large share in the indoor relief, maintains institutions which for technical reasons can be better erected by the state, but to which the communes have to contribute. The entire state expenditures for poor-relief are estimated at 2,000,000 fr., of which 50,000 fr. go to expenses of administration.

The law prohibits the placing of children of school age in poorhouses. Care for such children, which may be either moral or financial, is continued during the time they should be at school. Children under 16 years of age may, if neglected, be placed by the Council of Administration under agents of compulsory education. Super-

vision is exercised by the Directory of Poor-Relief in connection with the cantonal poor commission which has two instructors, one for outdoor and the other for institutional relief.

Reform of Poor Law in Zurich.—In 1901 the authorities were at work on a new poor law. The impulse toward new legislation came from the commune of Hedingen, a suburb of Zurich, in 1892, which desired to introduce the territorial principle instead of the local civil principle in poor-relief. The request was referred by the cantonal council to a commission, which, after six years of preparation, on May 19, 1899, proposed a draft for a poor law which sought to meet the wishes of Hedingen. The draft was accompanied with an explanation of reasons, many general considerations, citations from literature, especially of Germany, and much statistical material. The draft which even in the commission had a minority of opponents was not acceptable to the cantonal council. In Zurich the principle has been accepted that when the poor tax becomes too heavy (beyond 1 per cent.) in a commune, the canton is to give relief and equalize the burden. Inequalities are illustrated by these facts (1898): While the city of Zurich paid out 281,568 fr. to aid 1,283 persons, and received nothing from the state; Urdorff spent 8,233 fr. on 59 poor and received a state subsidy of 5,946 fr.; Hoeugg, with 72 paupers and an expenditure of 10,100 fr., had only 133 fr. from the state. The chief city of the canton of Zurich occupies a favorable position in comparison with most other communities, both in respect to income from taxes and means to supplement public relief. In the report of 1899 the entire number of persons assisted was 1,283, most of whom were permanent charges; the expenditure was 281,568 fr., a small part for transient paupers, and most of it, 172,542 fr., for aged persons and defectives, and 93,932 fr. for children.

The Federal Government.—The earlier federal law permitted cantons to refuse settlement to those who were not able to prove ability to support themselves and their families, and to send away those immigrants who became dependent. This arrangement gave rise to many hardships as travel increased, and it contradicted the sense of federal citizenship. The federal constitution of 1874 (art. 45) restricted this power of the canton and secured greater freedom of change of residence to citizens; and under this article cantons are permitted to refuse settlement only to those who are permanently

dependent and whose home community refuses needed relief after official notification. A pauper may not be removed to his former home without notice to the authorities. An exception is made only in case of cantons which have adopted the *territorial* system of relief; and here permission to settle may be conditioned on proof that the immigrant is able to earn his support and has not been dependent in his former place of residence.

In earlier times, when the local responsibility for support was the rule, the localities sought to protect themselves against surplus population by making marriage difficult, and sometimes the authorities would refuse to give a license to marry. This custom led to much illegitimacy and it has been abolished by modern legislation. Article 54 of the federal constitution guarantees freedom of marriage to all citizens.

A federal law of 1875 regulates inter-cantonal poor-relief by requiring a canton to assist citizens of another canton who fall sick or cannot be returned to the place of settlement without injury to health. The relief must include care, medical treatment and, in case of death, a decent burial. A repayment of expenditures is made only when the needy person or his relatives have means; but the funds and institutions of the place of settlement are not liable. The same obligation rests on the cantons in relation to the case of foreigners, whenever the Federation has treaties of reciprocity, as with Austria-Hungary, Germany, Italy, France and Belgium.

Direct aid from the Federation is unimportant. In the Swiss statistics of relief given, under a law of 1874, to invalid soldiers, or those left by them dependent, the aid given is something half-way between a state pension and poor-relief. In 1890, 41 transient and 225 permanent indigents received about 70,000 fr. in this way. The Federation also expends upon benevolent societies in other countries about 23,600 fr., in addition to 20,500 fr. from the cantons. The aid societies supported in 1890 altogether 27,260 persons, at a cost of 245,220 fr. The Federation places at the disposal of the cantons financial means in the so-called "alcohol tithe," which in part goes to poor-relief.

Reforms of Poor Laws.—Christinger, in a report to the Benevolent Society in 1899 spoke of the prospects for changes in the law: "The hour for a Swiss poor law has not yet arrived. Other legislative tasks occupy the attention of the Federation and will do so for a

long time. The constitution must be changed to enable the legislature to act in this field. The cantons must continue to go forward independently in this matter, so far as they are not restricted by federal laws already enacted. It is not necessary that they shall proceed in exactly the same manner, but it is desirable that they make progress and meet the needs of the time and, naturally, they will approach the same forms." As progressive and suitable measures he mentions: Guaranty of relief as in the German poor law, not on complaint of the party, but by administrative action; the obligation of the place of residence to furnish relief provisionally until a reckoning can be made with the place of legal settlement; the equalization of the burden by means of state contributions; the authorization of the communes to cover deficits by taxes; and a voluntary charity so organized as to meet the defects of the regular poor-relief.

B. Administration.—Switzerland is a federation of cantons, each of which retains a high degree of independence in legislation, and there is naturally a great variety of methods and regulations not only of cantons but also of different localities in the same canton. The measures used in rural neighborhoods differ from those found suitable for cities and towns.

The Canton.—There is a tendency to equalize the burden of relief by the aid given to poorer communes from the larger area of cantons. In Bern, Zurich, Aargau, Thurgau and lately in Basel the subsidies of the cantons are considerable, while in Zug, St. Gall and elsewhere they are limited in amount, and in Geneva and Appenzell entirely wanting. In some cases the state aids certain charitable societies or supports institutions, as those for the insane, hospitals, and asylums in which the indigent of the canton are received gratuitously or at low cost. Sometimes direct aid is given to particular forms of relief, as for the blind, deaf mutes, insane, feeble minded, and dependent children.

The canton of Aargau contributed in 1896 the sum of 53,523 fr., of which 13,762 fr. were for needy communes, 8,960 fr. for direct poor-relief, and 30,800 fr. for benevolent societies and institutions. The cantonal institutions and poor-relief gave 56,959 fr. The canton also pays physicians of the poor, and subsidizes institutions for the insane and deaf mutes, and the work-house.

Neuenburg (law of 1889) aids the communes when the burden is unduly heavy. Cantonal institutions are supplied for the sick;

but those for the defectives are inadequate. When special technical considerations enter or a large outlay is necessary the cantons generally assume the task.

The local assembly (*Amtsversammlung*) constitutes a medium between the commune and the administration. Poor-inspectors are appointed for larger areas, but their activity is not a part of a regular function.

Relatively severe penalties are provided for certain transfers and neglect of the duty of relief, and the grant of state subsidies is conditioned on the observance of legal requirements on the part of the local officials. In addition to the relief of residents that of citizens of the commune is retained in so far as the commune can show that it can support all its poor who live outside its bounds. Practically this requirement is significant for the city of Bern and also for Jura.

Outside of Bern the only canton which has introduced the territorial principle and obligatory poor-relief is the canton of Neuenburg (law of 1888). The duty of relief is extended to cover all citizens of the commune who reside in the commune, and all who are of the same canton in other communes. The principle of local community obligation is only so far retained as that relief of citizens who dwell outside the canton remains a duty of the home commune; but in this case obligation is limited to receiving back their poor who become a charge elsewhere. In this canton obligatory relief applies only to permanent paupers, with whom the sick are counted.

Method and Measure of Relief.—While free play is given by the law to the authorities in respect to the limits of their activities, yet as a rule in practice these boards have restricted their aid to the regular paupers (*Notarmen*), *i. e.,* those who are for the time or permanently incapable of labor (orphans and dependent children, old people, invalids, defectives, sick); and during the last ten years this limitation has been formulated in rules. This does not entirely exclude assistance to persons able to work if they have become dependent from any cause; but such aid is not ordinarily regarded as obligatory. If the person aided comes into possession of means he is expected to repay what has been given him; and relatives who are able to assist are first called upon to bear the burden; although the rules vary in the different cantons. The chief form of affording help is that of assistance to needy families in their homes; but it is becoming very

common to help orphans by boarding them in families. Care by means of boarding around is in some cantons employed and in others forbidden. The care of children called farm care is diminishing. Relief in institutions is most common in case of the insane, sick, orphans, and also very generally with the aged, invalid and feeble minded. Communal poorhouses are more common in the northeast part of Switzerland. Regulations in respect to compulsory measures against paupers who refuse to submit to the requirements of the poor law, and against persons who decline to help their poor relations, or who make themselves dependent through frivolity or vice, are made in most of the cantons; and as a rule these compulsory means may go as far as confinement in the work-house, house of correction or prison, so that their required labor may be utilized; and temporary loss of civil rights may be added. In particular points the laws in respect to the range and order of compulsory measures and the procedure differ widely from each other. Several communes, including Bern itself, the principal city, have made use of the provision of the new law to free themselves from the legal public relief obligations. This is allowed on condition that the commune supports its own dependent citizens at home or elsewhere out of its own means. The entire income of the Poor Property in the communes of the old part of the canton was 19,500,000 fr., of the new part of the canton 4,000,000 fr., of which Bern city had 15,500,000 fr., Burgdorf 2,100,000 and Thun 1,350,000 fr. The total number of persons aided in the canton of Bern in 1899 was 16,840, of whom 7,258 were children and 9,582 adults. The cost for them was 1,700,000 fr., of which two-thirds went to adults and one-third to children. The voluntary contributions were 366,000 fr. The communes gave 550,000 fr. and the state gave 826,000 fr. or nearly one-half. In the case of the temporary dependents, who numbered over 6,000, the aid given was 438,400 fr., and the state added 161,000 fr. The relief of settled citizens (*bürgerliche Armenpflege*) was given to 2,550 permanent and 2,159 temporary indigents, in all 4,709, at a cost of 632,020 fr. In addition the state gave out of the product of the alcohol monopoly tithe 40,000 fr. for the support of benevolent institutions, chiefly for the care and education of children.

The results of the new poor law, which had to reckon with a great increase of indigents entitled to relief in other communes or cantons, were apparent in the increase of expense for poor-relief outside.

Those who were sent back to their homes must be aided in institutions, which costs double what it would to aid them in their homes. In 1897 the expense for 3,143 indigents was 211,000 fr., and in 1899 the figures rose to 295,570 fr. for 3,543 paupers. The average expense rose from 60 fr. in 1895 to 83.40 fr. in 1899.

Inspectors.—Of special importance is the *"Inspectorate,"* to which great significance was attached from the beginning in introducing and carrying through the law. A distinction is made between the cantonal poor inspector and the district inspector. The principal duties of the cantonal inspector are to carefully follow all events in the field of poor-relief and direct his attention to all which gives promise of improvement or the removal of defects and evils and to make proposals for betterment in the various localities. Such inspection had already been made here and there in the case of non-resident paupers who were aided by the state, especially in the cantons of Solothurn and Zurich, and to some extent in Zug and Lucerne. The official made it his task to examine carefully to see whether the aid given was in harmony with the needs of the indigents. This was not always found to be true. Not seldom the circumstances of an assisted family had become more easy in the course of time, so that a reduction or an entire withdrawal of the relief could be made. On the other side the inspector found cases where the family had come into a harder condition, and the former aid was not adequate and should be raised. The inspector gave a brief report to the directory of each case and made such suggestions of change as he thought to be wise. In the report a long series of examples are given of instances in which the intervention of the inspector was useful. The *district inspectors* are required to consider the formation of the budget and by inspection of individual cases at home to satisfy themselves that the law is properly applied and the aid given is suitable. In the report for 1899 the inspectors for the first time gave in their report of this house inspection and their account to the directory of poor-relief. The report was to cover cases of those who were boarded out or cared for themselves. A book had to be kept for each person. In order to make this easier for the inspector an extra inspection book was furnished for each one in which the local clerks wrote down the names of each pauper and the name of the almoner and the place of relief.

Zurich.—An illustration of an evil felt in many countries may be

taken from a case in Zurich, in a case of removal of a pauper. A poor woman was refused help in the commune and went to a commune where she had formerly resided. This commune gave the woman 20 fr. and sent her to Zurich and advised her to try her fortune there once more. In Zurich the woman appeared before the agents of voluntary charity for residents, was a second time sent to her place of residence, and was immediately returned for the third time to Zurich. The importance of having the help come from the place of residence is keenly felt. When this principle is carried out the locality is more inclined to enter upon improvements and measures, as, for example, the greatest possible restriction of aid to outsiders, the abolition of abuses, the restoration of personal relations between boards and paupers, better education of children, and unity in the plans of support. When paupers are aided outside the place of actual residence it is very difficult to maintain personal oversight of them, but when they are aided where they reside the task becomes more comprehensive and grateful. Money is no longer regarded as the sole means of assistance. Encouragement, counsel, preventive and temporary measures, adapted and timely help, guidance into self-help are possible, and action in view of circumstances rigorous or protective is practicable without too great expense. The coöperation of women in poor-relief, on which great emphasis is laid, and rightly, can be employed only in local relief where all have access to the means of help. It is not a woman's disposition to inquire for a certificate of citizenship; she sees need and misery and gives aid.

C. Private Charity.—It is not possible sharply to separate private from public relief in Switzerland. The commune has many of the features of an overgrown household, and mutual help better designates relief than does a poor tax. The income from ancient domains, common property of the civil corporation, is an important source of income, available for the needy. Thus in 1895 out of 276 districts (*Ortsbürgergemeinde*) of the canton of Aargau, 115 did not need to levy a poor tax. Sometimes when voluntary gifts are inadequate they are supplemented by a subsidy from the funds of the commune, as, under the law of 1857, was the case in the canton of Bern. Even when, as in Geneva and the City of Basel, there is no tax, there are sources of public income available for relief.

By the law of 1897 in Basel the bureau of alms, the asylum and the orphanage are reserved for relief of citizens. Transients from

abroad are helped by voluntary contributions. Owing to the acknowledged inadequacy of voluntary gifts, the tendency is to extend state subsidies to private charities and to help non-residents. Citizens who are permanently dependent are assisted by the civil officers; non-residents and aliens, in certain cases, are thus aided only after a residence of two years in the commune, but the authorities of their former home must contribute. The state grants a subsidy not to exceed one-third of the year's expenditure. The state provides for persons who are over 60 years of age, who have for twenty-five years resided in the canton, of which five years immediately precede the application.

Relief is given in an institution or otherwise. Burial funds are provided, and the sick are given treatment (laws of 1885 and 1891). Even in voluntary charity residents may be legally required, under penalty for refusal, to act as visitors. Women may perform this duty.

Benevolent Societies.—The principal organization is the Swiss Benevolent Society which grew out of the Zurich Aid Society founded in 1799, and it includes all cantons of the Federation. The primary inspiration and direction came from the philanthropical sentiments of the Illumination (*Aufklärung*), and educational methods were emphasized, since the philanthropists expected the removal of all evils from education. Of late the society has entered into the field of preventive philanthropy and social legislation. The organ of the movement is the Swiss Journal of Beneficence, now over 40 years old. Hunziker, the historian of the society, informs us that the topics chiefly discussed by it are such as these: Work-houses and poor-houses, care of children, local and territorial poor-relief, shelter for wanderers, Red Cross Society, etc. Only three small cantons are without organization of benevolent agencies. In Aargau, Solothurn and Zurich the district societies are affiliated with a central society. In the French cantons there are similar associations to promote economy and public utility. The association of Basel is famous. These societies interest themselves in care of poor school children, infirmaries, feeding and clothing poor school children, care of inebriates and medical supervision of schools.

There is an important auxiliary society of women which has established a school for nurses at Zurich in connection with a women's hospital. The nurses are to be independent and not bound, as dea-

conesses are, to a mother-house. The prospectus announces the purpose to give women easier access to a useful profession: "We live in an age when women strive and are often compelled to open up new ways of earning a living. It seems proper to make it possible for women to enter that calling for which they are fitted by nature, and which secures the fullest satisfaction and the widest development of feminine gifts. Not every young woman who likes nursing can enter an order, it may be for confessional reasons or because they cannot release themselves from prior family claims so long as the orders require." The prospectus speaks with regret of the necessity of sending women to other countries, as to England, for technical training; and the purpose is declared to provide at home for their professional instruction.

The city of Zurich assists only persons with legal claims of settlement, and therefore indigent persons from other places must be helped from a different source.

Here enters the "Voluntary and Resident Relief," which is something more than a private benevolent society and fully performs the function of an agency for relief of transient indigents. Its expenditures in 1898 were 260,000 fr. for 2,082 temporary and 384 permanent paupers, of whom 2,100 were Swiss and the others from foreign countries; citizens of the city 260, of the canton 888, and other Swiss citizens 865. The expenditures on the members of other Swiss communes are largely repaid; in 1898 the sum of nearly 150,000 fr. were thus repaid, so that the "*territorial* principle" here is closely approximated.

E. Co-operation

Directory of Charities (Zurich).—Apart from official tasks there is a tendency of poor-relief to foster a closer union between institutions of voluntary charity in order to prevent the professional exploitation of charity. This task is greatly lightened by the publication of a charity directory of the entire benevolent agencies of Zurich, which bears the title "Zürich, deine Wohlthaten erhalten dich," which appeared in July, 1900. This beautifully written and illustrated volume furnishes a history of Zurich benevolence. It deals with 167 benevolent institutions and associations of the city of Zurich whose annual expenditures are 5 2-3 millions of francs; the divisions being, for:

A. Poor-relief (round numbers)	545,000 fr.
B. Medical relief	2,835,000 fr.
C. Care of children	320,000 fr.
D. Care of aged	40,000 fr.
E. Social amelioration	1,500,000 fr.
F. Endowments and funds	320,000 fr.
G. Beautifying Zurich	105,000 fr.

The editor of the book calls attention to the fact that relatively too little is given for care of children and urges contributions for this purpose. The detailed descriptions of organs of beneficence reveal to the prosperous citizens the agencies by which, through gift or legacy, they can practically express their sympathy. A charity directory of this kind has high value in stimulating and guiding beneficence, as in Berlin, London, Paris, New York, Boston, etc.

G. Homeless Dependents, Vagrants and Stations for Help.—The gaps left by the restriction of local relief to citizens of the place (*Ortsbürger*) are enlarged by the fact that assistance is legally provided only for regular paupers. Thus it happened that the temporarily unemployed who were unable to work and the immigrants who were excluded from local relief were referred to voluntary charity. The disadvantages of doles and indiscriminate almsgiving were most apparent at the centers of population. Between 1870 and 1880 various societies were founded for the purpose of dealing with mendicancy by aiding wanderers with money or food, etc., by regular methods. More and more the methods were brought into line with the German methods (*Naturalverpflegungsstationen*), and in December, 1887, the intercantonal union for stations of assistance was founded. The task of this union is to establish a network of stations and at these to give needed help to wanderers in the form of shelter and food. The effort is made so far as possible to require the possession of satisfactory certificates (*Ausweisschriften*) and a permit to travel and receive help, and also to demand labor in return for relief (law of July, 1893, which supersedes that of 1887). According to the report for 1896 eleven cantons belonged to the Union. In Aargau, Thurgau, Schaffhausen, Lucerne and St. Gall the station system is legally established, in Zurich, Bern, Glarus, Solothurn, Basel-Land and Zug it rests on voluntary action. The Union includes chiefly northeast Switzerland, which, on account of its proximity to Germany and Austria, has most need of such an arrange-

ment. While a still closer connection is sought with Wurttemburg and Austria, it has already been made with Baden, the annual assemblies of the Union being held alternately in Baden and in Switzerland. The employment bureau feature at the stations is fostered as far as practicable, but has not extended beyond modest beginnings. The number of wanderers reached a total of 129,234 persons in the year 1896-7, of whom 70,463 were Swiss and 41,703 were Germans. The entire expenditure was 112,305 fr., of which about half was paid by the states. To the head of population the expense reached 8 fr., against 12.5 fr. in the former years. A marked diminution of the number of wanderers is noticeable, being 44,000 in the year of the report as compared with 47,000 of the previous year.

The whole number assisted in 1900 was 147,583, of whom 40,000 received mid-day and 107,000 night care; Swiss persons, 59 per cent.; Germans, 28.5 per cent. Expenses of all countries in the Union were 136,560 fr.; 28,000 for administration, 91,800 fr. for relief at night, 57,178 fr. state subsidy.

H. Care of the Sick Poor.—Switzerland originated and developed a useful form of charity, magazines for appliances for the sick. Reitzenstein mentioned them in 1893. In 1885 there were 18 in all Switzerland; in 1895 there were 119 communes in the canton of Zurich alone which had them. They have extended to the northern cantons, as especially in Aargau, Solothurn, Basel and Thurgau. The magazine in Zurich is a municipal institution and is under the supervision of the city council and particularly under the board of health. The appliances are furnished on the order of authorized physicians, and, in case of necessity, without such order. After a period of use of three months the administration decides whether the holder of the appliances has any further need of them. Persons who are able must pay a moderate sum according to a schedule of fees for their use; destitute persons and benevolent societies use them without pay. Forty-seven kinds of appliances were held for use in Zurich, 63 in Bern, and in smaller places fewer. Among the appliances are named bath apparatus, thermometer, bedding, ice bags, rolling chairs, inhalation apparatus, sick chairs, night chairs, crutches, etc.

Tuberculosis.—The recent movement to contend with consumption is very earnestly pressed. At present Switzerland possesses three large and four smaller hospitals with about 400 beds; Bern having 400 beds, Basel 86 beds, the Sanatorium at Braunweld 29,

Zurich 88, and some smaller ones 15 to 20 beds. New hospitals are founded in the cantons of Geneva, Aargau, Waadt, Graubünden, St. Gall, Lucerne and others. The hospitals serve for treatment of those who are beginning to suffer from lung tuberculosis, while advanced cases are treated in ordinary hospitals.

Two new sanatoria were reported as opened in 1902-3. The principal advance in legislation has been the law adopted by the people of Grisons in 1902. This law prescribes compulsory registration and disinfection, creates a laboratory for the examination of sputum, provides for the special investigation of localities which show an undue number of deaths from consumption, and recommends to neighboring communes the adoption of regulations about expectoration and the disinfection of railway carriages and public places. A movement has been started in Bern for providing open-air resorts for persons who from weakness or incomplete recovery from some other illness or from any predisposing cause are candidates for tuberculosis.[1]

Inebriate Asylums.—Switzerland is in advance of other countries in this form of relief. It has ten of these institutions, most of them securely established. In 1898, 165 persons were cared for. Between 10 and 20 are accommodated at a time in each establishment. The most important is that of Ellikon, near Zurich, founded in 1889. The medical measures employed are: Entire abstinence, good food, work and moral and religious influences. On the basis of experiments the unshaken judgment is held that the instantaneous removal of liquor, even if at the time it seems intolerable to the patient, never has serious consequences. Agricultural work is given the preference. The cases of cure are not comparatively great. Of the patients thus far treated 846 may be described as cured, while 1,346 were not cured, died, became insane or are unknown, a ratio of 39 to 61 per cent.; while if the insane and dead are excluded the ratio is about one-half.

J. Care of Defectives.—

The Blind.—In 1895-6 was taken a census of the blind in Switzerland, whose results have a value for all countries. The investigation was conducted by a private committee aided by physicians in all the cantons. The federal government assisted the committee by granting free postage and paying the cost of circulars and schedules.

[1] Charities, August 29, 1903.

Certain difficulties were encountered by the investigators; it was found that the blind were often averse to revealing their condition, and that some of the agents were not sufficiently careful. But the results are regarded as trustworthy in all essential particulars.

The census of 1895 gave in all 2,107 blind persons, or 7.22 in 10,000 of population, as against 2,032 or 7.61 in 10,000 shown in the census of 1870. Switzerland seems to be about on a level with Germany, and inferior only to the Netherlands and Denmark in European countries. More males than females are afflicted. Blindness occurs frequently in the first five years of life, diminishes with maturity, and increases again in old age. In respect to ownership of property and means of support it appears that of all the blind there are only 350 (16.6 per cent.) cared for in institutions; 937 are employed, 88 per cent. in private places and 11.2 per cent. in institutions; 1,162 are unemployed, of whom 917 are in private care, and the others are in institutions, and most of them have other defects. Of the unemployed 755 (35.8 per cent.) were without means and dependent. The ratios of those with means, those earning incomes and those dependent were 33, 10, 55 per cent. It is not definitely known how many of those aided are adequately provided for and how many should be sent to asylums.

The committee suggests these directions for future effort: No blind child should grow up without school instruction; none should be left to suffer from want; private charity should increasingly enter this field to help; preventive measures should be employed in dispensaries and otherwise; and medical men generally should understand the causes and proper treatment of common diseases of the eye and not depend too much on specialists.

The Deaf.—The first school for the deaf was established in 1811 by J. K. Näf, a pupil of Pestalozzi. There are now 16 institutions, with 723 pupils (May, 1901). There are no continuation schools, but the youth after the ordinary course of instruction go to industrial schools.[1]

Feeble-Minded.—In 1897 an enumeration of feeble-minded children of school age was taken by the federal statistical bureau, with the assistance of local school boards and teachers. The results of the census in all cantons, published in March, 1897, was:

[1] Zeit. f. d. Armenwesen, 1903, p. 170.

	Children	Per cent.
I. Feeble-minded of low grade	5,052	or 39
II. Feeble-minded of higher grade	2,615	or 20
III. Enfeebled in body only	1,848	or 14
IV. Idiots, deaf mutes, blind	2,405	or 18
V. Neglected alone	1,235	or 9
Totals	13,155	or 100

There are many who are in some measure feeble-minded but still capable of intellectual development. Of 470,000 children in the primary schools of Switzerland in 1900, 16.3 are more or less affected. As to the method of dealing with them, actual or desirable:

557 children are taught in a special class;
411 children are placed in an institution for feeble-minded;
104 children are in orphanages, etc.;
5,585 children require special treatment in separate classes or institutions;
534 children, a special treatment not required;
566 children, no information or advice.

Total 7,667 children.

A comparison of different communities shows interesting results. Thus the city of Basel may serve as a model, for there it is shown how the state may coöperate with private instruction in order to render practical aid. Of 241 children thus treated 139 were cared for in special classes, 73 in institutions, 11 were excluded from the schools and only in 10 cases was individual treatment desirable.

In May, 1900, the second part of the census appeared; this publication deals exclusively with those children whose mental or physical condition did not permit admission to public primary instruction, and who therefore must be recommended for special care. The defects were distributed as follows:

	No.	Per cent.
I. Children, low grade of feeble-mindedness	920	32.2
II. Children, affected with cretinism	156	6.5
III. Children, hard of hearing, dumb or deaf mutes	889	37.0
IV. Children, partly or entirely blind	108	4.5
V. Children, affected with epilepsy	129	5.4
VI. Children, with other defects	203	8.4
Totals	2,405	100.0

In 1898 the Central Teachers' Association urged the Federal Council to secure further investigation of the nature of the defect, its causes and remedies; and to consider the methods of securing trained teachers for the care of the feeble-minded. The federal statistical bureau has begun to make annual examinations of school children at entrance, if they manifest physical or mental defects.

In 1899 a training course for teachers of the feeble-minded was given at Zurich under the auspices of the Swiss Benevolent Union and the central school board of the city of Zurich. This course lasted ten weeks and was attended by 13 teachers. The course included a theoretical and a practical part; the theoretical aimed to give an introduction to the study of the principles of physiology, psychology and pedagogy especially involved; and the practical part gave instruction in methods of dealing with feeble-minded pupils in institutions and schools.

K. Care of Neglected Children.—Switzerland, as well as Germany, has come frankly to accept the principle that the state must take a parent's place in the life of a neglected child and not wait for it to commit an offense before care begins.

The government of Bern has adopted progressive measures in this field. In December, 1900, a regulation was issued on the subject. Children are received in institutions for boys and girls, between the ages of 8 and 16 years, when charged with a penal offense or are neglected without having committed a punishable act. If parents or local authorities think it necessary a child may be placed under compulsory training, without complicated legal process. The expense of maintenance is between 150 and 400 fr. In the institutions the ideal of family life is realized as far as possible. Not more than 12 to 15 children are kept in a group under one man or woman. Work in school, household, garden and field is the principal means of training. All the family groups form a community under the direction of a superintendent.

Children's vacation outings (*Ferien-Kolonien* or *Colonies de vacances*) are worthy of notice. Children belonging to the primary schools are sent to suitable places under the care of teachers, and live in plain wooden shelters or in huts. They go in companies of 20 to 50 persons, for about two weeks. The support comes from voluntary subscriptions and occasional contributions of city administrations. St. Gall supports its colonies from the educational funds. In

Zurich there is an association which owns a convalescent station in an elevated and healthy site near Gais (*Appenzell*), which receives patients during the entire year, and has a capacity for 100 children and 30 boarders. Poor and feeble children are selected by teachers for a period of recuperation at this colony.

L. Care of Youth.—In the ordinances of Bern are very interesting provisions for youth. Stipends are given to young people of both sexes, who are without means or friends, to enable them to learn trades, when they give evidence of adequate ability, industry at school and good behavior. The inspector of the poor is charged with caring for these youths; he must know them personally and give them counsel. He must confer with children in institutions during the months next preceding the time when they are to pass the school age and go out; give them advice as to selecting a calling; and advise with the foster parents. Patrons are selected to have oversight of such youths and are required to keep a record of all that happens to them; with responsibility to the poor-relief authorities.

M. Preventive Measures.—

The Alcohol Tenth.—The Federation of Switzerland has sought to restrict and control the distilled liquor traffic and compel consumers of alcohol to bear part of the social burden incident to that traffic by assuming a monopoly of the business and using a part of the profits for charitable purposes. The law was enacted in 1886-1887. The Federation bought up the distilleries and required a fee from importers of fine liquors. The minor distilleries were destroyed and about 60 to 70 places of moderate size in the country were permitted to produce. One-tenth of the value of the product is devoted to such establishments as hospitals for inebriates, work-houses, institutions for the insane, for the feeble-minded and for young offenders. The cantons receive annually about 450,000 fr. for such objects.

In the administration of this tithe it appears that the cantons have employed their shares in the following ways: Inebriate asylums, workhouses and reformatories, insane asylums, asylums for epileptics, deaf mutes and the blind, aid of the sick, aid for poor, feeble-minded and abandoned children, and for youthful offenders, school kitchens and vacation colonies, improvement of the popular diet, aid to transient laborers who are poor, aid to discharged pris-

oners and the unemployed, popular education and professional training, encouragement of temperance.

The total amount of the tithe for 1902 was 581,879 fr. Much of the money is spent on objects which ordinarily are supported by taxation, and only a small part for the specific purpose named in the constitution. Thus in 1902 the prisons and asylums received 226,239 fr. and neglected children 236,440 fr., while inebriate asylums received only 41,693 fr. and general temperance work 52,331 fr.

It is too early to form a settled judgment as to the social tendency of this legislation. Swiss authorities themselves differ widely on the subject. Many competent persons declare that instead of a "whiskey-plague" a "beer-plague" has invaded the land.

Thoughtful people are looking to more effective and radical measures. The strict abstinence movement is significant, and has in Switzerland 350 societies, with 8,500 members and 5,900 associates, a relatively higher number than shown by surrounding countries.

Accident and Sickness Insurance.—The administrative authorities, who best understand the needs of the poor, made careful preparations and calculations for submitting a system of insurance of wage earners. The plan was rejected by a referendum vote in May, 1900, 337,000 to 147,000. Therefore for some years this form of substitute for poor-relief must be deferred. In October, 1900, a new article was introduced into the federal constitution by a vote of 283,000 to 92,000 which requires the establishment of sick and accident insurance. It is said that the defeat of the proposed law was due to the opposition of the peasant voters, who fear that their little properties may be taxed for the advantage of the urban workingmen.

Insurance Against Unemployment.—Switzerland has had the courage to act as the pioneer of modern society in making experimental provision for the support of men out of work. The schemes have not succeeded, but the experience gained may be utilized in future efforts on some modified plan.[1]

Beginning with the city of Bern, the main facts in the matter are these: After prolonged calculations and certain voluntary experiments, the municipal council of Bern in 1895 adopted regulations, according to which every working man sojourning or settled there might join the fund. A man could become a member by giving his

[1] Ref. W. H. Dawson: Social Switzerland, p. 167; Willoughby: Workingmen's Insurance.

name to his employer, the trade union or the director of the fund. The sources of the fund were to be contributions of members and employers, private gifts and municipal subsidies. The rate of premiums was about 10 cents monthly. The municipal subsidy at first was to be 7,000 fr. per year. Members who had paid contributions regularly were entitled in event of being out of employment, during the months of December, January, and February only, to receive benefits not more than two months during the severe winter. Members must be insured six months before they could receive benefits. Benefits paid weekly, were: For the first 30 days out of work pay of 1.50 fr. to unmarried members, and 2 fr. to married members and others having persons dependent on them. Members who refused to work, who were lawless or on a strike might not receive help. At first the administrators expressed great hopes of success in diminishing the need of resort to public charity on account of unemployment. But there were serious defects in the scheme and the hopes have not been realized. It was a plan for voluntary membership and no person was obliged to belong to the association, whereas in the successful method of Germany membership is legally required. Professor Adler says that in the course of the first year only 404 members were admitted and of these 50 lost their rights by nonpayment of dues. Of the 354 active members 216 in winter announced themselves as unemployed; 50 were set to work and 166 were paid daily allowances. The total indemnity paid was 6,835 fr., while only 1,124 fr. were paid in dues. The deficit was covered by gifts and a state subsidy of 4,735 fr. In the second year, the membership fell to 333; the number of unemployed rose to 226, of whom 7 were set to work and 219 received daily allowances. Some of the men were given work on a prison wall and in clearing away snow, but gifts and subsidies were still necessary.

There was a similar result in St. Gall.

The city of Basel sought to profit by the mistakes of Bern and St. Gall. On November 23, 1899, after long discussions, a plan worked out by Professor Adler was accepted by the Greater Council and proposed to the people for a referendum vote. The law required that in the canton of the city of Basel all resident persons capable of work, who are employed in factories or building or on earth works, after the 14th year of age shall be insured against unemployment, when it is not from their own fault. In the nature of the case some

exceptions are made, as when one is already adequately insured in an association for this purpose. The insured fall into four groups: (1) Workmen least exposed to being out of employment, in occupations protected by factory laws, not in the building trades; (2) the other workmen not in building trades and under factory law protection; (3) building workmen least exposed to unemployment; (4) other building and earth workers who live chiefly outdoors and who suffer from the vicissitudes of weather. The groups are further divided into wage classes according to the amount of their weekly wages, beginning with 12 fr. or less up to more than 24 fr. The weekly contributions of the insured are:

In wage classes:	1	2	3	4
For the first group.....	2½ centimes	5 ct.	10 ct.	15 ct.
For the second group.....	5 centimes	10 ct.	15 ct.	20 ct.
For the third group.....	10 centimes	20 ct.	30 ct.	40 ct.
For the fourth group.....	15 centimes	25 ct.	40 ct.	50 ct.

The contribution of the employer for each of his insured workmen of the first and second groups is 10 ct., and for each of the third and fourth groups 20 ct. weekly. The state pays the cost of administration, and gives a subsidy of 30,000 francs annually. Every member of the insurance association has a right to indemnity when he is not employed. This claim is not valid when: (a) The unemployment is the result of a strike; (b) when the unemployment is the result of abandoning a place, unless there is good ground for the act; (c) when the unemployment is the consequence of conduct which justifies the discharge of the person according to the ordinances of the factory laws; (d) when the unemployment is the result of accident or sickness, during the period of incapacity; (e) when the person at the time of beginning of unemployment has not fulfilled the requirements; (f) when the person refuses to accept employment without satisfactory reasons. The insurance association may not offer places to the unemployed which have become vacant on account of a strike or a lockout. The amount of the indemnity is graduated according to the wage class to which the person belonged for 26 weeks just preceding the unemployment and paid the contribution. The indemnities are 0.70 to 1.30 fr. in the first and 1 to 1.50 fr. in the fourth wage class, according as the workmen are single, married or head of a family. A member has claim in the course of a fiscal

year to 70 days of indemnity at the most. A member who in the course of a fiscal year has received indemnity for 50 days, in the next year has a claim only when, reckoning from the last day of indemnity, he has worked at least 26 weeks and paid his contributions to the treasury of the insurance association. The law contains detailed regulations in respect to administration of the funds, the gathering of a reserve fund, penalties for violation of the law, etc. Careful calculations gave an estimate that the number of the unemployed would be 18 per cent. of the insured and that about one-half of them would be married. It was supposed that of 10,000 insured in Basel annually 1,800, and that on the average about 60 days, would receive indemnities. The expenditure was reckoned at 137,000 fr. annually and the income 45,000 fr.

This law, prepared with great care, after it was accepted by the Greater Council, by the help of the workmen's party who secured the necessary 1,000 signatures to their petition, was submitted to the popular referendum and rejected (February, 1900) by a vote of 5,458 to 1,119. The most weighty reason urged against the law was that the regular and industrious workmen who ordinarly have employment and wages would have to pay for the idle and inefficient workmen.

The defeat of the law of Basel and the discouraging experiences in Bern and St. Gall have made the solution of the problem in Switzerland impossible for many years, even if there is a purpose to carry out the idea on the basis of the experience already had. The administration of Basel has taken pains to assist in other ways, by undertaking public works which might otherwise have been delayed longer. The state also gave a subsidy to the general poor-relief of 3,000 fr., to aid the unemployed with money. It also provided coal and coke for needy persons at low prices, which was rather of the nature of poor-relief than care for the unemployed. But this same character was borne by the attempts at insurance against unemployment, which counted on a subsidy from the state and on voluntary gifts, while a genuine insurance by its very nature must be paid for out of wages. In Zurich a similar attempt was made. The Greater Council of the city (July 9, 1898) rejected the proposition by 54 to 42 votes. The experience of St. Gall, as told by the secretary of poor-relief, was a decisive argument in this discussion. It had been found impossible to induce all the insurable persons to join the asso-

ciation and the disposition to labor was diminished. It even happened that workmen received indemnities while they were at work. It was difficult to determine who was employed and who unemployed. Women came with the complaint that their husbands, since they drew indemnities, would not come home, while before they had helped in the household. When the St. Gall association went into liquidation 2,500 persons were in arrears with dues. The reporter came to the conclusion that it is impossible to introduce a genuine insurance against unemployment. It was said in the discussion that the plan could be carried out in connection with the trade unions, but the suggestion was regarded as of doubtful value.

Care for the Wandering Unemployed.—The Swiss cantons have followed the models set by Germany in the stations for help (*Verpflegungsstationen*) and hospices for shelter, and they have developed an even more adequate system and network of agencies under police control.

In Bern wanderers who should not go to the poorhouse, workhouse or police quarters are sent to emergency rooms or to the burghers' almshouse.

In the city of Basel is established a "writing room for the unemployed" as a means of helping persons who have some commercial education and are temporarily out of work, by giving them copying, folding, picking coffee, etc., to do. In one year 271 men were assisted 9,853 work days, and 21,800 fr. were paid them, an average 3.33 fr. per day; on an average 32 men per day. First of all citizens and residents of Basel are helped; only exceptionally are outsiders so aided, and usually with discouraging results.

In the eighth report, 1902, it is said that 237 men were aided; 11,754 days' work; 33,189 fr. paid in wages, an average of 3.16 fr. per day for writing. Writing machines have been introduced with success.

In 1903 a similar society was formed in Zurich. The city furnished a room. In the first year there were 445 applicants, of whom 179 were employed. On an average 19 men were employed at a time, with a total of 5,053 days. The pay was 2.30 to 4 fr. for writing done in the rooms of the bureau and 3.84 to 4.27 fr. for work done in the home of the employer.

The book of Mr. W. H. Dawson ("Social Switzerland") describes the social legislation of Switzerland and the coöperation of private

agencies with the state in the effort to ameliorate economic conditions. Under the head of organization and protection of labor he describes the federal factory laws, the labor laws of the cantons, the industrial colonies. Under the subject of industrial peace he writes of the courts of industry, the *conseils de prud'hommes,* and the societies of public utility. We have drawn upon his account of the case of the unemployed. He tells what Switzerland has done in technical education of the people, and for the control of the drink traffic.[1]

[1] On insurance of unemployed, Rep. Industrial Commission (U. S.) Vol. XVI, 1901, p. 226.—U. S. Labor Bulletin, Vol. 2, pp. 169-172.

CHAPTER IV

THE BRITISH EMPIRE

SECTION 1.—PUBLIC RELIEF AND PRIVATE CHARITY IN ENGLAND

CHARLES A. ELLWOOD, PH. D.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.—In no other country is the history of poor-relief so instructive and valuable to the student of modern philanthropic problems as in England. For the history of poor-relief in England presents a continuous evolution whose successive phases exhibit at work all the forces and principles to which the modern science of philanthropy has given a theoretic formulation. Moreover, in England poor-relief has been organized and supervised by the central authorities of government now for nearly three-quarters of a century to an extent scarcely equalled in any other country. On this account, the administrative problems which necessarily arise through governmental interference with the relief of the poor are perhaps most advantageously studied in English experience. But as the main object of this article is to present the existing system of public and private relief in England, our chief reason for reviewing the historical development is to throw light on the present system. The present complex organization of public relief in England, with the supporting legislation, can not easily be understood without some knowledge of its evolution. Accordingly, as an introduction to the study of the present system of public relief, we shall present a brief résumé of its historical development. Only a few of the numerous enactments which have constituted the Poor Law at different periods can be noticed—enough merely to indicate the various stages of its evolution.

1. POOR-RELIEF IN THE MEDIEVAL PERIOD.—While feudalism flourished there was comparatively little need of public relief. The mass of the people were serfs, bound to the soil, and were looked

after by their feudal lords quite as slaves by their masters. What little destitution there was, which was mainly in the towns, was relieved by the Church,[1] chiefly through two institutions, the monastery and the hospital. With the decay of feudalism the burden of the Church in caring for the poor became vastly increased, but it continued to fulfill its function as the public relief agency more or less satisfactorily until the Reformation. The methods which the Church employed in relieving destitution were, however, such that they often aggravated rather than remedied the evil. Around the monasteries and throughout the country there gradually grew up a large dependent class who looked to those institutions for their support. Fuller's remarks in this connection are abundantly justified by historical research:[2] "Yea, those abbeys did but maintain the poor which they made. For some vagrants, accounting the abbey alms their own inheritance, served an apprenticeship and afterwards wrought journey work to no other trade than begging." As for the hospitals, which were in the Middle Ages but little more than endowed ecclesiastical almshouses, for the reception of both the destitute sick and the aged, they multiplied in number, so that before the Reformation there were some four hundred and sixty of these charitable institutions in England, many of them exceedingly wealthy.[3] Thus the Church was caring for no inconsiderable proportion of the

[1] Originally in England as on the Continent a part of the tithes (one-third or one-fourth) was regularly devoted to the relief of the poor. But this custom seems early to have been departed from, though a law of Ethelred attempted to enforce it as late as the Eleventh century. Thus the relief of the poor became mainly the work of the monasteries and hospitals. See Ratzinger's Geschichte der kirchlichen Armenpflege; Uhlhorn's Christian Charity in the Early Church; and Ashley's English Economic History.

[2] There can be no doubt that the indiscriminate charity practiced by both the monasteries and hospitals was directly responsible for the production of a large class of vagrants and mendicants both in England and on the Continent. The apologists of the system of church charity have often denied this, pointing out other causes that co-operated in the production of this class. The existence of other causes may be admitted, of course, without giving up the position of the text, that the indiscriminate methods of relief employed by the Church were evil in their consequences, increasing rather than lessening the class of dependents. In this connection consult Ashley's English Economic History, pp. 307-324, vol. II; for the Catholic point of view, see Ratzinger's Geschichte der kirchlichen Armenpflege.

[3] Ashley, English Economic History, p. 318, vol. II.

population of England at the beginning of the Reformation. It is not surprising, therefore, that the dissolution of the monasteries under Henry VIII., revealed[1] such a mass of pauperism and vagrancy that to deal with it became one of the first problems of the statesmen of the sixteenth century.

Other methods of caring for the poor in later medieval times can be merely mentioned. One was the help given by the Guilds to their poorer members.[2] Another was of course through the private charity of the rich, especially of the nobles. This became considerable in later times, and, like the charity of the Church, was wholly indiscriminating and, therefore, evil in its consequences. Practically, indeed, it may be regarded as but one phase of the charity of the Church; for the motive of such giving was the Church's inculcation of the doctrine that almsgiving was a means of grace to the giver.[3]

2. The Period of Repression.—The beginning of this period may be dated as early as the middle of the fourteenth century, when the decay of feudalism first began to be manifest. Nothing was more natural than that laws should be passed to keep the laborer in the state of servitude from which he was just emerging Accordingly, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries we find numerous labor statutes[4] enacted to fix the rate of wages and to prevent laborers from moving about in search of better pay. This legislation regarding the laboring classes involved as one of its necessary phases repressive measures against vagrancy; and these measures mark the first steps in governmental interference in the relief of the poor.

Thus, the labor statute of 1388 (12 Richard II.), after providing

[1] "Revealed," not "caused," as Ashley points out. The causes lay in the social conditions of the time and in the indiscriminate charity so long practiced by the Church.

[2] See Ashley, English Economic History, pp. 324-328, vol. II.

[3] That the Church encouraged indiscriminate private charity has been denied by some recent Catholic scholars. It is true that many theologians of the Church taught the duty of investigation and that indiscriminate charity was evil. But the enlightened views of these few did not affect the belief or the practice of the masses of the Church. With these, as Uhlhorn remarks, "the principal aim [in giving] remained to win for themselves the favor of God, not to combat or mitigate poverty."

[4] The first of these statutes was the so-called "Statute of Laborers," enacted in 1349. It forbade the giving of alms to "valiant beggars," but made no reference to the impotent poor. See Nicholl's History of the English Poor Law, pp. 36, 37, vol. I.

for persons able to work, enacted, "that beggars impotent to serve shall abide in the cities and towns where they be dwelling at the time of the proclamation of this statute." This is the first mention we find in legislation of the impotent poor as a distinct class. No provision is made for their relief, but the principle of local responsibility for their care seems to be recognized. The same act provided that vagrants "able to serve or labor" were to be put in the stocks and kept there until they could give surety of returning to service or to their own neighborhood. Other enactments of a similar nature were made in the fifteenth century, but vagrancy, as the laws themselves show, continued to flourish.

With the dissolution of the monasteries in the reign of Henry VIII., the evil became greatly aggravated. Severe vagrancy laws were enacted, and at the same time the distinction between the "impotent poor," those unable to work, and the "sturdy beggars," was more clearly drawn. Even earlier than this, however, the system of ecclesiastical poor-relief had broken down, so that in legislating against vagabondage and vagrancy some provision for the relief of the impotent poor was made necessary. Thus the elaborate act of 1531 "concerning the punishment of beggars and vagabonds" (22 Henry VIII.),[1] provided that the justices of the peace should give a kind of certificate or license to such impotent poor as could go begging, by which they were allowed to beg within a certain prescribed area, but if caught begging without a license, or outside these limits, they were to be whipped. This attempt to provide for the impotent poor, through tolerating their begging upon certain conditions, shows not only a greater tendency to discriminate and a more humane spirit, but also that the charity of the Church was regarded as insufficient for the relief of this class. Able-bodied persons if caught begging, on the other hand, were to be whipped and returned to their place of birth, or where they had last lived for three years. For a second offense they were to have their ears cropped, and if caught begging a third time they were to be tried as felons and, if convicted, hanged. Moreover, any person who harbored or gave money to an able-bodied beggar was to be fined by the justices.

This act of 1531 was, then, almost wholly repressive in its features; its sole object was to limit begging as much as possible, while recognizing that the charity of the Church was insufficient for the

[1] See Nicholl's History of the English Poor Law, pp. 115-120, vol. 1.

relief of the impotent poor. Positive measures for the relief of the poor are found first in an act passed some five years later (27 Henry VIII.).[1] This act provided that the mayor of every town, and the churchwardens of every parish, were to collect alms every Sunday, so that "the poor, impotent, sick, and diseased people, being not able to work, may be provided, holpen and relieved; and that such as be lusty, having their limbs strong enough to labor, may be daily kept in continual labor." In other words, the impotent poor were to be relieved by voluntary alms collected by the civil authorities of the towns, and the churchwardens of the parishes, while the able-bodied poor were to be set at work with funds secured in the same way. Moreover, an account was to be kept by the parish authorities of the sums collected and of the way in which the money was spent. It was expressly declared that the alms were not compulsory, but the giving of private alms by an individual was forbidden upon pain of forfeiting ten times the amount given.[2] The whole tenor of the act was to revitalize the system of church charity. It in no way secularized relief. The exhortations of the clergy were to secure the funds for relief; the collectors of the funds were mainly church officers; and they were also the dispensers of relief. However, in this statute the State for the first time undertakes to direct how the relief of the poor shall be administered and how the funds for relief shall be raised; it further establishes the responsibility of the parish for the relief of its own poor. The act, therefore, marks the transition from an ecclesiastical to a secular system of poor-relief. While it recognized the Church as the established relief agency, it attempted to direct and aid the Church in the performance of its duty.

Again in the reign of Edward VI. the vagrancy laws were made more cruel than ever,[3] and provision was made for the compulsory removal of beggars from all parts of the kingdom to the parishes where they had legal residence. A further amelioration in the laws dealing with the helpless poor, however, is marked by the Act of 1551. This act directed that in order to provide for "the impotent,

[1] For this reason Ashley calls this act the "real commencement" of the Poor Law. See Ashley's Economic History, pp. 333, 337, vol. II.

[2] Nobles, prelates and friars, however, were exempt from this prohibition of private almsgiving. For the provisions of the act as a whole see Nicholl's History of the English Poor Law, pp. 121-125, vol. I.

[3] In 1547 it was enacted that a sturdy beggar might be made a slave for two years, and if he ran away a slave for life.

feeble, and lame, who are poor in very deed," two or more collectors of alms were to be appointed in each parish, who were to make lists of the poor to whom grants were to be made. These collectors as well as the clergy of the parish were to "gently exhort and admonish," all parishioners to contribute according to their means. If any parishioner refused to pay what was expected of him, the bishop of the diocese was to exhort and reprove him.

It is evident that throughout this period the relief of the poor was still considered a function of the Church. The interferences of the Government in poor-relief were mainly on the side of the repression of vagrancy and mendicity, which were considered civil matters. Other interferences were designed largely to aid and guide the Church in the performance of its important function. But the civil authority was not used to enforce this part of the legislation save in rare instances; thus the amounts assessed for the support of the poor by the collectors mentioned in the last paragraph, could not be enforced except by ecclesiastical censure.[1]

3. The Poor Laws of Elizabeth.—Early in the reign of Elizabeth (1563) an attempt was made to increase the amount of the funds raised for relief, by directing the bishops to bind over all who refused to pay the amounts assessed by the parish collectors to appear before the justices at quarter sessions, who should assess their contributions at such sums as they thought reasonable. This is the first instance in which we have the authority of the Government used to enforce the collection of alms, and so an approach to a compulsory poor rate levied by civil authorities.

It soon became evident that the Church could no longer satisfactorily perform its ancient function of collector and dispenser of relief. Gradually, through numerous acts, the whole system of relief was transferred from the ecclesiastical to the civil authorities. In 1572 an act[2] was passed to appoint collectors and also overseers of the poor in each parish who should tax the inhabitants "to such weekly charge" as there was need. In 1576 it was enacted that a stock of wool, flax, iron, and other stuff should be kept in each town by the collectors and governors of the poor, on which they might be set at work. If any poor person, who was able-bodied, refused to

[1] The best work on this period as well as on the Elizabethan period of Poor Law History is Miss E. M. Leonard's Early History of English Poor-Relief.

[2] 14 Elizabeth.

work, he was to be sent to a house of correction. And the act further provided that the funds necessary for all these purposes should be raised by taxation. Other enactments followed, and in 1597 something like an organic poor law was attempted. The appointment of overseers of the poor in each parish was provided for, who were to have charge of relief and raise by taxation the sums necessary for relief or the purchase of material for labor, while begging either by license or without was forbidden.

These acts culminated in the famous statute of 1601 (43 Elizabeth), which has remained to this day the foundation of English Poor Law. This great act was but an elaboration of the principles and machinery worked out in the experience of the preceding forty years. Indeed, the Act of 1597[1] contained all of the essential provisions of the statute of 1601, which, nevertheless, deserves the prominence given to it by all writers upon the Poor Law, as it represents the final form given the Poor Law by Elizabethan legislation.

From the standpoint of our much more complex social evolution, the main provisions of the law of 1601 seem exceedingly simple. It divided the recipients of relief into three classes: the able-bodied, those unable to work, and children. For the first, work was to be furnished, and to this end stores of flax, hemp, wool, iron, and other stuff were to be provided by the overseers. Refusal to work on the part of an able-bodied person was to be punished by the stocks or imprisonment. For those unable to work, necessary relief was to be provided, but only one sort of relief is commended, namely, maintenance in almshouses. Children, parents, and grandparents were also made liable for the support of this class. Dependent children were to be cared for by apprenticing them out—the boys till they were twenty-four and the girls till they were twenty-one, or married.

The funds for poor-relief were to be raised by a tax, which the overseers were to levy and collect weekly, or otherwise, from every possessor of lands, houses, or tithes in the parish "in such competent sums as they shall think fit." If a parish were overburdened by its poor rate, the other parishes of the same hundred or county were to "rate in aid."[2]

[1] See Miss Leonard's comparison between the two acts, Early History of English Poor-Relief, pp. 134, 135.

[2] That is, wealthy parishes were to tax themselves to aid the poorer parishes of the same county or hundred.

The administration of the poor-relief, as before, was left to the parish and was managed by two or more overseers of the poor who were to be nominated in every parish by the justices of the peace in Easter week. The supervision of the administration of the Poor Law was left to the justices of the peace.

Concerning the Poor Law of Elizabeth, there have been many opinions. Some have considered it to be "a perfect model of what all Poor Laws ought to be;"[1] others have thought it a failure. A saner judgment would seem to be that it was adapted to the situation of the time, though by no means a model for all time. That it was admirably fitted to the then existing social and political condition of England, is shown by the fact that it worked well with few alterations for over a century and a half. Being the outcome of long experience, it necessarily rested upon some principles of universal validity; and these principles were rightly emphasized by the reformers of 1834. But to recognize this is different from finding in it a model for all time; it rather accords with the view that the law of 1601 marks but one stage, and that an early one, of a process of evolution still incomplete.

4. The Settlement Law of Charles II.—By the laws of Elizabeth the parish was made responsible practically for all who became destitute within its borders. But, as Aschrott remarks,[2] the time was not ripe for this provision, and, hence, it was the first in the law of 1601 to be altered. This alteration came in the year 1662 in what is known as the Settlement Act. This act restricted the obligation of the parish to relieve destitution to those who had a legal domicile within its borders. As title for the acquisition of a legal domicile were named birth, proprietorship of land or industry, sojourn, service, or apprenticeship. Moreover, at the complaint of the overseers, the justices might within forty days of any person's coming to live in a strange parish, order him to be removed back to his own place of settlement, unless he could give security to the new parish that he would not become a charge upon it; that is, those who had no legal settlement in a parish might be removed from it, not only in case of indigence, but also if there were a probability of their becoming indigent.

[1] See The English Poor Laws, by Miss Sophia Lonsdale.

[2] Art. Armengesetzgebung in Grossbritannien in Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften. Zweite Auflage, 1898.

The effect of this act was practically to bind the laboring classes to the soil. First passed by the reactionary cavalier Parliament of Charles II. and reënacted by succeeding Parliaments, it harked back to the efforts made after the freeing of the serfs to confine the laborer to the place of his birth. The motive of the act was, of course, to protect rich parishes from the influx of the poor from the poorer parishes. But all parishes made equally selfish use of it to hinder all migration of those without means, through vigorous exercise of the power of expulsion. The mobility of labor being thus destroyed, the growth of industry was stopped, the laboring classes impoverished by lack of employment, and the poor rates consequently increased. Thus the results of the law were disastrous to rich and poor alike. Nevertheless, subsequent legislation aggravated these conditions by making the acquisition of a new domicile still more difficult. Birth and apprenticeship were made practically the only way in which a settlement could be acquired. Not until the year 1795 did any substantial amelioration of the settlement law come about. Then expulsion from the parish was made permissible only when the person in question was actually dependent, and not then if a justice judged the person unfit to travel.

5. The Rise of the Workhouse.—In 1691 an act was passed to secure a better administration of relief funds. It had been found that the overseers were often careless, if not partial, in their administration of the funds. It was therefore ordered that a register should be kept of the paupers in each parish, with the amount of relief given; that this list should be publicly examined at a vestry meeting once each year; that no person's name could be added to it except at that time; and that no one else should receive relief during the year except by the authority of one or more justices.[1] This exceptional clause, which was evidently designed to cover emergencies, practically placed the supreme power in the dispensing of relief in the hands of the justices. The result was the opposite of that which was intended. The administration of relief was more lax than before, and the poor rates rapidly increased.

In consequence of the increase of expenditure from this and other causes, the idea of building poorhouses in which to care for the poor, which we have seen was commended in the law of Elizabeth, became again popular. Coupled with the idea of providing indoor

[1] See Fowle, The Poor Law, pp. 60, 61.

maintenance only for paupers, was the notion that they could and should be put at remunerative labor in such houses. In other words, it was the workhouse rather than the poorhouse idea which began to be advocated.

The first experiment was tried at Bristol, where by special act of Parliament a workhouse was erected in 1697. The result was so satisfactory that the example was soon followed by many other places. In 1723 an act was passed which provided that parishes might, either singly or in unions of two or more, erect, buy or rent workhouses, and ordered "that no poor who refused to be lodged and kept in such houses should be entitled to ask for parochial relief." Thus was instituted, though wholly at the option of the parishes adopting it, the "workhouse test," which was to become so famous through the reforms of a century later. The effect in the parishes where it was adopted was an immediate decrease in the amount expended for poor-relief. The system was never generally adopted, however, and as it lacked central supervision it soon fell into decay.

The same act (9 George I.) which made it possible for parishes to institute the "workhouse test" also introduced the vicious system of "farming out" the poor. Parishes were authorized "to contract with any person or persons for the lodging, keeping, employing, any or all such poor in the parish." From this farming of the poor the gravest abuses sprang up in the poorhouses and workhouses. Inhuman barbarities were perpetrated by the contractors on the helpless inmates, especially on the sick and the insane, and these were not entirely checked, though legislative restrictions were attempted, until the last remnants of the contract system were finally abolished after the reforms of 1834.

To correct these abuses and to introduce some other reforms, the important act known as Gilbert's Act was passed in 1782. This act extended the right of parishes to form unions for purposes of poor-relief administration. Not only were adjacent parishes empowered to unite for the erection of a common poorhouse, or workhouse, but also for the common administration of relief. In these unions, called "Gilbert's Incorporations," the farming out of the poor was definitely abolished; and relief, both indoor and outdoor, was to be administered by paid officers, called guardians, to be appointed by the justices, while to the overseers was left merely the assessment and collection of the poor rates. The justices also were

to appoint visitors who, as honorary officials, were to be associated with them in exercising supervision over the administration of relief. Unfortunately, the adoption of these reforms depended upon their acceptance by a two-thirds vote of the property owners of the different parishes. The system never became widespread, though sixty-seven such incorporations were formed, some of which in form persist down to the present day.

6. The Allowance System.—Along with these foreshadowings of a better system, Gilbert's Act contained a menacing departure from sound principles, in that it expressly stipulated that none but the old and infirm poor, the mothers of illegitimates and children yet unable to work, should be sent to the poorhouse. The able-bodied poor were to be found work near their own homes by the guardians, who were to collect their wages for them and apply the same toward their maintenance, supplementing any deficiency by a grant from the relief funds.

This is the beginning of that system of wage-subsidies, or relief in aid of wages, known as the "allowance system," which for a time threatened to pauperize England's laboring classes and ruin her commercial and industrial supremacy. Its origin was undoubtedly in the humanitarian tendencies of the time; but it represented a natural reaction from the barbarities connected with the farming out of the poor in the poorhouses and the cruelties connected with the enforcement of the law of settlement. It may seem now to us a false humanitarianism which would dictate that the State find employment for those who were out of work and supplement low wages by a grant from the public funds; but to those who were then interested in the elevation of the laboring classes, the liberalization of the Poor Law seemed the natural way of accomplishing their end. They could hardly have foreseen the disaster.

The system of allowances reached its culmination in 1795 when the Berkshire magistrates inaugurated a plan of relieving, out of the poor funds, all poor and industrious families whose income was judged insufficient, the amount of the allowance to be regulated by the price of wheat and the size of the family.[1] Though never expressly sanctioned by specific legislation, the example of Berkshire was quickly followed by the whole country. The rapid spread of the Berkshire plan shows the temper of the time; but it was certainly

[1] See Fowle, The Poor Law, pp. 65, 66.

facilitated by Parliament legalizing, the next year, outdoor relief to the able-bodied, and that in aid of wages. The Act of 1723 which permitted parishes to establish the "workhouse test" in giving relief, was formally rescinded, and it was expressly stipulated that refusal to enter a workhouse should not be a ground for withholding relief. The only test of destitution was the opinion of the justices as to whether the income of the family was sufficient or not; and what was not earned in wages the justices usually made up in relief. The country could hardly have gone further in making the obtaining of relief easy and its administration totally indiscriminating.

Meanwhile, pauperism increased enormously and the poor rates even more rapidly. In 1783 the amount expended for poor-relief was £2,004,238; in 1803 it was £4,267,965; and in 1818 it reached its maximum in the sum of £7,870,801, the population of the country being about 11,000,000.[1] The per capita taxation for poor-relief in 1818 (13s. 4d.) was six times as great as it had been in 1750 (2s. 2d.). Moreover, the material condition of the poor was not bettered, for wages fell rapidly, inasmuch as the pauperized laborer depending for his support upon public relief, could afford to underbid the independent laborer. Most of all were the poor affected morally. The laboring classes, if we can believe the witnesses of the time, lost their independence, and with it their efficiency, self-respect, and self-control.

Just what proportion of the enormous increase of pauperism, which took place in England between 1780 and 1820, must be ascribed to unwise methods of relief and what to the industrial and political changes of the time, including the Napoleonic wars, it is impossible to say. But that lavish relief unwisely administered was the principal cause of this increase was the belief of those who, like Malthus, investigated the actual conditions at the time; and this view has never been successfully controverted. It may at least be accepted as certain that the vicious system of public relief immensely facilitated the pauperization of England's working classes at a time when their economic situation was least fortunate.

The attacks of the economists, led by Malthus, upon the system gradually aroused England to the danger of the situation and slowly prepared the way for the sweeping reform of 1834. Feeble efforts at reform were, however, made before this. In 1817 a committee

[1] See Fowle, The Poor Law, p. 73.

was appointed by Parliament for the investigation of the Poor Laws. An able report was made; but all that came of it was the passage of the Select Vestries Act (1819). This introduced the innovation of associating with the Poor Law officers a local elective body which had the decisive voice in the administration of relief. Further facilities also were provided for the building of workhouses, and more discrimination was urged upon local authorities in the giving of relief. Such was the state of affairs when in February, 1832, a second royal commission was appointed to investigate the practical workings of the Poor Law.

7. The Poor Law of 1834.—The report of this commission was published in February, 1834, and contained the most startling disclosures regarding the abuses connected with the whole system of relief. Into the evidence cited by this deservedly famous document, which still merits the attention of students of poor-relief, we can not enter; but it gave ample proof of an almost unbelievable state of corruption on the part of both the recipients and the givers of relief. The report had a profound influence upon Parliament, and a bill embodying practically all its recommendations known as the "Poor Law Amendment Act," was passed by an immense majority.

The report of the commission advocated no new principles of relief. Its famous formula, "that the condition of the pauper ought to be, on the whole, less eligible than that of the independent laborer," which it declared must be the fundamental principle in a system of legal relief, was new in language only. The spirit of this principle was embodied in the Poor Law of Elizabeth, to which the report constantly refers as "the foundation and text-book of the English Poor Law." Consequently, the Law of 1834 was concerned chiefly with the organization of the administration of relief rather than with the introduction of new principles of relief.

The main provisions of the new law may be summed up conveniently under three heads: (1) A central authority was created in a board of three Poor Law Commissioners, who had extensive powers over local authorities. Not only could this board issue orders and enforce regulations as to the giving of relief, but it exercised also minute supervision over local administration through inspectors[1] who visited the workhouses and investigated complaints, and through auditors, who audited the accounts of all local officials

[1] At first called Assistant Commissioners.

every half year. (2) The board of commissioners was to divide the country into districts of convenient size, to take the place of the 15,000 parishes, as the administrative units of the relief system. Each district, or Poor Law union, as it was called, had an elective board of guardians who were the responsible local authorities in the administration of relief; and as executive organs each board had one or more salaried relieving officers. (3) The guardians of each union were required to provide and build at least one workhouse, and all relief to the able-bodied outside was declared illegal, though this provision was only gradually enforced. Thus was reëstablished the "workhouse test," the corner-stone of every wise system of public relief.

This résumé of the main provisions of the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 shows that it was essentially a centralizing measure; that, aside from the illegalizing of outdoor relief for the able-bodied, it accomplished the reform of the relief system by providing a central authority which, through supervision, could secure uniformity and efficiency in local administration.

8. Legislation Since 1834.—The board of Poor Law commissioners, established by the law of 1834, was limited in duration to five years. From the first a bitter fight was waged upon the unlimited powers and authority of this central board, and, indeed, by the laboring classes upon the whole reformed system of relief. But the board was continued by Parliament in practically its original form until 1847, when it was transformed into a ministerial department responsible to Parliament. The desirability of consolidating various branches of local government into one department led again, in 1871, to a further change, the establishment of the Local Government Board, which has general supervision of all such matters as public sanitation, public works, and poor-relief, and which has become now one of the most important departments of the Government.

The powers and functions of the central board have remained the same, save for gradual enlargement. Among these powers is that of issuing orders for the carrying out of the intentions of legislation. These orders have the force of law, and, hence, are hardly less worthy of note than acts of Parliament. Among the more important of them have been, the "Outdoor Relief Prohibitory Order" of 1844, which forbade relief to the able-bodied outside of the workhouse, save in exceptional cases; the "General Consolidated Order"

of 1847, giving exhaustive directions as to the administration of relief, the management of workhouses, the meetings of guardians, and the duties of officers; and the "Outdoor Relief Regulation Order," regulating the giving of outdoor relief in cases where permitted, especially in large cities.

Through the influence of Sir Robert Peel, in 1846, the law of settlement was further modified by what is known as the "Irremovable Poor Act." This act forbade removal in cases of indigency, if the person in question had dwelt five years in the parish. Later acts reduced the period to one year of residence within the union and so increased the number of cases of "irremovability" that relief in the place of sojourn is now the rule.

In the law of 1834 each parish was to pay for the relief of its own poor, while the common expenses of the union were to be borne by the parishes in proportion to the cost of their own paupers. It soon became manifest, however, that this was a clumsy arrangement and unjust to the poorer parishes of a union. After several half-way measures the "Union Chargeability Act" was finally passed in 1865, making the Poor Law union instead of the parish the bearer of the poor rate.

For the performance of certain functions of relief, as, *e. g.*, the care of children, the Poor Law union had been found to be too small. Accordingly in 1879 power was given the central authorities to unite two or more unions for any purpose connected with poor-relief. Thus many unions have been formed into districts for the erection of the so-called "District Schools," where large numbers of pauper children are educated together. The tendency is to transfer the costlier branches of public relief to these large administrative districts; and when this is not done, subsidies from general public funds, as in the care of the indigent insane, are given local authorities for the more expensive forms of relief.

It is impossible in this brief sketch to notice the many philanthropic movements during the latter half of the nineteenth century, which have brought about so many improvements in the administration of public relief in the case of the most helpless classes, as, *e. g.*, the agitations for the better care of the sick poor, for the removal of the insane from the workhouses, and for the better education of pauper children. These will, however, be noticed briefly in the sections which deal with the present methods of caring for these classes.

By the Local Government Act of 1894 the local administration of relief was, so to speak, completely democratized. Previous to that date the boards of guardians had been elected by a classified franchise which granted the propertied classes as high as six votes. Now equal franchise is given to all adult persons, without distinction of sex, who have resided in the union for one year or longer, provided they have paid poor-rate and have their names enrolled on the register of parochial electors. As a consequence many laboring men have been elected to the boards. Women, also, can serve as guardians, and a large number have been elected. One result of this democratization of the local administration has been that in some unions there has been a large increase in the giving of outdoor relief, as the labor leaders favor greater liberality, in this respect. But this can hardly be counted a serious danger, so long as the check of a supreme central authority remains.

The Present English System of Public Relief.—Aschrott has called England "the classical land of State poor-relief."[1] As we have seen, it is only in the broad sense of the word "State" that this epithet is historically deserved. Originally the relief was communal or parish relief, which perhaps may be traced back to the clan system of social organization, but which was given definite form during the Middle Ages by the fact that the Church was the sole agent of public relief. So the duty of giving relief became attached to the parish; and it remained so down to 1834. Even now the bulk of relief does not come from general public funds, raised by taxing equitably the whole country, but from local funds raised by the taxation of a comparatively small area, the Poor Law union. However, the act of 1834 did transform the relief system from a local into a State system. It supplied what had hitherto been lacking—a central authority which could secure uniformity of administration throughout the kingdom. Accordingly, local administration has now the character of appearing derived from a central authority. The system is a State system; but the carrying out of details is left to local authorities upon grounds of expediency. The recognition of the right of relief as a civil right is further evidence of the State character of the system; but most of all does this appear in the highly centralized organization of the Poor Law administration. Let us see what this organization is:

[1] Art. Armengesetzgebung in Grossbritannien in Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften. Zweite Auflage, 1898.

1. The Organization of Poor Law Administration.[1]

(*a*) *The Central Authority.*—The existing central authority in Poor Law administration is, as we have seen, the Local Government Board. The Local Government Board is composed of a president, who is the responsible cabinet minister,[2] of a permanent and a parliamentary secretary, of several assistant secretaries, of a general inspector, and a legal adviser. In addition several other important officers of the Government are nominally *ex-officio* members. The powers of this central board over local administration, as has already been said, are of the most extensive character. These powers are exercised chiefly in four ways: through the issuing of orders, through inspection and supervision, through the auditing of accounts, and through power of dismissal.

The power to issue orders and regulations to secure the carrying out of the intentions of legislation, is among the most important functions of the central board. These orders, known as Poor Law orders, have become of greater practical importance than the Poor Law itself, since they cover the whole field of administration down even to the smallest details. Thus, after the local authorities have decided that relief shall be given and what kind of relief, the method or manner of giving the relief is rigidly prescribed. No important step can be taken by the local authorities, such as the building of a workhouse, or the formation of a new union, except it is sanctioned by a special order of the board. Moreover, the board issues, besides these orders, which are mandatory, letters of instruction and circulars, which are in the way of explanation and suggestion, but are of great influence.

The power to inspect and supervise local administration is another important function of the central board. For this purpose the whole country is divided into fourteen inspection districts. Each district is under a general inspector. London, in addition, has three assistant inspectors. These inspectors are specialists, and usually highly educated men.[3] Their duties are to visit the workhouses,

[1] The best authorities here are Aschrott, The English Poor Law System, Past and Present; the article by Aschrott noted above; Fowle, The Poor Law; and C. S. Loch, Introduction to Annual Charities Register and Digest.

[2] The president of the local Government Board does not always have a seat in the cabinet; but of late years this has been the practice.

[3] Their salary is usually high, being generally about £1,000, with allowances

to attend, occasionally, meetings of boards of guardians, to hear complaints, and otherwise to supervise the relief administration of their districts. Once a year they hand in a somewhat elaborate report to the central authorities.

An efficient means of control over local authorities is through the power of auditing accounts. There are fifty district auditors who examine, every half-year, the accounts of all officials, and who have power to disallow any item therein which is at variance with the orders of the central board. Every such disallowed item becomes a personal charge upon the board of guardians, though the Local Government Board has discretionary power to remit the disallowance.

Finally, the central board has power to discharge all officials employed by the local authorities, though these latter may neither appoint nor remove any officer without the consent of the board. This makes the administrative officers in the relief system, such as the masters of workhouses and the relieving officers, independent of local political influences, and secures efficiency by making sure the dismissal of incompetents.

(*b*) *The Local Authorities.*—For the purposes of local administration, the country is divided (1900) into 649 Poor Law unions, new unions being formed from time to time as the population increases. For each of these unions there is a board of guardians, who are the responsible local authorities charged with the carrying out of the Poor Law and the orders of the central board. The guardians are unpaid honor officers who are elected for three years from the voters of the union, one-third of their number retiring each year. The elected guardians, however, are entitled to choose, in addition, their chairman and vice-chairman, and two other members from outside their own body, provided such persons are qualified to be guardians of the union.

All persons, both men and women, are eligible for service as guardians who are either parochial electors or have lived in the union for the twelve months preceding. Nearly every person of full age resident in the union at least one year is entitled to vote for guardians, if his rates have been paid, unless he has within the previous twelve months received relief of any sort except certain forms of medical relief. The number of guardians elected in each

for traveling expenses and clerical assistance. See Aschrott's English Poor Law System.

union is fixed by the central board, but there is always one or more for each parish or city ward. In rural districts the guardians are the district councilors, but as guardians they are an administrative body separate and distinct from the district council.

The board of guardians is aided by paid officers, a clerk and one or more relieving officers. These are elected by the board, but their election must be confirmed by the Local Government Board, which also has the decisive voice regarding their salary or any later increase in salary. Moreover, as already noted, they can be dismissed only by the central authorities if guilty of any neglect of duty. The clerk keeps all records of the board, gives legal advice, and looks after many matters of detail; hence, he may have a great deal to do with shaping the policy of the board. The relieving officers receive and are supposed to investigate all applications for relief, to report on the same to the board, and to distribute "duly and punctually" the relief granted by the board.

The boards of guardians hold regular meetings, usually fortnightly, at stated times and places. At these meetings a regular order of business, prescribed by the central board, is gone through with, including reports from the master of the workhouse and the relieving officers. For the purpose of expediting business, in the larger unions the board has numerous standing committees, such as the workhouse committee, the finance committee, and the relief committee.

2. The Raising of the Funds for Relief.—The funds for poor-relief are obtained chiefly through the poor rate. But certain "grants" from the Local Government Board, taken from the county funds, now also form no inconsiderable part of the poor funds. These grants are now given for the keeping of the indigent insane in the county or borough asylums to the extent of four shillings per head weekly; also in London to the amount of five pence daily for every poor person taken care of in an institution; and finally, for the salaries and pensions of Poor Law officers. The amount of these contributions in the year 1896-97 was £2,034,171 out of a total expenditure, for all purposes connected with the public poor-relief, of £10,215,974.[1]

Apart from these contributions, each union must bear the expense of relieving its own poor through the local tax, known as "the

[1] See Aschrott, Armengesetzgebung in Grossbritannien.

poor rate." The assessment and levying of this tax is the business of the overseers, who are still appointed in some urban parishes according to the terms of the Poor Law of Elizabeth; but by the Local Government Act of 1894 the appointment of overseers in rural parishes was transferred to the parish council or parish meeting. The overseers are unpaid honor officers, and their work is largely done by paid underofficers, known as assistant overseers and collectors.

Besides these funds, local authorities are permitted, under the approval and supervision of the central authorities, to borrow for certain purposes, such as the erection of workhouses and other institutions. The amount of these loans in the year 1896 aggregated £1,681,081.

Of the total expenditures for all purposes connected with the public poor-relief for the year ended Lady Day, 1899—which were £11,286,973—£8,161,532 were obtained from the poor rate. This made the amount of the poor rate per capita of the population for that year 7s. 2¼d. In 1834 the amount per capita was 8s. 9½d.; in 1880 it was 6s. 4d.; in 1890, 5s. 11½d. Thus the amount of taxation for the relief of the poor per capita gradually decreased, though with many fluctuations, down to about 1890; since then it has been rapidly increasing. This is due, however, largely to the better care of the poor. Thus in 1885-86 the amount expended annually per capita of those relieved was £10 10½d.; while in 1896-97 it had increased to £12 10s. 4¾d.

3. The Right to Relief and the Law of Settlement.—Every fully destitute person is entitled to receive relief. The refusal of the local poor officials to relieve such a person is a punishable offense. Moreover, in extreme cases the courts would issue a mandamus to compel relief to be granted. The possibility of punishment, or of summary proceedings, however, is sufficient to prevent any neglect of duty on the part of officials. It is also to be noted that neglect to procure relief for a child, a sick or other helpless person, by a private individual who knows that such person is in need of relief, is a punishable offense.

On the other hand, persons who are possessed of money or property, and who make false statements in applying for public relief, may be punished as idle and disorderly persons. The poor officials have, besides, a legal claim upon the present or later-acquired prop-

erty of a person relieved for any relief granted within the last twelve months.

The duty of giving relief rests in the first instance upon the Poor Law union in which the poor person happens to be found. In case the person has not a legal settlement in any parish of the union he may be removed to his home, provided the removal is not excluded through special legal regulations. These cases of so-called "irremovability" are numerous. The more important of them are: (1) if the person in question has resided in the union a full year without relief; (2) if the person is a child under sixteen, living with a parent; (3) if the person is a widow during the first twelve months of her widowhood; (4) if the indigency is a result of sickness, misfortune, or accident, unless in the opinion of the justices permanent and complete incapacity for work is likely to result therefrom.[1]

In case the person has no settlement and is "removable," removal may take place, if there is no dispute, without form; but if there is dispute the guardians must secure a removal order from two justices of the peace. A pauper so removed from a union by a formal order of the justices cannot return without rendering himself liable to arrest as an idle and disorderly person. The number of removal orders issued has from year to year decreased.

A person has a settlement in a parish (1) if he has resided in it for three years "in such manner and under such circumstances as would render him irremovable;" (2) if he occupies for one year a dwelling house, whose annual rental is not less than £10, and has paid poor-rate; (3) if he owns an estate of land, however small in value, and resides in the parish forty days. Besides these "original" settlements, acquired by the person himself, there are "derivative" settlements, acquired in virtue of relationship to another person. Thus a wife on marriage acquires the settlement of her husband, and a child under sixteen takes the settlement of its father or widowed mother.[2]

It is evident from what has been said that settlement and the right to relief do not coincide. The matter of settlement is still connected with the parish, while the giving of relief is the duty of the union. And relief cannot be refused if the applicant is fully des-

[1] See Introduction to Annual Charities Register and Digest, 1902, p. xlix.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. l.

titute, and has a settlement in one of the parishes of the union or is irremovable from other causes.

4. The Procedure in the Granting of Relief.—Save in exceptional circumstances, all applications for relief must be made to the relieving officer of the needy person's district. The relieving officer must at once make an investigation at the house of the applicant, examining carefully into the circumstances of the case. He enters the information thus obtained in an "Application and Report Book," and at the next meeting of the board of guardians he makes a personal report upon the case. To this meeting the applicant also is regularly invited, in order that he may be given a personal hearing. After listening to the report and, perhaps, questioning the applicant, the board decides, first, concerning the granting of relief, and, if granted, then concerning the sort of relief to be given. This decision is entered in a book, the "Relief Order Book," by the clerk, and must be carried out by the relieving officer.

Over those indigent whose permanent relief is undertaken continuous oversight is exercised by a committee of the board of guardians. Standing committees exist for several classes of the destitute, such as children, the sick, those relieved with money, and those relieved in the workhouse. These committees, usually composed of both men and women, make regular reports to the board, so that from time to time all cases are reviewed by the board.

In emergencies the relieving officer has the right to give immediate relief in kind or an order for the workhouse. At the next meeting of the board of guardians, however, he must report the case, which is then taken up in the regular way for a definite decision. The overseers and justices of the peace can also give an order for relief in any sudden or urgent necessity. This is a remnant of their old power, and is rarely used by them. Ultimately all cases must come before the board of guardians for decision.

The above description of the procedure in granting relief in any particular case represents the spirit of the law. Unfortunately it is not always possible to carry out this procedure fully. The immense amount of business which comes before some boards of guardians leads to undue haste in the disposition of cases. Thus one inspector reports that as many as eleven cases were disposed of in four minutes by one London board of guardians. Again, the duties of the relieving officer are often so heavy that he cannot give proper

attention to the investigation of cases. Instead of having from one hundred to two hundred cases to look after, he often has from four to five hundred. Thus investigation is often neglected or degenerates into a mere form. Indeed, just here is one of the great weaknesses of the English system of poor-relief—that it gives no adequate recognition to the value of the principle of investigation, but upon machinery and routine to take its place.

5. Outdoor Relief.—The relief of the poor falls into two main divisions, indoor and outdoor relief. As these terms are used in England, indoor relief comprehends practically all relief given inside of institutions. It covers, in particular, the relief given in workhouses, infirmaries, schools, asylums, and other institutions *under the control of the guardians.* Outdoor relief is relief given to the poor in their own homes; but it also includes in England the relief of the indigent insane in county and borough asylums, private asylums, and licensed houses. But this exceptional use of the term is of no great importance; and practically the terms indoor and outdoor relief are used to designate, respectively, relief inside and outside of the workhouse.

As we have seen, one of the most important duties of the board of guardians is to decide upon the kind of relief. For their guidance in this matter there exist the two great ordinances of the central board, already mentioned, the Outdoor Relief Prohibitory Order of 1844, and the Outdoor Relief Regulation Order of 1852. The Prohibitory Order, which holds in most districts of England, forbids the granting of outdoor relief to the able-bodied, both male and female, save under the following exceptional circumstances: (1) sudden or urgent necessity; (2) sickness, accident, bodily or mental infirmity affecting the applicant or his or her family; (3) defraying the expenses of burial; (4) in the case of a widow in the first six months of her widowhood; (5) in the case of a widow with legitimate children only, who is unable to earn her own livlihood; (6) when the head of the family is in prison or in an asylum; (7) when the head of the family is absent in the service of His Majesty, as a soldier, sailor, or marine; (8) in cases of desertion of husband when there are children resident with the mother under seven years.[1] In exceptions (6) to (8), relief shall be given in the same manner and subject

[1] See Introduction to Annual Charities Register and Digest, 1902, pp. xxxvi-xxxviii.

to the same conditions as to a woman in widowhood. Moreover, these exceptions apply only in the case of residents. In the case of non-residents the regulations are somewhat stricter. But outdoor relief may be given to them under practically the same circumstances as are named in exceptions (1), (2), (4), and (5) above.

Outdoor relief may also be given in many of the unions in which the Prohibitory Order is ordinarily in force under what is known as the Outdoor Labor Test Order (1842). This requires the guardians if they depart from instructions and relieve the able-bodied out of the workhouse: (1) to give half the relief in food, fuel or other articles of necessity; (2) to give no relief while the able-bodied person is employed for wages or hire; (3) to set every such pauper at work. This labor test order can only come into force in circumstances of peculiar necessity, and report must be made to the Local Government Board within fourteen days after it has been declared in force.

In London, Liverpool, Manchester, and other large cities where it seemed impossible to enforce the strict provisions of the prohibitory order because of the large number of the unemployed and the small capacity of the workhouses, the outdoor relief regulation order is permanently in force. This order permits the granting of outdoor relief to persons of the female sex without limitation; and to able-bodied male persons under the following restrictions: (1) one-half at least of the relief shall be given in food, fuel, or other articles of absolute necessity; (2) no relief shall be given in aid of wages; (3) relief is only to be granted on condition of the performance of a task prescribed by the guardians. Further, the guardians are absolutely prohibited from using the poor funds to establish any applicant in business or trade; for the payment of rent; or for defraying traveling expenses. The exceptional cases in which outdoor relief can be granted under the prohibitory order are also valid under the regulation order, and the rules in regard to non-residents are the same in both orders.

These orders, it will be noted, neither prohibit nor regulate outdoor relief to those who are not able-bodied, such as children, the aged, and the infirm. On the other hand, they do not prevent the guardians of any union from abolishing outdoor relief if they see fit; and they especially emphasize that indoor relief is always to be preferred for the able-bodied. Any violation of these regulations,

regarding the granting of outdoor relief, will at the auditing of accounts be declared illegal, and the amount, as already noted, will be charged personally to the guardians or relieving officer.

Such are the regulations under which outdoor relief must be given. The modes in which it may be given remain to be briefly noticed. It may be given either (1) in kind, or (2) in money. Relief in kind is supposed to be the safer way, and is commended by the central authorities; but relief in money is so much more easily distributed that practically all outdoor relief, which is not required to be in kind, is now given in money. The allowances are usually paid weekly at some stated time and place—a practice which is now generally condemned by the government inspectors as being degrading to the poor on account of its publicity. Outdoor relief may be given (3) in the form of employment. Under the outdoor relief regulation order the work usually furnished is breaking stone in the stoneyard, but other sorts of work may be furnished. In most city unions, boards of guardians have the right in times of distress to open labor yards under the regulations of the outdoor labor test order. Finally, outdoor relief may be given (4) in the form of medical attendance. Each union must have at least one medical officer for every 15,000 persons, or 15,000 acres in extent. The medical officer is bound to attend any person upon receipt of an order from the guardians, a relieving officer, or an overseer. He must furnish the needed medicines and attention, but cannot order articles of food; and he must report his visits to the board of guardians, giving them such information as they may require. If a person is not already a pauper, relief through medical attendance does not legally pauperize, in the sense of entailing disfranchisement.

It was the purpose of the reformers of 1834 to put an end to outdoor relief, and especially that given to the able-bodied. As regards the able-bodied, this purpose has nearly been realized. In 1849 the number of adult able-bodied paupers who received outdoor relief was still 202,265. Since then the number has steadily diminished, until in 1900 it was only 59,268. Meanwhile, the number of able-bodied adults relieved in the workhouse had only slightly increased—from 26,558 in 1849, to 34,387 in 1900, not keeping pace with the increase of population. However, the vast bulk of English pauperism still remains outdoor pauperism. In 1900, out of a total of 792,367 who received public relief, 577,122 were "out-

door paupers;" and in spite of the costliness of indoor maintenance, the amount paid for outdoor relief was still larger. But the decrease in outdoor pauperism during the half-century has been marked. Thus in 1849 the number of outdoor paupers was 955,146, or 55 in every 1,000 of the population; while in 1900 it was 577,122, or only 18.2 in every 1,000 of the population; and, as we have seen, only a small fraction of these can in any sense be called able-bodied.[1]

6. Indoor Relief.—The workhouse is the fundamental institution of the English public relief system. It is such by the law of 1834 which established the "workhouse test," and such also by historical evolution: by the fact that it is the successor of the Elizabethan poorhouse; and by the fact that from it all other public relief institutions have been derived. Moreover, it is still the chief institution concerned with the indoor relief of the poor. This section will be accordingly devoted to a consideration of relief in the workhouse as practically synonymous with indoor relief. In later sections the institutions for special classes of dependents will be considered.

Each union must have at least one workhouse, which is under the control of the board of guardians. A special committee of the board exercises constant supervision over its management, visiting it as often at least as once a week. It is, in addition, visited and inspected by the inspectors of the central board and frequently by a committee of lady visitors appointed by the guardians. Its organization and management, moreover, are regulated by the elaborate rules of the Orders of the Central Board, especially of the General Consolidated Order of 1847.

Admission to the workhouse may take place in three ways: upon written order from the guardians; upon provisional order from the relieving officer; or by the master of the workhouse in cases of

[1] The average number of outdoor and indoor paupers in England and Wales at different decades since 1849 is as follows:

Year	Mean No. of Indoor Paupers	Mean No. of Outdoor Paupers	Mean No. of Total Paupers	Per Cent. of Estimated Population
1849	133,513	955,146	1,088,659	6.27
1860	113,507	731,126	844,634	4.29
1870	156,880	876,000	1,032,880	4.65
1880	180,817	627,213	808,030	3.18
1890	187,921	587,296	775,217	2.73
1900	215,377	577,122	792,367	2.50

sudden and urgent necessity. The pauper is first taken to the receiving ward, where he is examined by the medical officer, thoroughly cleansed, and clothed in the workhouse dress. If found suffering from an infectious or contagious disease, he is placed in a special ward.

There must be at least seven distinct wards for the classification of inmates: (1) for aged and infirm men; (2) for able-bodied men above fifteen years; (3) for boys between seven and fifteen; (4) for aged and infirm women; (5) for able-bodied women above fifteen; (6) for girls between seven and fifteen; (7) for children under seven. These wards are entirely separate from one another, and between the inmates of different wards there is no communication, save that which takes place under official supervision. Children under seven, however, may be left with their mothers, and above that age parents have a right to see their children at least once a day. Further classification according to moral character is recommended in order to prevent moral contamination, but this is carried out only in the larger urban workhouses. Married couples above the age of sixty, who may wish to live together, must be provided with a separate room, should they ask for it; but it is said that this privilege is seldom claimed.

The official staff of each workhouse consists of the master and matron, the chaplain, the medical officer, and the porter. The master is responsible for the whole administration of the workhouse, and has, accordingly, a great deal of power. The matron, who is usually his wife, assists him in the supervision of the female wards. It is the master's duty to look after the classification of the inmates, their employment, and their food. He must enforce order, industry and cleanliness. He must visit the wards twice daily. He must see to it that the daily routine as regards meals, hours of rising and retiring, is observed by all; and, in a word, that none of the numerous rules established by the central authority for the guidance of inmates and officials are violated.

A special chaplain is appointed for every workhouse. His duties are to hold services for the inmates every Sunday, to give religious instruction to the children who belong to the Church of England, to visit the sick, and to minister to the dying. The ministers of other denominations, however, have free access to the workhouse to visit inmates of their own denomination.

The medical officer has to attend to the sick, to see that their diet and that of the children is suitable, to report to the guardians concerning sanitary conditions, and to examine the newly admitted.

The porter keeps the gate and allows no one to go in or out without leave. It is also his duty to prevent intoxicants and other forbidden articles from being brought into the workhouse.

From this brief description of the duties of the officers it will be seen that the régime of the workhouse is more like that of a prison than of a home. Indeed, the distinctive feature of workhouse administration is supposed to be the compulsion to labor. The central authorities have taken strong ground against the conversion of the workhouse into an almshouse, and have insisted that work of some sort be furnished for all who are able to work, and that no one who can work be allowed to be idle. No remuneration is to be given for this work, and its character is determined by the local board of guardians.[1] However, on account of the rigor with which this labor test has been applied, more and more the workhouse population has come to be made up of the aged and infirm, and other helpless elements, who are capable of performing little or no labor. Thus the workhouse has come, in spite of the law, to be practically an infirmary or almshouse, though its discipline remains a sufficient deterrent to accepting its relief.

The life of the inmates is monotonous if not severe. They rise at a fixed hour, respond to roll-call, meet for meals, go to work, leave off work, and go to bed, all according to a fixed schedule. Their fare is of the plainest, being, it is supposed, no better than that of the lowest class of independent laborers. The aged and infirm, however, have a slightly more generous diet, while that of the sick and of the younger children is regulated by the house physician. Intoxicating drinks are strictly forbidden, but smoking and games of chance are permitted under certain circumstances. Food may not be brought to the inmates by friends from outside, and all books and papers brought in are strictly censored. The guardians, however, are supposed to supply books and newspapers. Friends of inmates may

[1] No feature of English workhouse administration has been more sharply criticised than the character of the employment furnished the inmates. The work has usually been of a semi-mechanical kind, such as picking oakum or breaking stone, no attempt being made to furnish work of a reformative or educational value. See Aschrott, The English Poor Law System.

visit them in the workhouse at any time by permission of the master, and there is generally a fixed day for visitors once a week.

To maintain discipline there is a system of penalties for the violation of rules. The punishment consists in a reduction of food for periods of less than forty-eight hours. Not less than thirteen offenses are so punishable. If the offense is repeated, or is one of eight grave offenses, there may be solitary confinement and reduction of diet up to twenty-four hours. Corporal punishment is not allowed, save in the case of boys under fifteen years.

If an inmate wishes to leave the workhouse, he must be allowed to do so after he has given reasonable notice of his intention. The notice required is usually one of twenty-four hours, but if he has discharged himself previously during the month he may be detained forty-eight hours; and if he has discharged himself frequently without sufficient reason, he may be detained a full week. When a pauper leaves the workhouse, he must take all his family with him, unless some of them are sick or detained by the authorities for special reasons.

Such is the English workhouse system of the present. Certain tendencies are, however, slowly modifying it, and these require to be noted from their inception in order that the present situation and probable developments may be clearly grasped. After the reform of 1834, all indoor relief was concentrated in the workhouse. But in spite of system and classification it soon became evident that certain classes of dependents could not be properly cared for in the workhouse. The children were the first to be partially removed. Already, in 1844, separate schools were authorized for the education of pauper children. But even yet, as we have seen, a large number of children remain in the workhouses; and in spite of the admirable arrangements made for them in the workhouses, there is a growing number of philanthropic workers who think that all children should be removed from the workhouse. Again there was early an agitation for the removal of the sick poor and the indigent insane from the workhouses. This resulted in the establishment of county and borough asylums for the insane, and in the cities of large infirmaries for the care of sick paupers. However, there still remains a considerable number of the harmless insane in the workhouses, while in country unions the only provision yet for the sick is a separate sick ward in the workhouse. Again, the perception has gradually

grown upon the authorities that the semi-criminal class, known as "tramps" or "vagrants," could not be properly dealt with in an ordinary workhouse. Hence, in the workhouses in towns there have been established so-called "casual wards" for vagrants, entirely separate from the rest of the workhouse, and sometimes these are separate institutions. Finally, the difficulties of furnishing occupation for all of the workhouse inmates has led to a still further differentiation. In several instances two or more unions have united to erect a common special institution for the able-bodied, where a vigorous compulsion to work can be enforced; while there has been a tendency at the same time to furnish recently erected workhouses with a certain grade of comfort which gives them more the appearance of homes for the aged and infirm.[1]

It is evident, then, that changes are now going on which will soon alter the present organization of the workhouse, and that we must therefore, regard it as an institution whose development is still incomplete. The future development will be sufficiently evident when we have considered the specialized institutions which already exist for the care of special classes of dependents.

7. The Treatment of Vagrants.[2]—As we have already noted, there are now "casual wards" connected with nearly all workhouses for the relief of so-called "casual paupers," or vagrants. These are usually merely separate departments of the workhouses, but in London and other large cities they are often distinct institutions with superintendents of their own. Casual wards are of two types, open or "associated," and "separate." The former are merely large rooms with plank beds, the only separation being that of the sexes. In the latter there are separate cells or compartments for each individual, both for sleeping and for the performance of work. Thus, under this system there can be no communication between vagrants, and, hence, no moral contamination, as there can be in the "associated" wards. Wards constructed on the "associated" plan, however, are much more common than those on the "separate" plan. Casual wards are inspected regularly by the inspectors of the Local Gov-

[1] Aschrott, Armengesetzgebung in Grossbritannien.

[2] Under this head see besides the Annual Charities Register and Digest the U. S. Consular Report on Vagrancy and Public Charities in Foreign Countries (1893); and Aschrott, The English Poor Law System.

ernment Board, and are of course under the control of the board of guardians of the union in which they are situated.

Admission to the casual ward is usually by an order from a relieving officer, which is good only for the night issued. But the master of the workhouse or the superintendent of the ward may admit, without order, cases of urgent necessity. Usually cases which are brought by a constable or a policeman are received. The wards are open for admission from October to March, inclusive, after 6 p. m.; and from April to September after 8 p. m.

On admission the vagrant is searched, bathed, and dressed in clean clothing, while his own is disinfected. If money is found on him it may be retained for his lodging. He is given a supper and breakfast of bread and gruel. Work is given him the morning after his admission, which usually consists of breaking stone or picking oakum. There is a definite task for each night or day of detention, and this the vagrant must perform before he can leave. For disorderly or refractory conduct the master of the workhouse can take the vagrant, without a warrant, before a magistrate who can send him to jail for one month at hard labor.

The vagrant is not allowed to discharge himself before nine o'clock in the morning of the second day following his admission. But discretion is allowed the guardians in the application of this rule, and if there are special circumstances justifying it the vagrant is discharged the day following his admission, provided he has performed the prescribed work. If the vagrant, however, has already been admitted to the vagrant ward once before during the month, he is not entitled to discharge himself before 9 a. m. on the fourth day after his admission.

Besides relief in the workhouse or casual ward, the vagrant may, as we have seen, receive outdoor relief from the relieving officer in cases of sickness, accident, or other "sudden or urgent necessity." But relief in such cases must not be in money. In cases of sickness or accident the vagrant may, of course, be taken to the infirmary, the expense being borne by the union in which he happens to be, subject to reimbursement from the union in which he belongs.

To overcome the evils of indiscriminate private relief to this class, the guardians in one or two counties have adopted the plan of distributing bread-tickets among the residents of the county. These tickets when given to the vagrant in lieu of alms are exchange-

able for bread at certain shops, so that the giver may feel that there is no danger of starvation. No matter how many tickets the vagrant may have in his possession, he can only be supplied with a fixed amount of bread in return for them. The object of this system is to discourage private relief to vagrants, in order that they may be dealt with more effectively by the public authorities. However, it is only partially successful in preventing the giving of alms to this class.

The numerous attempts to deal with the vagrant class through private charity, such as that of the Salvation Army, will be noticed later. It remains here only to note the repressive features of the criminal law for the correction and punishment of this class. If any person is found begging or soliciting alms in the streets or at houses, he can be convicted as an "idle and disorderly person" and sentenced to hard labor for not longer than one month. If, after having been convicted once, he is again caught begging, he may be sentenced to hard labor for not more than three months as a "rogue and vagabond." A third conviction brings committal to a house of correction and imprisonment with hard labor for not more than one year as an "incorrigible rogue and vagabond."

The number of vagrants in England seems to be increasing, if one may judge from the number relieved in the workhouses and casual wards in different years since 1860. In 1860 the average nightly number relieved was 1,905; in 1880 it was 6,709; in 1890, 4,929; and in 1900, 9,400. This increase, however, is probably in part apparent rather than real, and is not greatly out of proportion to the increase of population.

8. The Care of the Sick.[1]—Up to 1867 the only provision for the public care of the sick poor was the sick wards of the workhouses. In that year the Metropolitan Poor Act authorized the establishment of sick asylums and infirmaries in London for the reception of the sick poor. Since then the system of separate infirmaries for the care of the destitute sick has spread to nearly all urban unions; but in the country unions the sick wards of the workhouses are still the only public provision for the sick.

The Poor Law infirmaries are equipped like ordinary hospitals. In construction and in skill of medical staff they are not inferior to the best private institutions. Moreover, the poor do not look upon

[1] See Annual Charities Register and Digest, Introduction; and Aschrott, The English Poor Law System.

it as a disgrace to enter the infirmary, as they do to enter the workhouse, since the care received is the best and the acceptance of such relief does not disenfranchise. In consequence, the infirmaries are one of the most popular features of the Poor Law system and are well patronized. In London alone there are twenty-eight of these institutions, with an average daily number treated (1899) of over 12,000. In addition to the infirmaries, there are maintained out of the poor funds in several of the large cities, hospitals for various kinds of contagious diseases, such as fever and smallpox.

Admission to an infirmary or other Poor Law hospital is on the same general conditions as to the workhouse, plus the requisites for admission to such a hospital. The medical superintendent, however, has the right to admit any person who presents himself, if he sees fit. The guardians may recover the amount incurred by the treatment of any person not destitute.

The infirmary is directly in charge of a medical superintendent, and under the general control of the board of guardians of the union. However, in London there is a Metropolitan Asylums Board which has general charge of the indoor accommodations for the sick poor, and so has the supervision of all Poor Law hospitals in the metropolis.

The infirmaries may be used as training schools for nurses. This is now the more necessary on account of an order of the central board in 1897 which forbade the employment of pauper nurses in sick wards and infirmaries. There is consequently a great demand for nurses in rural workhouses and great difficulty in obtaining a sufficient supply. While the standards of nursing in the London infirmaries have long been those of the best private hospitals, the nursing in provincial workhouses and infirmaries has until recently been on a lower plane. But, through the strict regulations of the Local Government Board, the conditions are now being rapidly improved.

In case there is not sufficient accommodation for the sick in any Poor Law union, the guardians may, with the consent of the Local Government Board, pay annual subscriptions toward the support of any hospital for the reception of the sick poor of the union. In a similar way they may also subscribe towards any association for providing nurses.

The outdoor medical relief of the poor has already been described

under the heading of Outdoor Relief. But in addition to the provisions described, there are in London and other large cities Poor Law dispensaries under the control of the guardians. Medical relief is given at these upon order from the relieving officers or the guardians. Drugs, medicines, and medical appliances are supplied, and some of the medical officers of the union are in daily attendance except Sundays.

There remains only to notice the public provision for vaccination connected with the relief system. This is in the way of prevention of sickness, rather than of relief, but it is nevertheless a phase of medical relief. Unions or parishes are divided into vaccination districts. These are in charge of vaccination officers, and in each district there is a public vaccinator appointed and paid by the guardians. Every child who is not unfit for it, or whose parents do not conscientiously object, must be vaccinated within six months after the registration of its birth. Vaccination is free and is not considered parochial relief.

9. The Care of Defectives[1]

(1) *The Blind.*—As the blind are classed among the not-able-bodied, the guardians can give outdoor relief to them irrespective of age. Moreover, relief may be given to a blind wife or to blind children without thereby rendering the husband or father legally a pauper. Indoor relief for the blind is, of course, provided by the workhouse; but in addition the guardians may provide for the reception, maintenance, and instruction of any adult blind pauper in a hospital or any institution established for the care of the blind.

For the instruction of blind children, guardians are empowered to send a child to any certified school for the instruction of the blind, and to pay the reasonable expenses of such child whilst in such school, to an amount not exceeding six shillings weekly. Further, the guardians may, with the approval of the Local Government Board, send any poor blind child to any school fitted for its reception, though it is not a certified school. But these provisions of the Poor Law have been practically superseded by the Elementary Education Act of 1893.

That act provided for the compulsory education of all blind and deaf children between the ages of seven and sixteen. It is obliga-

[1] See Annual Charities Register and Digest, Introduction; and Aschrott, The English Poor Law System.

tory on the parent of a blind or deaf child to cause it to attend school between those ages. School authorities must, on the other hand, provide suitable schools for such children, or contribute to a certified private school for the education of such children. The expenses of and incidental to the attendance of such children at school must be borne by the school authorities; but the parent is liable to contribute such weekly sum as he is able; and if the amount cannot be agreed upon, it is to be decided by a court of summary jurisdiction and collected as a civil debt.

(2) *Deaf-Mutes.*—The public provisions for the relief and instruction of deaf-mutes are almost exactly the same as those for the blind. The guardians may relieve them either outside or inside of the workhouse, or may provide for their maintenance in some private institution. Deaf and dumb pauper children may be sent by the guardians to a school suitable for their instruction, as in the case of blind children. But their education is now, as we have just seen, provided for in the elementary school system of the country; and their maintenance is included in their education, unless their parents are able to contribute.

(3) *The Feeble-Minded, Imbeciles, and Idiots.* — The term "feeble-minded" is not used in England in a generic sense including all the mentally defective from the dull child down to the low grade idiot. It is rather used to designate those who are only slightly mentally defective—who cannot be taught by ordinary methods. Provision for this class of defectives has only recently been made in the English educational system, and is still very inadequate. A movement for special schools for these children was first started in London about 1890. Since then thirty-two schools for the special instruction of defective children have been opened in different parts of London, and these had in 1901 an average attendance of 884 children.

By the Elementary Education Act for Defective Children (1899), very similar provision has now been made for defective and epileptic children to that for the blind and the deaf. Children who are not imbecile, but incapable, by reason of mental or physical defect, of receiving proper benefit from the instruction in ordinary public elementary schools, and epileptic children, must attend some certified special school between the ages of seven and sixteen. School authorities may make provision for the education of such defective

children by the establishment of special classes, or schools, or by contributing towards the establishment or maintenance of some certified (private) school. Further expenditures may be incurred by the school authorities as in the act for the education of blind and deaf children.

There is a National Association for promoting the welfare of the feeble-minded, which works in co-operation with the public authorities. The association has three homes, and to these Poor Law authorities can commit feeble-minded children. Poor Law authorities also have the same powers in dealing with feeble-minded children as in the case of blind and deaf children.

The public provisions for the care of the imbecile and idiot classes in England are extremely deficient. In the whole of England there were in 1901 but eight institutions exclusively devoted to their care or education, though there were a number of county asylums with special wards or annexes for their accommodation. It follows that the vast majority of England's idiot and imbecile class are still in the workhouses, or with friends or relatives.

The guardians have large permissive powers with respect to this class. They may send idiotic persons to certified schools, and, with the consent of the Local Government Board, to any asylum or establishment for their reception and relief. They may also provide for the education of idiotic or imbecile children in the same manner as blind or deaf children. But the permissive character of these laws, as well as of the Lunacy Act of 1890, which empowers local authorities to provide separate institutions for idiots, renders them almost inoperative.

In London the provisions for this class of defectives is better than elsewhere. The Metropolitan Asylums Board provides accommodation in its Darenth Schools and at Ealing for more than 1,000 imbecile children. The Darenth Asylum also has custodial care of nearly as many adults; and at Leavesden and Catherham there are asylums for adult idiots and imbeciles and for harmless lunatics under the same board. The Darenth Asylum is the only institution for idiots in England wholly supported from the poor rates. The other seven are largely supported by charitable contributions and payments for inmates, nearly all of them expressly refusing to receive pauper cases.

(4) *Epileptics.*—No public provision has yet been made in Eng-

land for the care of epileptics save that contained in the Elementary Education Act for Defective and Epileptic Children of 1899, which we have already noticed. By this act the school authorities, as we saw, are empowered to provide for the education and maintenance of epileptic children by means of certified homes, either under their own or under voluntary management. Adult epileptics, if sane, who are unable to care for themselves, are left either in the workhouses, or with friends, or to private charity. A census of the workhouses of England showed that on January 1, 1900, there were in them 2,566 sane epileptics.

There are, however, three or four important institutions of a semi-public character for the care of epileptics. The chief of these is the Chalfont Colony established by the National Society for the Employment of Epileptics. The colony is organized on the German plan. The society is carrying on the work of establishing such colonies and homes for epileptics, and is agitating for State action in the matter.

(5) *The Insane.*—There were, on January 1, 1900, a total of 96,865 insane paupers in England. Of these 17,460 were in workhouses; 5,847 were in receipt of outdoor relief (being boarded or with relatives); 70,833 were in the county or borough asylums; 1,243 were in registered hospitals or licensed houses (private asylums); and 1,482 in unlicensed houses.

These different modes of caring for the insane demand a word of explanation. The county or borough asylums, which contain the largest number of the pauper insane, are supported mainly from county funds and are under the local control of visiting committees of the county or town councils. By the Local Government Act of 1888 a payment of four shillings per week is to be made from the county revenue for each inmate of these asylums when the cost of maintenance per inmate is equal to or exceeds that sum. The difference over and above the four shillings is made good from the poor rates of the Poor Law unions from which the inmates come. Thus the unions are without motive for keeping their insane paupers in the workhouses, since the cost of their care in the county asylums is almost wholly met from county revenues.

Nevertheless, as we saw, there are still about 17,000 insane paupers in the workhouses. This is due to the fact that many chronic lunatics who are harmless are discharged from the asylums to the

workhouses. But this can only be done by consent of the Local Government Board, and a medical officer must certify in writing that the insane person in question is a proper person to be allowed to remain in the workhouse. It must not be supposed that the condition of the insane in English workhouses is in any way comparable to the condition of the insane in American almshouses. Their presence in the workhouses is safeguarded by the central authorities of the Government in every way. Yet it is generally admitted that it is undesirable that any insane should be kept in the workhouses, and there is considerable agitation for their complete removal.

A number of the harmless insane are boarded with friends or relatives under the supervision of the guardians. Unlicensed houses are allowed to care for only one patient. Licensed houses may care for several and are inspected frequently. They are simply small private asylums, carried on for private profit. Registered hospitals differ from licensed houses in that they rest on charitable endowments. To all of these, guardians may commit insane paupers with the consent of the central authorities.

Over all the public and private institutions for the care of the insane are the Lunacy Commissioners. These constitute a supervisory board with extensive powers. They consist of a chairman, one unpaid commissioner, and six paid commissioners, of whom three are legal and three medical. Each county asylum is inspected annually by two or more commissioners; each licensed house six times a year; each registered hospital once a year. The commissioners also visit workhouses in which there are insane, and inspect all unlicensed houses at least once each year.

Commitment of the insane to institutions takes place through "reception orders" issued by a justice of the peace or other judicial authority. A petition for a "reception order" must be accompanied by two medical certificates from different practitioners to the effect that the person is insane. In some cases, especially where property is involved, the inquiry may take place before a jury. If the judicial authority is satisfied that the facts are as alleged, he issues the reception order, and the relieving officer accompanies the lunatic to the asylum.

After-Care Associations exist to aid poor patients who are discharged recovered from the asylums to start again in life. The associations provide cottage homes in the country for convalescent

purposes, find employment for the recovered insane and assist them by grants of money and clothing. In this way much is done to prevent relapses.

(6) *Inebriates.*—Until recent years habitual drunkenness was considered merely as an offense calling for punitive treatment. But in England as elsewhere the tendency now is to consider it a malady nearly allied to insanity and calling for remedial treatment in special hospitals and sanatoria. By the Inebriates Act of 1898 State interference and control in certain cases of habitual drunkenness are provided for. A person who is convicted of an offense punishable with imprisonment and who is an habitual drunkard, if the court is satisfied that the offense was committed while under the influence of drink, or that drunkenness was a contributing cause, may be sent to a State inebriate reformatory or to a certified (private) inebriate reformatory for a term not exceeding four years. Again, any person who has been convicted of drunkenness three times during twelve months, and who is an habitual drunkard, may upon a fourth conviction be sent to an inebriate reformatory to be detained not longer than three years.

This act, however, has not been put into operation widely for the reason that there are comparatively few inebriate reformatories. The act provides for the establishment of such reformatories either by the Secretary of State from moneys provided by Parliament, or by county or borough councils from county funds supplemented by grants from the treasury. Counties may also contract with private reformatories to receive criminal inebriates, if such reformatories have been certified by the Secretary of State as fit for the purpose. By the end of 1901 eighteen counties and seventy-eight county and municipal boroughs had made some provision for drunkards convicted in accordance with the terms of the act.

Under the Habitual Drunkards Act (1879) a system of licensed "retreats" exists for the voluntary reception and detention of habitual drunkards. A borough or county council can give a license to keep such a retreat for a period of two years. A competent medical man man must be attached to each retreat, and they are inspected twice each year by a government inspector of retreats. Any habitual drunkard may apply to the keeper of the retreat for admission if he is willing to sign a statement that he will submit to the regulations and remain in the retreat a certain time. Two persons must also

make a declaration that the applicant is an habitual drunkard and understands the effect of his application; and finally, a justice of the peace has to attest the applicant's signature on the same two conditions. The applicant once admitted cannot leave the retreat until the expiration of the period fixed upon for his detention, unless discharged by the order of a justice. He cannot be detained longer than two years; but he can be readmitted at any time upon his own application, and thus in effect the term of his detention extended.

There are about twenty of these "licensed retreats" having accommodation for about 250 patients, and nearly as many more not licensed, having provision for about the same number. On the whole, the stage of development of these institutions, as well as of the inebriate reformatories, must be considered far from satisfactory. There is no compulsory detention in retreats other than that agreed to by the applicant and no provision at public cost for the treatment of poor inebriates, or those of limited resources. Moreover, those retreats and homes which have admitted, upon contract with counties or boroughs, cases committed by the courts have been seriously demoralized, as often these cases on account of their moral depravity have been found unsuited for treatment in such private institutions.

(7) *Cripples.*—As we have already seen, there is the same provision under the Elementary Education Act of 1899 for lame or deformed children, who, by reason of their physical defect are incapable of receiving proper benefit from instruction in the ordinary public elementary schools, as there is for defective and epileptic children. In addition, the guardians have the power of sending such children to certified schools or to any asylum or institution where they may be permanently cared for, the expense being borne by the Poor Law union. There are now about a half-dozen such homes or schools for cripples, under different auspices, where they receive industrial training. Besides these, there are a number of orthopedic hospitals where the diseases and malformations of cripples are treated by surgical means. But on the whole it must be said that the special provisions for this class of unfortunates in England, as in other countries, are still extremely meager and manifestly insufficient. The bulk of this class in adult life seems to be found in the workhouses or in private homes for incurables.

10. The Treatment of Children.[1]—The law of 1834 left

[1] Under this head see Chance's Children Under the Poor Law, Aschrott's Eng-

the children in the workhouses, but even at that early time there were not wanting those who protested against such an arrangement. Accordingly in 1839 the Poor Law commissioners instituted an inquiry into the condition of the children in the workhouses, which resulted in a report in 1841 recommending that unions be combined into districts for the establishment of schools for pauper children. Three years later a law was passed authorizing the establishment of these so-called "District Schools." Since then the agitation for the complete removal of the children from the workhouses has continued, and various methods have been placed at the option of boards of guardians to bring this about. But on January 1, 1901, there were still 50,828 children under sixteen years of age receiving indoor relief, nearly one-half of whom were in workhouses. Nevertheless, the educational standpoint is now dominant in the treatment of pauper children, though there are still those who oppose every measure which seems to make the condition of dependent children better than that of the children of the lowest independent laborer, forgetting that this principle is wholly negative and repressive and that in the treatment of children the curative side of the Poor Law should manifest itself.

There are now at least seven different ways in which Poor Law authorities may care for dependent children, besides the ordinary method of granting outdoor relief:

(1) They may keep the children in separate wards in the workhouse, providing a school for them within its walls. This system is still common in the rural workhouses, though the number of unions which practice it is steadily decreasing, as the Local Government Board does not encourage such workhouse schools. However, in 1900 there were still in such workhouse schools 2,836 children.

(2) Guardians may keep children in the workhouse, but send them to an ordinary public elementary school. This system is now in general vogue; no less than 508 out of 649 unions in 1900 sent children to the public elementary schools. While this system is some improvement upon the workhouse school, it is to be condemned as in no effectual way removing the children from the moral contamination and degradation of workhouse life.

(3) Children may be sent to what are called "Poor Law

lish Poor Law System, and The Annual Charities Register and Digest, Introduction.

Schools," of which there are several kinds. First of all may be mentioned the "District Schools," provided by two or more unions according to the act of 1844. These district schools are usually associated with large urban unions, such as those of London. They are generally institutions of considerable size, accommodating from 300 to 1,000 pupils. Their size and the barrack-like plan upon which they were formerly constructed have occasioned much criticism of these schools in recent years. It is justly claimed that large numbers of children cannot be cared for under such conditions without serious danger to their physical and moral health. To meet this criticism the latest of these schools have been constructed upon what is called the cottage-home system. A village of cottages is built around a school, a chapel, a hospital, and other buildings. Each cottage provides accommodation for not more than thirty children and a foster father and mother who are supposed to make something like a real home for the children. The schools built upon this cottage plan have been highly successful, and this system of caring for pauper children is, perhaps, most in favor with the central authorities at the present time; but the costliness of construction and administration in this system precludes its general adoption.

Another form of Poor Law School is the training ship. Ships for training boys for sea service may be provided by boards of guardians or the boards of school or asylum districts, and are under the same general regulations as other Poor Law schools. At present the only such training ship provided is the "Exmouth" under the control of the Metropolitan Asylums Board.

The most common form of Poor Law school are the so-called "Separate Schools." These are provided by single unions, and are known as separate schools because they are built outside of the workhouse walls, and usually at some distance from the workhouse. The children live in them, usually in large dormitories, and in all respects they are essentially like the district schools, only smaller. They are under the management of a special committee of the board of guardians of the unions to which they belong. In 1900 there were 10,300 children in these separate schools, as against 6,690 in the district schools and 2,836 in the workhouse schools. This made a total of 19,826 children in the Poor Law schools, while in 1883 there were 35,335.

The instruction given in the Poor Law school is of the highest

grade. They are under periodic inspection by inspectors appointed by the Local Government Board; and to encourage the employment of competent teachers Parliamentary grants are made according to the grades of the teachers' certificates. The instruction is mainly of an industrial character.

(4) A fourth means which the guardians have of educating pauper children is by sending them till the age of fourteen to certified schools under private management. These are mainly ecclesiastical schools or homes, many of them under the control of the Roman Catholic Church. They must be certified by the Local Government Board as fit to receive pauper children and they are inspected from time to time by the Poor Law inspectors. The guardians cannot pay for the maintenance and tuition of a child in such a school more than what would have been the cost of its support in the workhouse during the same period, and in any case not more than six shillings weekly. Many of these schools are for children with some physical or mental defect, such as the blind, and the deaf and dumb. No child can be sent to a school conducted on the principles of a religious denomination to which its parents did not belong, or if they be alive, without their consent.

(5) A new plan of caring for pauper children is through what are known as "Scattered Homes." Houses are built or hired by the guardians in various parts of a town or union at convenient distances from the public elementary schools, and in each of them about ten children are lodged under the care of foster parents. Thus far only a few unions have tried this plan, and as yet it must be considered as only in the experimental stage.

(6) Another means which the guardians have of caring for dependent children is boarding them out, either within or without the union. This is regulated by a special Poor Law Order of 1889. Unions which board out children beyond their own limits must have a boarding-out committee consisting of three or more members who are responsible for finding and superintending the homes at which the children are boarded; but unions which place children only in homes within their own limits may do so without a committee, in which case the duty of looking after the children falls upon the relieving officer and the medical officer of the union. The children who may be boarded out must be orphans or deserted, and between the ages of two and ten, except that a child above ten may be placed

in the same home with a younger brother or sister. Before a child can be placed in any family it must be furnished with a certificate of health by the medical officer of the union. Except in case of brothers and sisters, not more than two children can be boarded in the same house, and never more than four. The foster parents have to undertake to bring up the children as their own and to see that they attend school and church. There must be a school within a mile and a half of the home, and the residence of a member of the committee must be within five miles. When once placed, a child remains with its foster parents until the age of fifteen, unless the guardians withdraw the child, which they may do at any time upon one week's notice. Every six weeks the child must be visited by a member of the committee and its moral and bodily condition reported to the board of guardians. In addition children who are boarded outside of the union are inspected from time to time by women inspectors of the Local Government Board. The compensation to the foster parents may not exceed four shillings weekly for each child, exclusive of small allowances for clothing, school, and medical fees.

There are still other regulations and restrictions, only a few of which can be mentioned. Thus the child cannot be placed with relatives, or with persons who have recently received public relief. Again, in placing children, preference is to be given to the families of laboring men, and they are not to be sent to homes in places having a population of more than 15,000.

The boarding-out system has the obvious advantage over any form of institutional care, that it furnishes a natural instead of a more or less artificial life for the child. It makes possible that individual care and those personal attachments without which the normal development of the child cannot take place. Moreover, it effectually removes it from the atmosphere of pauperism and puts it into a normal relation with its social environment. Nevertheless, the boarding-out system has many opponents. This is partly due to bad management. Unless there is strict supervision by both local and central authorities, the boarding-out system is liable to develop serious evils. Again, others oppose the system for purely abstract reasons, such as, that it puts the child of the pauper in a better position than the child of the independent laborer. Owing to this opposition the boarding-out system has made but little progress in England since its introduction from Scotland about 1870. In 1900 there were

7,358 children boarded out, of whom 5,448 were boarded out within the unions to which they belonged, and 1,910 were boarded out outside of the union.

There is no attempt in England to place children in families with a view to their later adoption, according to the American plan. The law does provide, however, for the adoption of dependent children. They must be visited during a period of three years after their adoption, by the guardians, twice each year; and the guardians may at any time during this period revoke their consent to adoption if they think fit.

Here may be noted the plan of procuring the emigration of orphan or deserted children to the colonies, where suitable homes are supposed to be found for them. Orphan or deserted children under sixteen may, with their own consent and the consent of the Local Government Board, be sent to Canada under the following conditions: They must be entrusted to a responsible party, who, after placing them, must report the name and age of each child and the name and address of the person with whom the child is placed, to the Department of Agriculture at Ottawa, to the guardians of the union from which the child is taken, and to the Local Government Board. Protestant children must be placed with Protestant families and Catholic children with Catholic families; before emigration the children must have had a certain amount of schooling and receive a health certificate from the medical officer. The emigration of girls above the age of twelve is strongly disapproved by the Local Government Board. The number of children assisted to emigrate from year to year by the Poor Law authorities is comparatively small, not more than two hundred a year.

(7) One other method of dealing with pauper children remains to be noticed: the guardians may apprentice or send them out to service. This method is now reserved for dealing with older children, the law providing that any poor child above the age of nine years who can read and write his own name may be apprenticed out. Apprenticeship is considered a sort of relief, though neither parent nor child need be in receipt of other relief at the time. The term of apprenticeship cannot be for more than eight years. The consent of the person to be apprenticed, if over fourteen years of age, must be obtained; and the consent of parent or guardian, if the child is under sixteen, is usually required. The person to whom the child is ap-

prenticed must be a "housekeeper or assessed to the poor-rate in his own name." If the child is under sixteen the guardians must pay a premium partly in money and partly in clothing. In return the master has to teach the trade or business agreed upon, to the child, and has to provide proper food, lodging, and clothing, and in case of sickness or accident, medical assistance; he must arrange for suitable religious instruction being given according to the creed of the apprentice; and finally, after the age of seventeen, the apprentice must be paid such wages as the guardians may stipulate. If the terms of indenture are transgrassed, it is cancelled.

In a similar manner boys may be apprenticed to masters or owners of ships for service at sea. Guardians may also pay the expenses of boys, whose parents are in receipt of relief, to the nearest port to be examined for entrance into His Majesty's naval service.

Guardians must cause all apprentices under sixteen to be visited twice a year by a relieving officer or other suitable person, who reports to them upon the condition, treatment, and conduct of the children.

The Guardianship of Dependent Children.—The guardians may at any time by resolution assume control over a child who is wholly or partly maintained out of the poor rates and (1) who is deserted by its parents; (2) whose parents, in their opinion, are unfit to have control of it by reason of vicious habits, or mental deficiency; (3) whose parents are unable to perform their parental duties by reason of imprisonment or being permanently disabled; (4) both of whose parents are dead. By an act of 1899 the control of the guardians over such a child lasts until the age of eighteen, and it is safeguarded by severe penalties for interference with the child over whom control has been assumed. Moreover, if a child has been deserted or abandoned by its parents, or allowed to be brought up at the expense of another person or a private institution, the court may, at its discretion, refuse custody of a child to such parent, if he be judged an unfit person for the custody of his child, and grant the custody of the child to such private person or institution.

Morally Imperilled Children.—For morally imperilled children there are four classes of schools—the Reformatory Schools, the Industrial Schools, the Truant Schools, and the Day Industrial Schools. The first two rest upon voluntary foundations and are under private management, though they receive public moneys in payment for chil-

dren committed to them by the courts and are subject to inspection by government inspectors. The truant schools and the day industrial schools, on the other hand, are under the control of school boards and so are maintained directly out of public funds. They are a somewhat recent experiment and are confined to large urban centers. The functions of these four different classes of schools we will consider in the order named.

(1) The reformatory schools are for children with distinctly criminal tendencies, under sixteen years of age who have been convicted in a regular manner of an offense punishable by penal servitude or imprisonment. Children under twelve are rarely sent to these schools unless they have been previously convicted. The commitment is for a period of from two to five years, or the court may make an indefinite commitment, lasting not less than three years nor longer than the age of nineteen. Imprisonment in a jail or local prison previous to reception in a reformatory school was by an act of 1899 abolished. As these schools may be regarded as strictly a part of the English penal system, they will not be further considered here, except to say that in management and organization they are similar to the industrial schools.

(2) The industrial schools are for morally neglected and incorrigible children under fourteen years of age, and also for children under twelve with criminal tendencies who have not been previously convicted of felony. As was said above, these schools were originally established by voluntary agencies, mainly by religious denominations, but they now derive their support almost wholly from grants made by the treasury, school boards, and county councils. They must be certified by the Local Government Board as fit for the reception and training of morally neglected and refractory children, and they are inspected periodically by a government inspector of reformatory and industrial schools. In 1900 the number of industrial schools was 142, and they had under detention 24,718 children.

Children may be committed by a magistrate to an industrial school (1) if found begging or receiving alms; (2) if found wandering without home or visible means of subsistence; (3) if destitute, being either orphans or having parents in prison; (4) if found frequenting the company of reputed thieves or reputed prostitutes; (5) if beyond the control of parents or guardians, or if refractory in a Poor Law school; (6) if habitually non-attendant upon the public schools;

(7) if convicted for the first time, being under twelve, of an offense punishable by imprisonment.

As the Juvenile Court is yet unknown in England, the commitment usually takes place through a justice or police court. Any person may bring a child into court and if the magistrate finds that the child comes under one of the above descriptions, he may send him to a certified industrial school. A few of the industrial schools, however, receive voluntary cases, *i. e.*, those brought by parents or guardians without a magisterial order. In this case, parents or friends must pay for the care of the child. Magistrates must send children to schools conducted in accordance with the religious persuasion of the children's parents.

A child may not be detained in an industrial school beyond the age of sixteen, except with its own consent in writing. But by an act of 1894 the managers of a school are entrusted with the supervision of children committed to them to the age of eighteen. After eighteen months of detention a child may be "placed out on license" with any trustworthy person. The license may be revoked at any time and the child recalled to the school if the managers think it necessary for the protection of the child. A child above the age of ten, who remains refractory, may be sent to a certified reformatory school.

The industrial training given in the industrial schools has been much improved within the last few years. Now the best schools employ competent teachers who give technical instruction of a high grade, both theoretical and practical. The efficiency of the schools is, however, greatly injured by lack of classification, especially classification according to age. Usually children of all ages from seven to sixteen and of very different characters are found together in one school without much attempt at classification. In spite of this and other drawbacks, the industrial schools seem fairly successful in their work of reclaiming wayward children. It is estimated that about eighty per cent. of the boys who pass through these schools do well in after life.

(3) Truant schools are provided by school boards under the Elementary Education Act of 1876 for children who are habitual truants from the public schools. On account of the short period of detention of children committed to them, these schools have not been particularly successful.

(4) Day industrial schools may also be provided by school boards if the Secretary of State thinks them desirable for the proper training and control of the children on account of the circumstances of any class of the population of a school district. They differ from truant schools in that any children who may be sent to industrial schools may be committed to them as well as truants; and also in that the period of detention in them is much longer than in the truant schools, though it must not exceed three years or go beyond the age of fourteen. Children are committed to the day industrial schools by magistrates in the same manner as to the certified industrial schools. They are also received without a magisterial order upon request of a parent and a local authority. In these schools the children are detained only during the day, as their name implies, being allowed to return to their own homes after school hours. They are said to be most successful.

C. Private Charity in England.—It has been claimed as one of the chief merits of the English public relief system that by the sharp delimitation of its field it gives ample room for the growth of a private charity alongside of it.[1] Every fully destitute person is entitled to relief under the Poor Law, and so is properly a public charge; on the other hand, those who need aid and yet are not "fully destitute" are the proper objects of private charity. By thus giving private benevolence a definite field to work in there is no doubt that, on the one hand, the Poor Law has avoided the danger of drying up private benevolence, while, on the other, it has encouraged the development of a rational system of voluntary charity. But it must not be supposed that the division of labor between public relief and private charity in England is a hard and fast one. On the contrary, there are continual overlappings and duplications of the public and private systems, just as there are in other countries. Thus every form of activity discussed in the preceding paragraphs, under public relief, is duplicated by private effort. Nor does the State longer rigidly confine public relief to the fully destitute. Especially in the case of the defective classes, the deaf-mutes, the blind, the feeble-minded, the epileptic, and the insane, is the tendency manifest for the State to take upon itself the entire charge for the education or care of these classes. On the other hand, private philanthropy has always cared for a certain proportion of the fully destitute in England. Members

1 Aschrott, Armengesetzgebung in Grossbritannien.

of the upper and middle classes who become dependent have always largely been cared for by private charity; while in recent years an increasing number from the respectable laboring classes, who have become dependent, are so cared for.

We have no statistics of the number who receive relief from private sources in England. But from the extent and wealth of charitable institutions and societies one would judge that the number who receive their benefits can not be much smaller than the number who receive public relief.

Endowed Charities. —The most important private charities in England are endowed charities. These include not only foundations for educational and religious purposes, but also for private almshouses, for pensions for the aged poor, for relief of the sick, for fuel, food, and clothing, and for gifts in money, or doles. Many of these endowments are very ancient, having been created in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and even earlier. Thus most of the endowments for private almshouses, which are very numerous, were created in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, during the incipience of the Poor Law, when the Government encouraged such gifts to supplement public relief. Such ancient endowments are often of a purely local character, being limited in their scope to a particular parish and controlled by the parish officials; or they are connected with some ancient guild or craft, having been originally created for the relief of its poorer members.

The extent of these charitable endowments in England is very great. In 1818 a commission was appointed to investigate endowed charities, which finally completed its report in 1837. This report enumerated 28,820 charitable endowments, whose gross aggregate income was over £2,000,000 annually and which held in possession over 523,000 acres of land. Since then the number and extent of charitable foundations have increased enormously. It is, indeed, probable that the endowments of the nineteenth century exceed in extent those of all the previous centuries combined. A new digest of endowed charities in England and Wales is now being compiled by the charity commissioners, but has not yet been issued.

Judicial and administrative control over endowments has in recent years become an important public question. It has been a dif-

[1] See Kenney, Endowed Charities, and Annual Charities Register and Digest, pp. cxlvi-cxlix.

ficult matter to harmonize many of the ancient endowments with the conditions of modern life. Indeed, in many cases, the objects for which the endowments were made no longer exist. Thus we have endowments for the ransom of prisoners captured by pirates, or for the relief of those imprisoned for debt. In many more cases, the objects for which the endowment was created are now regarded as harmful to society, such as the giving of doles in money or kind. To meet these conditions a Board of Charity Commissioners was established in 1853, and has since then had its powers considerably enlarged. This is primarily a board with inspective and supervisory powers, rather than a board of control. Through a staff of inspectors the commissioners inspect the bulk of charitable endowment annually. The light thus thrown on the working of endowments has of itself done much to effect their improvement. The charity commissioners have the further important power of remodeling arrangements for the administration of a charitable endowment in certain cases. All small endowments, the income from which does not exceed £50, may be thus remodeled. But if the income from an endowment exceeds £50 a year, the commissioners can not remodel its administration, unless requested to do so by the trustees themselves. This is a mischievous limitation, and practically makes impossible the reform of some of the most antiquated, if not absurd, charitable endowments in England.

There is but one possible remedy in cases where the trustees of a useless or mischievous endowment refuse to apply for a scheme to remodel its administration: the charity commissioners may carry the case to the Court of Chancery, which is now a part of the High Court of Justice. This court has jurisdiction not only to compel trustees to perform the trusts reposed in them, but also to remodel the arrangements of an endowment if the particular objects contemplated by the founder no longer exist, or if the details prescribed by him are found unworkable. But unfortunately the court has disclaimed the power of remodeling arrangements made by the founder merely because they are inconvenient or even pernicious to society. All attempts to remove by act of Parliament this inability of the court and of the charity commissioners to deal with mischievous endowments, have thus far failed. Thus there are at present in England no legal means to remold charitable endowments which have come to be regarded as harmful to society.

D. Ecclesiastical Charity.

(1) *The Church of England.*[1]—The secularization of the relief system which followed the Reformation did not destroy the charitable activities of the Church. On the contrary it left the Church free to develop its charity along more natural lines. The burden of the general relief of the poor was always one which the Church was unfitted to bear, and an ecclesiastical relief system must have proved a failure sooner or later in any course of development. The freeing of the Church from this burden then gave it opportunity to expand along the lines of voluntary benevolence; and of this opportunity the Church of England has made the largest possible use.

Many of the endowed charities discussed under the last head are, in effect, church charities, since the controlling trustees are church authorities—churchwardens, vicars, bishops, or other church officials. Some of the ancient endowments were confiscated or secularized during the reign of Henry VIII., but many more remained intact under practical church control. The charities supported by these ancient endowments include, as we have seen above, numerous almshouses, gifts for education, apprenticing, pensions, and doles of money, food, and clothing. These charities are unfortunately often narrow in their scope, being limited frequently to the members of a single church or parish, and to objects which are now considered questionable.

The more recently established charities of the English Church, however, partake of the broad and enlightened humanitarianism of the nineteenth century,[2] and cover almost every object of philanthropic endeavor. Thus in the field of the care of the sick the Church maintains seventy-four cottage hospitals and sixteen special hospitals; thirty-seven convalescent homes for men and women, twenty-four for women and children, twelve for children only, and six for gentlewomen—all of these institutions being conducted on a charitable basis. Besides, to care for the sick poor in their own homes the Church has twenty-six institutions which train and send out visiting nurses.

In the realm of general relief work the Church has twenty-eight

[1] The facts given in this section have been obtained largely from the Church of England Year Book, issue of 1903.

[2] For an account of the social work of the English Church and dissenting churches, see R. A. Woods' English Social Movements.

sisterhoods, each with numerous branches, devoted to charitable work. These, as well as several orders of deaconesses, undertake along with religious work various forms of charitable work, such as the care of orphan children, of the aged, or of the sick, the training of poor girls for domestic service, and the visiting and relief of the poor in their homes. There are also several church societies, such as the "Metropolitan Visiting and Relief Association," whose purpose is the visitation and relief of the poor in their own homes along with religious work.

Among the most successful and extensive charities of the Church of England are those which are affiliated with the "Reformatory and Refuge Union." Such is the Children's Aid Society which had aided, up to 1903, over 17,000 dependent and neglected children. Such also is the Church of England Society for Providing Homes for Waifs and Strays. This society has eighty-seven homes, all of small size, the largest having a capacity of not more than forty. In 1903 these homes contained 2,102 children, besides which 707 were boarded out in families, 217 placed in other institutions, and seventy assisted to emigrate. Finally, the Reformatory and Refuge Union includes twenty-six reformatory and industrial schools for boys and twenty-three similar institutions for girls maintained by the Church of England. All of these schools are certified by the Local Government Board as fit to receive children committed by magistrates under the circumstances mentioned in the preceding chapter.

Closely allied to this work is that of the Church Penitentiary Association. This association maintains forty-four "penitentiaries" or homes for penitent fallen women. In these they are kept from three months to three years and fitted to return to normal social life. The association has also fifty-nine temporary refuges where penitents are received on probation for a short time preparatory to their entering the above homes.

Besides the institutions for dependent children noted above, the Church maintains fourteen orphanages for boys, forty-six orphanages for girls, and thirteen for both boys and girls. The majority of these institutions are of moderate or small size, although some of them are large, containing upwards of three hundred children.

The Church Army, an organization within the Church of England, whose purpose is primarily the evangelization of the laboring classes, has developed a social work somewhat along the lines fol-

lowed by the Salvation Army. The social department of the Army had under its charge in 1901 over one hundred labor and lodging homes besides numerous other agencies, such as labor registers, food depots, inebriates' homes, and prisoners' aid societies, for dealing with dependent and semi-dependent persons. Over 30,000 cases were dealt with in 1901 and £22,000 were paid in wages to inmates of the Army's homes. It is claimed that forty-six per cent. of all dealt with obtain a new start in life.

Among the many benevolent societies supported by the Church for special objects, we can notice only one, and that is the "After-Care Association," for the care of poor persons discharged from the insane asylums. Its object is "to facilitate the re-admission of poor convalescents from lunatic asylums into social life," by obtaining for them, when needful, a change of scene, by assisting them to obtain suitable employment, and by grants of money and clothing. The work of this society has been highly commended; and it illustrates the charitable activity of the Church at its highest level.

(2) *The Roman Catholic Church.*[1]—Next after the Church of England, the greatest development of charitable activities among English religious denominations is to be found in the Roman Catholic Church. This is perhaps because the traditions of charitable work have been more continuous and permanent in this denomination than in other branches of the Christian Church. Whatever may be the cause, the Roman Catholic Church in England has now extensive charities covering almost every aspect of philanthropic work.

In the field of general relief work, the most extensive and important organization is the St. Vincent de Paul Society. This society adopts wholly modern methods in its relief work. It investigates carefully all cases applying for aid, it keeps a record of these cases, it coöperates with other relief societies, and it sends visitors to the homes of the poor. The society has branches in all large cities, and in the larger cities many local branches. In London alone there are, for example, twenty-nine of these local branches, or "committees," of the St. Vincent de Paul Society.

There are several other societies for the relief of the poor. Among these are the societies for the relief of the aged poor, like the Benevolent Society for the Relief of the Aged and Infirm Poor,

[1] The facts in this section are taken mainly from the Catholic Directory, Ecclesiastical Register and Almanac, 1894.

the oldest Catholic charity in England. This society grants pensions to poor Catholic persons above the age of sixty. The Little Sisters of the Poor have as their special object the care of the aged poor in institutions. They are by far the most important organization engaged in this special branch of philanthropic work. They have twenty-eight houses in England, many of them being large institutions. In these homes for the aged, persons of both sexes and all denominations are received and cared for. An institution which carries on a similar work is Nazareth House in London, which has twelve branches in the provinces.

In the field of the care of the sick poor the Catholic Church has in England eighteen hospitals and convalescent homes conducted on a charitable basis. It maintains also eleven societies for nursing the sick poor in their own homes, and a number of homes for incurables. The various sisterhoods devote themselves largely to the nursing of the sick and the education of poor children.

The care of dependent and neglected children has always occupied a prominent place in the charitable work of the Catholic Church. The Church maintains in England eleven Poor Law schools for boys and twenty-five for girls which have been certified by the Local Government Board as fit to receive dependent children committed to them by the boards of guardians. It has also five certified reformatories for boys and two for girls for the reception of delinquent children between twelve and sixteen guilty of serious offenses. For delinquent children under fourteen, guilty of minor offenses the Church maintains twenty-seven certified industrial schools, fifteen for boys and twelve for girls. In England dependent, neglected, and delinquent children of Catholic parentage must by law be committed to these certified Catholic schools. In addition to such schools, the Catholic Church in England has about forty other schools, orphanages, or homes, for boys or girls.

The Catholic Church in England has numerous other charities, such as homes for fallen women, institutions for the blind and the deaf, etc.; but the above gives a fair outline of the range of its charitable activities.

(3) *The Salvation Army.*—Among the newer religious denominations in England, none have attempted more extensive philanthropic work than the Salvation Army. This sect was founded in 1865 by the Rev. William Booth, now known the world over as

General Booth. It was first called the "East London Mission," then the "Christian Mission," and finally in 1878 took the name of Salvation Army. In 1890 General Booth published his book, "In Darkest England and the Way Out," in which, after picturing the condition of the poorer classes of London, he proposed his plan of removing the more wretched of them to the country and rendering them self-supporting through agriculture. He estimated that he could make this plan a success if £1,000,000 were donated. The money was soon forthcoming, and this formed the nucleus for the now extensive charities of the Army.

According to the report of the English division of the Salvation Army for the year 1900, the Army had in England twelve farm colonies, comprising 25,562 acres, with 650 colonists. These colonies were connected with similar farm colonies in English countries across the sea for the purpose of assisting emigration. They were also indirectly connected with sixty workshops in the cities for the temporary employment of the unemployed. In these, in 1900, 48,512 men and women were given temporary employment. Besides, the Army maintained thirty-six labor bureaus through which 6,367 individuals were found situations.

In addition to this strictly industrial work, the Army has many other charities. It has 188 shelters and food depots providing sleeping accommodations for 14,041 homeless men and women. In these, in 1900, over 6,137,000 meals were given away or served at nominal prices. Again, the Army has 132 slum posts, and maintains ninety-four rescue homes for fallen women. In 1900 these dealt with 5,158 girls, of whom 3,449 were reported as satisfactory cases. The children's homes and day nurseries supported by the Army number seventeen, and in 1900 these gave temporary shelter to 23,425 children. It has eleven homes for ex-convicts through which 1,626 discharged prisoners passed in 1900 with satisfactory results in 1,393 cases. Finally, there are a number of other social institutions of a miscellaneous character maintained by the Army.

In 1900 these 609 institutions were cared for by 2,294 officers and had an income from all sources of over £1,000,000 annually. The report further states that the rate of growth of the social and philanthropic institutions of the Army is extremely rapid.

It is to be regretted that these extensive charities of the Salvation Army are not always carried on in accordance with modern methods.

While they are accomplishing much good, it is claimed by some that by giving relief too indiscriminately they are increasing some dependent classes, especially tramps and vagrants.[1] Of course, the sanguine expectations of General Booth, with regard to his plan of uplifting the submerged classes through returning them to agricultural life, have not been realized.

(4) *Other Protestant Churches.*—Of late years other Protestant denominations in England, as elsewhere, have been increasingly turning their attention to philanthropy as an appropriate field of religious activity. The writer has been unable to obtain the statistics of the philanthropic work of the various non-conformist Protestant denominations in England. But the philanthropic work of these bodies is now beginning to be proportionate to their wealth and membership. The various Methodist churches, in particular, have led in this movement to give wider scope to the philanthropic activities of the Protestant churches; but other non-conformist churches have not kept far behind them. The philanthropic work of the Quakers, or Friends, deserves special mention also; for this little denomination has emphasized from the beginning the philanthropic aspects of Christianity.

(5) *Jewish Charities.*—It is perhaps hardly proper to classify Jewish charities among ecclesiastical charities, as they belong to a race as well as to a religious denomination. It is appropriate here, however, merely to note that no other religious denomination in England has so well organized a system of charities as the Jews. Their charities cover almost every object of philanthropic endeavor, and are usually administered according to the most modern methods by trained, intelligent officials. Unfortunately the writer has been unable to obtain any statistics as to the amount of Jewish benevolences in England. But the extent and organization of Jewish charities would seem to indicate that they are proportionately greater than in many other denominations.

The Work of Benevolent and Fraternal Organizations.—Non-sectarian charities of every sort are abundant in England. Many

[1] The shelters of the Salvation Army especially have been sharply criticised. It is said with good reason that these shelters attract vagrants; for they receive all comers without investigation and without any labor test. It has also been shown that they are centers of contagion for various diseases. They render nugatory much of the Poor Law legislation aimed at the vagrant class.

of the charities of the churches above mentioned are non-sectarian so far as their spirit and aim are concerned; but their more or less close connection with some religious denomination makes it necessary to classify them as ecclesiastical. Secular or non-sectarian charitable societies or institutions—that is, those having no connection with any religious denomination—exist in England for the care of almost every class of dependents. There are societies for the education and relief of the blind and the deaf, for the care and nursing of the sick in their homes, for the support of hospitals of all sorts, for the care of the aged and the incurable, for the protection and care of children, for the rescue of fallen women, and for the giving of various forms of private relief. In brief, non-sectarian benevolent organizations duplicate, on the one hand, the work of ecclesiastical charity, and on the other, to some extent at least, the work of the public relief system. This might cause some confusion, were there not strong tendencies toward coöperation at work.

The scope of this article will not permit any attempt at description of this vast network of private secular charities. An illustration or two will suffice to indicate their character. An example of such a charity founded by private initiative is the "National Incorporated Waifs' Association," or "Dr. Barnardo's Homes," as it is popularly called. This organization exists for the rescue and care of neglected and dependent children. It has connected with it some forty different institutions in England which care for over 3,000 children, besides three emigration depots in Canada. Its chief method of child-saving is through placing out dependent children in homes, especially in Canada, and since its founding by Dr. T. J. Barnardo, about thirty-five years ago, it has thus placed out over 10,000 children. A good illustration of a non-sectarian charity due to the coöperation of different religious denominations and benevolent societies is the "Hospital Saturday and Sunday Funds." These funds are raised by various churches, clubs, societies, and business corporations, and distributed among the various hospitals in proportion to the amount of charitable work they do. The amounts contributed to the hospitals of London in 1901 by these two funds and by King Edward's Fund, a similar charity, aggregated £129,000.

Another class of charities of a purely secular character, and unendowed, are the various benevolent societies and institutions con-

nected with the various professions and occupations. These have been growing of recent years in number and wealth, until now they exist for almost every important calling. Their purpose is to furnish charitable relief for the unfortunate members of the profession or occupation. These societies are of two classes, those that distribute their benefits on a purely charitable basis within the calling, and those that distribute benefits only to those who have joined the society and paid a certain sum for a stipulated term of years.

Closely related to these latter are the so-called "Friendly Societies."[1] These are mutual benefit societies which pay to their members certain sums weekly in case of sickness, and at death a lump sum to cover burial expenses, and after death perhaps certain allowances to widows and orphans. The work of these societies, inasmuch as they are mutual insurance societies against destitution through sickness, death, or other misfortune, ought perhaps to be considered strictly under the head of preventive philanthropy; but because they are practically vast dispensers of relief to their members, they may be conveniently noticed here in connection with other benevolent organizations.

The importance of these Friendly Societies in the life of the English working classes is beyond measure. Not only do they encourage to the greatest degree habits of thrift, industry, manly independence, and sobriety, but their probable future development, some think, seems to preclude the necessity of any such scheme as state old-age pensions to the laboring classes. In 1902 the number of Friendly Societies in Great Britain was 29,985, counting each local organization as a society. These societies had invested funds amounting to £37,917,702, and a total membership of over 11,424,000. As regards industrial extent the societies are of two classes, the trade societies, or trades unions, whose membership is strictly confined to one industry; and the general friendly societies which take in members without regard to occupation. As regards territorial extent, the societies are also of two classes. Many are purely local societies which have no branches; others are societies of national extent with numerous branches. Among the friendly societies of national extent,

[1] For full information as to the charitable work of the English Friendly Societies, see Dr. J. M. Baernreither's classical work on English Associations of Working Men.

not confined to any trade or industry, the largest and most important are the Oddfellows and the Foresters.

Parliament has recognized the importance of the work of the friendly societies, and has established a friendly societies' registry, in which societies that conform to certain conditions of the law may be registered. These registered societies must have their accounts audited annually by a government auditor, and are otherwise subject to legal control. But in return for this they have certain privileges which unregistered societies have not.

Prisoners' Aid Societies.[1]—A form of philanthropy peculiarly well developed in England is that expressed by Prisoners' Aid Societies. This might also be classed as a phase of preventive philanthropy, but it is restorative in character, and may be conveniently discussed under a separate heading.

There are sixty-one prisons in England, and all have associated with them a voluntary society to aid discharged prisoners in making a fresh start in life. That is, there are more than sixty such societies in England and Wales. Since 1896 these societies have been made subject to governmental inspection and supervision, and those which attain a certain standard of efficiency receive a small grant from the Government to help them carry on their work. In 1900 the Prisoners' Aid Societies of England assisted 28,980 discharged prisoners.

The best of these societies not only find employment for discharged prisoners, and assist them by grants of money or clothing, but also have connected with them industrial homes or refuges for ex-convicts where they can receive training which will fit them to reënter free social life. In other words, they aim at continuing the work of the reformation of the prisoner after his discharge. Thus the prisoner who wishes to reform is surrounded at once, upon his discharge, with helpful influences which not only find him employment and restore him to family and friends, but equip him for work as well.

Different societies coöperate with each other, acting mutually as agents, taking charge of cases coming from districts other than their own. Again, to secure continued oversight over a discharged prisoner who has been procured employment in a distant place, corresponding members are appointed who look after such discharged prisoners. Thus this network of prisoners' aid societies in constant

[1] See Annual Charities Register and Digest, 1902, pp. 425-431.

communication with one another makes it possible to exercise a kindly surveillance over a prisoner who wishes to reform, long after his discharge, and to prevent his being led again into crime.

The result of the work of these societies to England must be not only a great diminution of the class of habitual criminals, but also to some extent a diminution of the pauperism and vagrancy which so frequently follow crime.

E. Charity Organization Societies.[1]—The crown of the English system of public and private philanthropy is the Charity Organization Society. Although strictly a voluntary organization, it coördinates public and private relief agencies, and so is the keystone, in every locality in which it exists, which binds together the two systems of public relief and private charity. That England gave birth to the charity organization movement testifies not only to the superior humanitarian spirit of the English people, but also to their practical genius for harmonizing private initiative with public activity in philanthropic work.

The first charity organization society was organized in London in 1869. The preceding years had been years of industrial depression; and, though relief was abundant, as Mr. Loch says, "Misery and destitution seemed to increase in spite of it, seemed almost to feed and multiply upon it." It was evident that closer coöperation was needed between the Poor Law authorities and the dispensers of private charity. Immense emergency funds and prodigal private giving were nullifying the effect of the Poor Laws. Organization and coördination of public and private sources of relief became indispensable to prevent the spread of pauperism and the wholesale demoralization of the poorer classes. Accordingly, Mr. Goschen, then President of the Poor Law Board, the Bishop of London, the Earl of Shaftesbury, Edward Denison, and others, took the lead in organizing a voluntary society which should bring about effective coöperation between private charities and Poor Law officials, and amongst private charities themselves; and which should secure due investigation and fitting action in all cases, and repress mendicity. This was called the London Society for Organizing Charitable Relief and Repressing Mendicity, a title which was soon popularly abbreviated into "Charity Organization Society."

[1] See Loch's Charity Organization; also R. A. Woods' English Social Movements.

This society was successful from the first in greatly reducing pauperism in London. By its methods and plan of organization it has made itself a model for similar organizations throughout the English-speaking world. In Great Britain there are now about one hundred similar societies, in the colonies about twenty, while in the United States there are over 150 societies. Such societies now exist in practically all of the important cities of the English-speaking world.

As we have seeen from this brief sketch of the history of the movement, charity organization societies are not primarily relief-giving organizations. Rather they exist to correlate and systematize the activities of relief-giving agencies already in existence. If a charity organization society gives relief largely, it runs the danger of coming into competition with other relief societies, and so destroying the possibility of friendly coöperation. As Mr. Loch says, "The society does not do the work of charity for the charitable; it is itself but a combination of charitable persons, each of whom, with the advantages of coöperation and a definite plan of work, ought to be the better able to fulfill his individual duties. It is not the desire of the society to supersede local charitable agencies, but to be representative of all such within their area—to afford means of mutual assistance and a place of meeting common to all who are engaged in charitable work."

Again, another reason why charity organization societies should not give relief largely is that they are in danger of losing sight of the higher aims of the society in relief-giving. The society aims at the cure of poverty by the rational coördination of the charitable efforts of individuals, private associations, and public authorities; by securing intelligent action in each case based upon a careful investigation of the facts; and by the rehabilitation of the individual through encouragement in habits of independence, thrift, and industry.

In general, it may be said that English societies adhere to these principles, and give no relief except in cases in which relief can not be obtained from coöperating agencies, and in emergencies pending investigation. But some societies have departed widely from this rule, and have given large amounts of relief, to their detriment, it has generally been found, as coördinating agencies.

Some further explanation of the principles upon which charity organization societies work may be helpful. No case is recom-

mended for relief until there has been thorough investigation by some officer of the society, usually by a paid agent, though sometimes by a volunteer. This investigation, if properly conducted, accomplishes three things: (1) it reveals the causes of distress; (2) it shows in what way help can best be given; (3) it detects imposture, if there is any, and so protects the giver. The facts ascertained through investigation are carefully recorded and filed in a registry of cases in the central office. This registry of cases is an efficient means of furthering coöperation between different charitable agencies, as from it fairly full information can be obtained regarding a case applying for relief. Beyond the work of investigation and registration is the task of restoring the dependent person if possible to self-support. This is mainly accomplished by English societies through the "almoner," the person who administers the relief, who makes relief conditional upon the performance of certain acts which tend toward self-support. "Friendly visiting" is not attempted by English societies in the same way or on the same scale as is attempted by American societies. So far as it is attempted at all it is done by the "almoner," or by "District Visitors" who work under the supervision of some church, without any direct connection with the charity organization society.

This brief review of the principles which govern the working of charity organization societies shows that they are a product of the combination of the humanitarian with the scientific spirit. They stand, on the one hand, for the perception of the superiority of intelligent and united effort; on the other, for the perception that charity has a higher duty to the unfortunate than the giving of mere material relief; that it should aim at the permanent welfare of the poor rather than the temparary alleviation of misery. The charity organization movement is, therefore, preëminently constructive, not negative and repressive, as it is so often represented to be; and, on the whole, it must be judged to be one of the highest expressions of intelligent philanthropy which the world has yet seen.

The plan of organization of English charity organization societies needs a word of explanation. The London society may be taken as typical, the plan being simplified for smaller communities. The London society consists of a Central Council or Committee with forty District Committees. The central council has general oversight of the work of the society, especially of the district committees. It en-

deavors to bring into systematic coöperation all charitable institutions and agencies, both public and private. It seeks to improve the administration of charity in every way, and to diffuse knowledge concerning the proper methods of relief. The council itself does not receive direct applications for aid, but these must be made through the district committees. The council is composed, aside from its chairman, vice-chairmen, and treasurers, (1) of elected representatives from each district committee, together with the chairman and honorary secretaries of the committee; (2) of additional members from the society at large, not exceeding in number one-fourth of the representatives of the district committees; (3) of representatives from metropolitan charitable institutions.

The district committees are local branches of the society, now forty in number, formed in each Poor Law union of London for the purpose of carrying out in that district the practical work of the society. Their function is to receive, investigate, and treat, in accordance with the principles of the society, all applications for relief referred to them in their respective districts. The district committees are supposed to be financially independent of the council and to be self-supporting in their work. But about half of them receive grants from the council toward their administrative expenses. They are composed, so far as possible, of ministers of religion, guardians of the poor, and representatives of local charities. For the performance of their work, the district committees have several sorts of executive officers. Sometimes a paid secretary is employed, but generally the work is in charge of one, or more, honorary secretaries who serve without pay, yet give a great deal of time to the work. In poorer districts, the work is in charge of district secretaries who are appointed and paid by the council. Besides the secretaries there are in every district office, one or more paid investigating agents or inquiry officers. Upon these devolve most of the work of investigation, and sometimes of receiving applications. Finally, the district committees usually enlist a considerable number of volunteers to act as almoners and visitors, and sometimes to assist in investigation.

While relief may be given by the secretary pending investigation, if the case is one of emergency, the rule is that no recommendation regarding the case is made until it comes before the whole committee for decision. In other words, "all decisions are made in committee." If the case is one in which permanent relief is needed or in which

pecuniary aid is likely to do no good, on account of evil habits, it is at once turned over to the Poor Law officials. The only exceptions to this rule are the cases of aged or infirm persons who have led respectable, industrious lives; for these the society undertakes to provide suitable pensions or to secure homes. If the case is one in which only temporary relief is needed, or in which there is hope of restoration to self-support, the committee undertakes to find suitable and adequate relief either from charitable institutions and societies or from benevolent private individuals. Finally, there are the cases which are rejected as not needing relief.

This plan of organization is modified in smaller cities, so that a single committee, usually called the council, carries on the whole work of the society.

Into further details of the work of charity organization societies in England it is not necessary to enter. Our purpose has been simply to show how this work is correlated with the whole system of public and private philanthropy in England. Enough, perhaps, has been said to make it evident that the work of these societies is truly constructive, being both preventive and remedial; and so is a necessary complement to the work of the Poor Law, which is almost wholly repressive.

M. Preventive and Educational Work.—Into the vast field of preventive philanthropy in England, both governmental and voluntary, it is impossible to enter and keep within the scope of this monograph. Only a few examples can be given as indications of the work which is now being attempted by the Government and by voluntary associations along these lines. In general it can be said that in England as elsewhere more and more attention is being given to the work of prevention. A few illustrations will be given.

(1) Among the numerous things attempted by the English Government in the way of prevention, perhaps the Employers' Liability Act and the Post Office Savings Banks are the most striking. The Employers' Liability Act, together with the supplemental Workmen's Compensation Act of 1897, provides that a workman may recover damages from an employer for personal injury suffered while in his employ, provided the injury was not due to the workman's own negligence or willfulness. The damages so recoverable, however, shall not exceed in amount the estimated earnings of a workman of the same grade in the same employment during three years preced-

ing the injury. Where death results from the injury the workman's dependants have the same right to damages that he would have. In case of total or partial incapacity for work resulting from the injury lasting for more than two weeks, the compensation shall be a weekly payment not exceeding fifty per cent. of the workman's average weekly earnings during the previous twelve months. The provisions of these two acts apply to nearly all workmen in the industrial occupations. The effect of the acts has been, on the whole, salutary. They have unquestionably diminished to some degree the amount of dependency resulting from accident or injury. They have done this, not so much through the compensation awarded to the injured, as through making employers more careful, and so preventing accidents. On the other hand they have to some extent failed, as some employers evade the law by compelling their workmen to renounce their claims to compensation, or find means to shift the burden on the workmen themselves. A very general result also has been that employers insure themselves against possible loss through the operation of these acts in mutual or other companies, which for a small premium assume the risk and pay all damages awarded by the courts.

Through the Post Office Savings Banks the English Government affords unexcelled facilities for saving and thrift to the masses.[1] At any post office in the United Kingdom, deposits may be made in sums from a shilling upwards.[2] The amount of such deposits, however, may not exceed £50 in one year, and the total sum to one's credit may not exceed £200. After the sum deposited reaches one pound, interest at the rate of two and one-half per cent. per annum is paid on every complete pound, and after December 1st of each year the accrued interest is added to the principal. Withdrawals can be made at any time, after notice has been sent to the chief office, at any post office in the United Kingdom. No charge for postage is made to a depositor for any letter passing between him and the chief office on savings bank business. In many other ways the facilities offered by the Post Office Savings Banks are much superior to those of ordinary savings banks. Besides, every depositor in these banks has the direct security of the Government for the repayment

[1] See J. H. Hamilton, Savings and Savings Institutions, chap. x.

[2] To encourage the saving of amounts less than a shilling, the Post Office issues cards with spaces to be filled in with postage stamps; and when a card has a shilling's worth of stamps affixed it will be accepted as a deposit.

of his deposits. Thus the State in England has made itself the banker of the poor and their direct encourager in habits of thrift.

The success of the English Post Office Savings Banks has been almost unqualified. From the date of their establishment (1861) they have been popular, and seem to have reached the classes whom they were designed to benefit. In 1900 the total amount on deposit was £122,365,193; while the average amount of each account was £11, 9s., 2d. Of the depositors 18.43 per cent. were artisans, 8.61 domestic servants, 8.14 tradesmen and their assistants, and 50.41 women and children. Of the total patronage only 9.2 per cent. have accounts exceeding £50. Moreover, 1,741,000 cards with stamps affixed to the value of one shilling or more and of a total value of £95,000, were deposited by school children in 1896, which shows the extent to which the Post Office Savings Banks are being utilized through the coöperation of the Government and the school authorities to inculcate lessons of thrift in the children of the masses.

(2) The work of voluntary associations in the way of prevention is even more extensive than that of the Government.[1] In some cases they parallel the work of the Government, but in many other cases they do work which the State as such is unfitted to do. Thus, while the Post Office Savings Banks reach those who are inclined to be thrifty and encourage them to save, they cannot reach the unthrifty. For these there have been organized in all the large cities "Collecting Savings Banks." The savings of the most shiftless classes are collected at their homes by agents of these banks weekly. The canvass is made early in the week before the poor have had opportunity to spend their earnings. Any sum from one penny up is received. As most of these Collecting Savings Banks are conducted with a philanthropic aim, though upon a business basis, they encourage their depositors to open an account as soon as possible with a post office or other savings bank. Thus they mediate between the thriftless and the institutions of the thrifty, the regular savings banks. In 1901 there were fifty-five of these Collecting Savings Banks in London. Similar in aim are the Penny Provident Banks established by some charity organization societies. The National Penny Bank, on the other hand, is an institution conducted wholly on a commercial basis, but by affording opportunity for making very

[1] Perhaps the best accessible account of the preventive work of voluntary associations in England is to be found in Woods' English Social Movements.

small savings it helps to increase thrift among the poor. This bank has thirteen branches in London which had on deposit, December, 1900, £1,935,559.

A good illustration of preventive work by voluntary associations is found in the Provident Dispensaries and Provident Medical Associations.[1] These aim to provide medical attendance for the poor who are unable to pay the ordinary charges of a physician, but yet are not proper recipients of free medical relief. They are to a certain extent a protest against the indiscriminate medical charity furnished by the free dispensaries. There are now about sixty such provident dispensaries and sick clubs in London alone. Their membership is usually restricted to families whose income is less than a certain sum—varying from 25s. to 50s.—a week. These families pay into the treasury of the dispensary or sick club from one to six pence a week, according to the size of the family and the expenses of the dispensary. In return they receive medical attendance from the medical staff of the dispensary, which is composed of reputable medical practitioners living in the neighborhood. Thus these dispensaries are conducted on the principle of mutual insurance. They teach the poor to provide for sickness by making small savings, while they assure them skilled medical attendance in their own homes or at the dispensary as a matter of right, not of charity. The Metropolitan Provident Medical Association is the most prominent organization conducted on these lines in London; it has numerous branches in different parts of the city, and over 30,000 members.

Societies for improving the dwellings of the poor are numerous in all of the larger cities of England. In London there are about twenty-five societies and semi-philanthropic corporations working along this line. The work of many of these, such as that of the Peabody Donation Fund, has been of international significance, but it can only be merely mentioned here. A good example of the combination of business and philanthropy, which some of these companies make, is to be found in the Four Per Cent. Industrial Dwellings Company. This company, which owns a number of model tenements, so adjusts its rents that the net return to the stockholders annually does not exceed four per cent. The work of these companies and societies for improving the dwellings of the poor has been influential in bringing about governmental action in the matter. In 1890 Parlia-

[1] See Annual Charities Register and Digest, 1902, pp. 175-190.

ment passed the Housing of the Working Classes Act, enabling municipalities to purchase land or buildings for the purpose of erecting improved dwellings for the working classes. Nearly all the large municipalities of England have taken advantage of this act, and as a result some of the worst slums in English cities have disappeared. The London County Council has erected some fifty model tenement buildings under this act and has many more in process of erection.

Here must be mentioned the work of Miss Octavia Hill in improving the dwellings of the London poor. This work, begun by Miss Hill in 1864, has been a wonderful leavening influence in English philanthropy. It aims at improving the condition of the poor, first through elevating their personal character, then through bettering their material surroundings. This is accomplished through a system of lady rent-collectors who act as friendly visitors to the poor while acting as agents of the landlords in collecting rent. Miss Hill's plan is to take entire charge of blocks of buildings owned by individuals or companies, guaranteeing the owners four or five per cent. interest. She then assumes charge of the premises, abolishing some of the worst evils, such as living in cellars, and promising the tenants improvements if by their carefulness they are deserving of them. She relies upon her influence as rent-collector to lift gradually the standards of the people in the care of their dwellings. After a time the profits from the rents are sufficient to make the needed repairs or even to erect a new building; but in the meantime the improvement in the character of the tenants through the influence of their lady friendly visitor, clothed with her authority as rent-collector, has been quite as striking as the improvements in the dwelling. This plan of employing lady rent-collectors who shall at the same time act as friendly visitors to the families from whom they collect rent, instructing them in the proper care of their homes, has been adopted by many of the improved dwellings companies as necessary to the success of their plans; but the spirit and the method of Miss Hill's work has had, besides, a world-wide influence.

Perhaps most people would agree that the highest expression of modern preventive philanthropy is to be found in the Social Settlement. That England originated the "Settlement idea," as well as so many other movements in modern philanthropy, is proof positive of the healthiness and sanity and depth of her philanthropic spirit. The "Settlement idea," is, briefly, that in order to help the poor we

must live among them and share their life. But practically the English Settlements have become large institutions, usually located in the poorer districts of cities, where all sorts of educational and social work is carried on for the laboring classes. There are now upwards of fifty University or Social Settlements in England and a voluminous literature upon their work.[1] It is possible here to notice only a few points concerning their history and activities.

The first settlement in England was established in 1885 in memory of Arnold Toynbee and was called Toynbee Hall. The leading spirit in its establishment was the Rev. S. A. Barnett, who had been for several years Vicar of St. Jude's in East London. He appealed to the university men who wished to erect some suitable memorial for Toynbee to come and share their lives with the poor. The result was that both Oxford and Cambridge united in founding "Toynbee Hall." Here a colony of university men took up their residence, not merely to lecture and teach, but chiefly to mingle freely with the poor in a social way, to share their life, and to become in all respects one with them. The success of Toynbee Hall was so pronounced from the start that the movement soon became a general one. Other social settlements were rapidly established by various interests, educational institutions, and religious denominations, until the movement is now world-wide.

As has been implied, the work of the social settlements is not necessarily of a religious character. While some of the settlements are founded upon a religious or even a sectarian basis, the majority of them divorce their work entirely from any attempt at religious instruction. The activities of the settlement are, perhaps, first of all, educational. Not only are there regular courses of instruction in nearly all the useful and liberal branches of knowledge, but series of lectures by public and literary men as well. Much is made of art in all its forms, and the education of the esthetic faculties receives scarcely less attention than that of the intellectual. But it is chiefly as a civic and social center that the settlement fulfills its highest function. Not only are healthful entertainments of all sorts here provided for the people, but there are meetings in which political, economic, and social questions are discussed, and civic consciousness thus awakened. The activities of English settlements, in a word,

[1] For a brief account of English Settlements, see Woods' English Social Movements, or Professor C. R. Henderson's Social Settlements.

embrace the whole range of preventive and educational philanthropy, and thus they are justly entitled to the first place among preventive institutions.

It remains only, in concluding, to say a word about educational conferences upon charitable matters in England. These conferences are now well organized in England. Under the auspices of the London Charity Organization Society there is held every year a conference on matters pertaining to the work of charity organization societies and to the public and private relief of the poor in general. For Poor Law officials there are one central and twelve district conferences, which hold annual meetings. Representatives are sent by the different unions to the district conferences, their reasonable expenses being paid by the unions. The district conference in turn chooses delegates to the central conference, which is usually held in London. Moreover, the central board has always one or more representatives present at the district conferences to take part in the discussions; while the President of the Local Government Board occasionally attends in person the central conference. At these "Poor Law Conferences," as they are called, papers are read on all phases of public relief, and the proceedings are published under the title "Reports of the Poor Law District Conferences." Thus the results of experience are gathered, presented, and diffused for the information of all, so assuring the growth and harmonious development of all parts of the public and private relief system.

SECTION 2.—SCOTTISH POOR LAWS

BY CHARLES R. HENDERSON[1]

HISTORICAL SKETCH.[2]—Mediaeval charity was administered by lord to vassal or slave, under the feudal system, or by the patriarchal head of a clan to his retainers in time of need; by the parish priest, the monastery and by benevolent individuals in the form of doles. In Scotland, as everywhere in Europe, there arose a class of sturdy

[1] Mr. F. L. Tolman has given valuable aid in collecting materials for this section.—C. R. H.

[2] On the various acts and statutes, see: R. P. Lamond, The Scottish Poor Laws, 1892.—George Nicholls, A History of the Scotch Poor Law, London, 1856.—J. Bell, Municipal History of Glasgow.—T. Chalmers, The Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns (abridged and with an Introduction by C. R. Henderson).

rogues who levied a tax of their own upon the inhabitants and extorted a living by tricks and threats and force. Where roads were bad, telephones unknown, police force unorganized, and chance of escape quite wide, this group of population flourished and became a menace to order, property and life. The first actions of government in respect to beggars were therefore repressive and necessarily severe. The penalties inflicted seem to us incredibly harsh.

Private charity being irregular and unsystematic, it was also necessary to regulate begging, to license beggars and give them tokens to show to kind folk that they were helpless and needy.

By the middle of the 16th century this state of things was found to be unendurable, and the Act of 1579, ch. 74 (James VI.) was the first legal recognition of the corporate duty of society to the feeble poor. This act provided for the first time in Scotland for a compulsory assessment of a tax to assist the poor. This statute did not require the local authorities to assess the tax, but permitted them to do so if they chose to employ that method of raising funds. The Common Law always recognized the duty of the community to support the impotent poor, but it required statute law to determine the method of providing and administering the funds. The statute of James VI. did not require the parish to provide work for able-bodied vagrants, as did the corresponding English law of the same general period (Elizabeth, 43). Severity still marked the treatment of strong men who preferred mendicancy to toil; and the original poor law required that such persons be put in ward and irons so long as they had goods to support their existence, and when these failed they were to have their ears nailed to a tree and "cutted off," and so mutilated they were banished under the threat of hanging if they were ever found in the country again. Such statutes were called in the preamble to the grim regulations "sindrie lovabil Acts of Parliament." All destitute persons were commanded to go to the parish of their birth for support or relief out of a fund to be raised there by a tax levied "according to the estimation of their substance without exception of persons." A residence of seven years in a parish entitled the pauper to relief, just as if he had been born there. No provision was made, as in England, for the able-bodied poor.

Later acts were those of Charles II., 1661, c. 38, and 1663, c. 16, which further specified methods of collecting funds and punishing those who, being able, refused to work. The Act of 1672, c. 18,

established correction houses for vagabonds and reduced the period for residential settlement to three years. The licensing of feeble persons to beg was continued from earlier times, and church collections are mentioned as the source of funds for relief; the compulsory assessment, though legal, not having been adopted by parish authorities. Only three correction houses were erected and these some time after the date of this Act.

Apart from rare exceptions the parishes did not adopt the system of compulsory assessment until late in the 18th century. The transition (up to 1834) was made by means of voluntary assessments, which also continued some time after the law of 1845, the law which still forms the basis of the system now in use, and which is analyzed in the succeeding pages of this article.

The causes which led the parishes to abandon the ancient method, in spite of sturdy protests, even of such great and benevolent men as Dr. Thomas Chalmers, seem to have been, among others, the following. Politically the national life and power required in modern times the breaking down of the mediaeval feudal system as a condition of uniform law and administration. The clan system was inconsistent with modern central government and international relations. Slavery had long been abolished, and now the serf or vassal is set free from the control of the lord. Set free, however, to work out his own salvation and relieve the lord from the duty of supporting him in sickness and old age.

Then came the invention of steam, the growth of the factory system of manufactures, the crowding of large towns, the accumulation of filth, the increase of disease in huddled families, the wild life of vicious throngs, the loss of local markets and free competition in a world market, the vicissitudes of trade depending on commerce, and the horde of paupers incident to such conditions. Then arose the labor class and all its problems. Wage earners now learned to travel where they could best find employment and they lost connection with relatives and neighbors; the personal bonds of employer and employed, of neighbor with neighbor, of Christian with pastor were broken. There was no new resource opened to these scattered poor in times of destitution.

To these causes we must add church divisions. The ancient Scotland knew but one great church, established by law, the spiritual home by birth of every Scotchman. The Protestant faith and the

Presbyterian Church were established by act of the Scotch Parliament in 1560, and the former parish divisions were retained. The first secession occurred in 1733, and others followed. Money formerly given for the poor from customary Sabbath collections must now go to build rival chapels and maintain seceding ministers. Churches thus placed could not coöperate in administering a common plan. Controversies crippled charity. Bravely and conscientiously such pastors as Chalmers endeavored to stem the current which was setting against them, and in the hands of a few powerful leaders there was success.[1]

But the system of voluntary assessments was found unequal and unjust. Many of the rich refused to pay their share, and the church collections were wholly insufficient to meet the increasing needs of the poor. Many of the poor suffered and their misery made its appeal to the benevolent. One by one the parish authorities voted to introduce the method of compulsory assessment, which for generations they had been permitted to do. The law remained, unlike the English law, purely permissive, and even at the time Lamond[2] wrote (1892) there were still 49 parishes in Scotland which preferred the ancient custom and provided for all their poor without compulsory measures.

The custom of voluntary assessments gained the power of prescriptive right and made transition to compulsory assessments easy and natural. In the first report of the Board of Supervision (p. 111) it is expressly said: "It has not been in our power to ascertain accurately how many parishes were assessed for relief of the poor, previous to August, 1845. Voluntary contributions were then habitually called voluntary assessments, and in the course of our proceedings, we have found that the parochial authorities had sometimes lost sight of the distinction, and believed that they were levying a legal assessment, when in fact no such assessment had been imposed, and the funds had been raised by a voluntary contribution amongst the heritors, which had long been established, and had not been objected to." Out of 878 parishes into which Scotland was divided, there were, in 1842-3, 230 legally assessed.[3]

[1] See the introduction by C. R. Henderson to abridged edition of The Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns, by Thomas Chalmers.

[2] Lamond, Scottish Poor Laws.

[3] First Annual Report of the Board of Supervision for the Relief of the Poor

A-B. Since the Poor Law of Great Britain is described quite fully in another section, that on England, it is not necessary to give space to legal details at this point. Local government was reorganized in 1889 to conform in the main to the principles of recent British legislation. The members of County Councils are elected and take the place of the former commissioners of supply and road trustees. By an act of 1894 a Local Government Board for Scotland was erected similar to that of England of the previous year; and this act provided that a Parish Council should be maintained in every parish for the business of the parish. The English Poor Law differs from that of Scotland in several very important respects. In Scotland, as the able-bodied have no right to parochial relief, persons not disabled, though destitute or in reduced circumstances, from want of employment or other cause, must rely entirely for assistance upon private charitable agencies. In Scotland persons who are partially disabled, though not entirely destitute, are legally entitled to such a measure of parochial relief as may be necessary to supplement their other resources. If refused relief they can apply to the sheriff, and if they think the relief inadequate they can appeal to the Board. In England the Guardians cannot legally give relief in redeeming tools or clothes from pawn, in purchasing tools, in purchasing clothes (except in cases of urgent necessity), in paying the cost of conveyance to any other place, or in paying rent or lodging; while in Scotland all these things may be done.[1]

in Scotland, Edinburgh, 1847. Poor Law Inquiry (Scotland), Edinburgh, 1844, appendix, Part II, containing minutes of evidence. F. M. Eden, The State of the Poor (1797), vol. III, appendix X, gives a brief account of poor-relief in Scotland at the close of the 18th century.

[1] Rules, Instructions and Recommendations of the Local Government Board for Scotland (1897), p. 91.

"The principal acts relating to parish councils may be divided as follows: I. The Local Government Act of 1894, being the Act by which parish councils were constituted. II. The Poor Law Acts 1845 to 1886, being the Acts which make provision for the relief of the poor. III. The Agricultural Rates Act of 1896, which modifies the provisions of the Poor Law Acts regarding rating. IV. The Lunacy Acts 1857 to 1887, so far as relating to pauper lunatics. V. The Vaccination Act of 1863, under which the duty of enforcing vaccination is intrusted to parish councils. VI. The Registration of Births, Deaths, and Marriage Acts 1854 to 1860, so far as relating to the appointment of local registrars. VII. The Burial Grounds Acts 1855 to 1886, under which the duty of providing burial grounds may fall to parish councils. VIII. The Allotments Act of 1892, under

By the Poor Law (Scotland) Act, 1898, the right of settlement by residence was defined as follows: Section 76 of the Poor Law (Scotland) Act of 1845 (8 & 9 Vict. Ch. 83) was repealed and in lieu thereof this provision was enacted: "From and after the commencement of this Act no person shall be held to have acquired a settlement in any parish in Scotland by residence therein unless such person shall, either before or after, or partly before and after, the commencement of this Act, have resided for three years continuously in such parish, and shall have maintained himself without recourse to common begging, either by himself or his family, and without having received or applied for parochial relief; and no person who shall have acquired a settlement by residence in any such parish, shall be held to have retained such settlement if during any subsequent period of four years he shall not have resided in such parish continuously for at least one year and a day. Provided always, that nothing herein contained shall, until the expiration of four years from the commencement of this Act, be held to affect any persons who, at the commencement of this Act, are chargeable to any parish in Scotland." The same Act determines the method of referring disputed cases to the Local Government Board, and giving the pauper the right of appeal to this Board when he thinks that he should not be removed to another parish, to England, or to Ireland.

Law of Settlement.—Right to relief in case of need belongs to every person born in Scotland, and must be furnished by the parish of his birth or by the parish in which he has resided for a certain period. A foreigner may acquire a settlement by residence. The residence of a child is that of its father. If the father has died or has deserted his children they have the settlement of the mother. A child on attaining puberty (*i. e.*, twelve years of age in case of a girl, and fourteen in case of a boy) acquires a settlement of its own after five years' residence, if he or she is not living with the father ("forisfamiliated"). An illegitimate pupil child follows the settlement of his mother. A married woman has the settlement of her husband; and she is not regarded as a pauper, but her husband who ought to support her and does not, is the pauper.

Right to Relief Is Universal.—The law of settlement is not intended to prevent or delay the giving of necessary assistance. Any

which parish councils may have to act as allotment managers." J. Edward Graham, Manual of the Poor Law and Parish Council Acts (1897), p. xvii.

poor person who applies to the inspector of the poor or other proper officer must be at once aided in a humane way, whether he has a settlement in the parish or not. The officer is required to secure information from the dependent person and otherwise in relation to the parish of settlement, but not for the purpose of postponing relief. If the inspector of the poor refuse to help, the indigent person can appeal to the sheriff, who is empowered to order relief if he thinks it is necessary.

If a pauper, subsequently to the time of receiving relief, comes into the possession of property, he cannot be compelled by legal process to pay back to the parish the amount he had received. It is a charity, not a debt. Yet this seems to be inconsistent with the principle that relatives are obliged to pay to the parish for relief given in an hour of distress.

Amount of Relief.—"Needful sustentation" is all that can be claimed by a pauper. If the poor person believes the amount he is receiving is not sufficient he can make an appeal to the Board, which may order an increased appropriation to him, and the Court of Session gives final decision, interim aliment being provided pending decision.

Responsibility of Relatives.—The husband is bound to support his wife, and if she is in want the parish officers may collect from him by legal process. Even if a wife has abundant means it is not certain that she can be compelled to pay for aid given her husband. The nearest relatives (after a husband) legally bound to support a pauper are his or her descendants; but the persons thus legally held must "have a superfluity after providing for the maintenance of themselves and their own families." In case there are no descendants able to give help the duty falls upon ascendants,—father, mother and grandparents, in this order.

Desertion of Wives.—The law on this subject goes back to an Act of 1579, ch. 74, reinforced by the Act of 1845 (Poor Law of Scotland) and certain other laws and decisions. If a man desert or neglect to maintain his wife or children, being able to do so, and they become chargeable to any parish or combination, he is to be deemed a vagabond, may be prosecuted criminally before the sheriff of the county at the instance of the inspector of the poor; and, on conviction, shall be punished by fine or imprisonment, with or without hard labor, at the discretion of the sheriff. The same law applies

to every mother and to every putative father of an illegitimate child, after the paternity has been admitted or otherwise established, if they refuse or neglect to maintain such child, being able to do so.

Liability of the Parish of Settlement.—The authorities who grant relief to a dependent person outside of his residence may recover the sum expended from the parish of settlement, provided that immediate notice is sent to the authorities where the pauper has a claim.[1]

The Local Government Board.—By an Act of 1894 (57 & 58 Vict. Ch. 58), which included a previous Act of 1889 (52 & 53 Vict. c. 50) the constitution of a Local Government Board for Scotland was provided. It took the place of the former Board of Supervision. This Board consists of a President, the Solicitor-General for Scotland, the Under-Secretary for Scotland, and three appointed members. One member must be a legal authority and another a medical man of recognized standing. Appointments are made by the crown, salaries are fixed by the treasury, and office is held during the pleasure of the monarch. If for any reason a parish council fails to act that Board has power to order an election and regulate affairs until the local organization is complete. This Board may regulate the keeping of parish accounts and appoint an auditor for a parish council; may inquire into the management of the poor in every parish and burgh, and demand all necessary information from officials and citizens. If a parish council neglect their orders appeal may be made to the Court of Session. The Board may appoint one of its members to conduct a special inquiry in any part of Scotland, provide for his expenses of investigation, and empower him to summon and examine on oath such witnesses as he may call. The Board may, with the consent of a representative of the crown, appoint an expert investigator for special inquiries, even though he is not a member of the Board. The witnesses may be paid necessary expenses. Clerks, messengers and other assistants may be appointed by the Board. Members or agents of the body have a right to attend meetings of any parochial board for the management of the poor, and to take part in the discussions, but not to vote. The Local Government Board was also authorized by the Act of 1856 to appoint superintendents over districts and to assign them duties as representatives of the Board.

[1] See A. Shaw: Municipal Government in Great Britain, pp. 40, 138, 141, 256.

Parish Councils.—The Local Government Act of 1894 provided for the establishment of a parish council in every parish. This council is to consist of a chairman and councillors, the number of councillors being determined, with the approval of the Board, by the county council, town council, or burgh commissioners, according to the situation. The number shall not be fewer than five nor more than thirty-two. The electors entitled to vote are those who meet the requirements for the parish council register. All women, under certain rules, are qualified to be electors.[1] This is the organ of local self-government which has most to do with poor-relief.

Duties of the Inspector of the Poor.[2]—He has custody of all books and writings relating to the poor; keeps a register of applicants for poor-relief; reports to the parish council and Board as to management of the poor. The inspector to whom appeal is made is bound to investigate at once the circumstances of the applicant and furnish sufficient means of subsistence. The inspector is the agent of the poor law who comes into direct personal contact with the indigent, and the efficiency of the entire system turns on his ability to perform the tasks of this office. The striking contrast with the German municipal system of appointing numerous unpaid visitors should be noted.[3]

While the parish council appoints the inspector the Local Government Board may dismiss him from office for failure to perform the duties of his office; so that the parish council practically will not appoint an inspector who is not acceptable to the Central Board. Courts will interfere only when it is found that the Board has acted without adequate attention or with malice. The inspector must have a good character and may not engage in any business which will interfere with the duties of his office.

[1] The regulations for electors are given in the Local Government (Scotland) Act of 1894.

[2] Rules, Instructions and Recommendation to Parochial authorities, issued by the Local Government Board for Scotland, Edinburgh, 1897, pp. 1-26.

[3] So able a writer as Lamond makes this queer comment on the Elberfeld system: "Nor would the Scottish people display their customary caution and wisdom were they to give up their existing law for any such system as that followed at Elberfeld, which has been alluded to as a model one. So far as we understand, it consists of levying a compulsory assessment and handing it over to a voluntary irresponsible association to distribute." Scottish Poor Laws, p. 74. Compare our chapter on German charity.

The results of central control in relation to inspectors of the poor are illustrated in a recent report of the Board of Local Government: "We have investigated six allegations of a more or less serious nature against inspectors of the poor, and we have been under the necessity of dismissing one inspector as unfit for his office. One inspector we allowed to retain office on probation; two inspectors were allowed to resign; in one instance we censured the officer concerned, and in the remaining case we had the satisfaction of acquitting the inspector of the charges brought against him." In the same report disapproval of the Board is expressed in regard to the conduct of an inspector who had sought to influence the electors to vote for candidates who were believed to be favorable to his personal interests.

Assessments of Poor Tax.—The Poor Law (Scotland) Act of 1845, sec. 32, gave the parish council (then the parochial board) permission to assess the people for relief of the poor.[1] The mode of assessment must be approved by the Local Government Board, and the legal requirement is that one-half shall be assessed on owners and one-half on tenants or occupants. The parish council fixes annually the amount of assessment and makes up a roll of ratepayers.

It is lawful for the parish council to exempt a citizen on the ground of his inability to pay. The Parliamentary and also the local franchise are lost by receipt of parish relief, by exemption from payments of poor rate, or by failure to pay poor rate.

Endowed Charities.—Parish councils may, under the Act of 1894, become managers of property held by parties for the benefit of a parish. Endowments for ecclesiastical and educational purposes are not included; and funds held expressly by church officers for the poor of the congregation are administered by them and not by the parish council.

Imperial Grants to Parish Councils.—By the Local Government (Scotland) Act, 1889 (52 and 53 Vict. ch. 50), sects. 20 and 21, the Commissioners of Inland Revenue are required to pay over the proceeds of the duties collected in Scotland on certain local taxation licenses and also eleven-hundredths of one-half the sums collected in respect of probate duties in the United Kingdom. These sums

[1] October, 1895, out of 877 parishes in Scotland, 839 were assessed, and 38 unassessed. In the latter, the heritors assess themselves. Graham, Poor Law and Parish Council Acts, p. 153.

are distributed among the parish councils in Scotland as a contribution to the cost of the poor law, medical relief, and trained sick nursing in poorhouses, and for the maintenance of pauper lunatics. By the Education and Local Taxation Account (Scotland) Act, 1892 (55 and 56 Vict., ch. 51), other sums are placed under the direction of the Secretary for Scotland for similar purposes.[1]

A circular of the Board of Local Government to parish councils[2] throws light on the standard of relief of widows with young children. It is there stated that orphans are "invariably the objects of a wise liberality;" that 3 sh. a week, with clothing, is a very usual aliment awarded to a boarded-out child, and in some cases a greater sum is given. The Board urges the parish councils to show a similar wise generosity to respectable widows with young children. "Unless such cases are suitably alimented the mother may have to choose between the sacrifice of her children's welfare on the one hand and starvation on the other. The mother has probably no alternative but to seek employment away from home,—a course which necessitates the children being left, to their great disadvantage, under the chance care of neighbors. The best security which the parish council have against the future pauperism of the children would be an aliment of such an amount as would allow the mother to do her duty by them."

The objections sometimes urged to the Scottish system have been summed up by Lamond (p. 75), as stated by the opponents of the compulsory assessment rule: "that the poor law has augmented the numbers and increased the expense of paupers; that it has had very little effect in mitigating their suffering or improving their condition; that it has increased vagrancy, and that the method of assessment is unfair." He examines these objections and answers them with many details of argument which throw much light on the actual results of the system and at the same time show how, in the judgment of many, it may be improved.

Statistics.—The number of persons relieved by public authorities on May 15, 1902, was 100,848, of whom 86,999 were Ordinary Poor and 13,849 were Lunatic Poor. Of the Ordinary Poor (86,999) there were receiving outdoor relief, 76,019 (87.38 per cent.); in poorhouses, 10,865 (12.49 per cent.); vagrants, 115 (0.13 per cent.).

[1] Graham, p. 432.

[2] Eighth Annual Report, p. 14, dated June 5, 1902.

The Lunatic Poor (13,849) were distributed as follows: in asylums and institutions for imbeciles, 10,072 (72.73 per cent.); in licensed wards of poorhouses, 1,139 (8.22 per cent.); in private dwellings, 2,638 (19.05 per cent.). Of the 100,848 poor persons relieved, 65,387 were paupers (or separate individuals), and 35,461 were their dependants.

Classifying the same poor according to age we find that of individuals relieved, 22,017 (42.72 per cent.) were 65 years of age and upwards; 4,058 (7.87 per cent.) were orphan and deserted children; and 25,463 (49.41 per cent.) were between the ages of (say) 14 and 65. Of the 4,058 orphan and deserted children relieved 2,805 were orphans, and 1,253 were deserted. Five thousand seven hundred and twenty-one children were boarded out during the year. Of these, 3,617 were orphan and deserted children, and 2,104 children were separated from their parents. Fully 11 per cent. of the poor relieved chargeable to Scotland were natives of England and Ireland.

In 1883 the number of poor relieved at the May report was 97,097, in a population of 3,793,587, or 26 in 1,000. In 1902 the total number relieved was 100,848 in a population of 4,531,299, or 22 in 1,000. Compared with 1868, the year of highest recorded pauperism, the number of poor per thousand of population has fallen from 41 to 22—a decrease of 19 per thousand of the population.

But if we separate the Lunatic Poor we discover another tendency. While since 1868 the Ordinary Poor have decreased from 130,441 to 86,999 (from 40 to 19 per thousand), during the same period the number of Lunatic Poor has increased from 5,790 to 13,849 (from 1.8 to 3.1 per thousand); the ratio of Lunatic Poor to the Poor of all classes has more than trebled since 1868, having risen from 42 to 137 per thousand.

It must be remembered that the numbers in receipt of relief on a given day do not yield the total number relieved during the year. Different authorities use different multipliers. Thus Mr. Joseph Chamberlain used 3½, Mr. Charles Booth 2 1-3, Mr. Lamond 2¾. This made in 1892 the total number of persons relieved in Scotland 92,824 x 2¾, equals 255,266.[1]

The revenue of the parish councils for the year ended 15th May, 1902, amounted to £1,238,975; of which the rates furnished £902,258 (72.82 per cent.); Local Taxation Contributions, and Treasury

[1] Lamond, The Scottish Poor Laws, p. 292.

Grants, £244,071 (19.70 per cent.); relatives, contributions, etc., £92,646 (7.48 per cent.).

The assessment in 1893 was £750,696, the rate being 7½d. per £ of gross valuation in assessed parishes. In 1902 the assessment was £902,258, the rate being the same. The ratio per head of population at those dates were 3s. 7¾d. and 3s. 11¾d.

D. Ecclesiastical

Church Collections.—The ordinary church collections are administered at the discretion of the Kirk-session, and may be partly devoted to aiding able-bodied persons who are out of employment, a class of dependents excluded from legal relief. But the Kirk-session must send an annual report to the Local Government Board as to the applications of the moneys arising from church collections, and the clerk may be fined for refusing to make such report.[1] The parish council cannot control such funds.

Women in Church Charities.—Pastor Fliedner, whose influence on the German Inner Mission was so great, visited Dr. Thomas Chalmers in Edinburgh in 1846. There was then a discussion about establishing institutions for deaconesses similar to those of Germany, but the church was not yet ripe for it. But in 1886 the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland accepted the deaconess work as an organic part of the ecclesiastical system and gave it the sanction and support of the legislature of the church. It is noteworthy that about the same time (May 18, 1888) the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States adopted the same principle. The Scottish General Assembly adopted rules bearing on the admission, training, garb, and support of deaconesses, quite like those already known in Eng-

[1] The Local Government Board reported for the year ending May 14, 1895, that the whole sum derived from church collections in assessed parishes was £41,481, of which £7,444 was expended on relief of the poor, the balance being expended for other purposes. Cf. Rules, Instructions, and Recommendations of the Local Government Board for Scotland (1897), p. 208.

"The whole sum derived from church collections in assessed parishes during the year ended 15th May, 1902, as returned to us, was £48,016, of which £6,111 is stated to have been expended on relief of the poor. These funds are generally employed to afford aid to persons who have fallen into temporary difficulties, with a view to prevent them from becoming chargeable to the parish as paupers; and it is probable that few of the persons so assisted have also been chargeable to the funds raised by assessment." Eighth Annual Report of the Local Government Board for Scotland (1902), p. xv-xvi.

land. In 1893 a Deaconess Institution secured property in Edinburgh at a cost of $11,500, which provided for school, chapel, kindergarten and mission activities. A hospital, with facilities for training nurses, was erected in 1894 and enlarged in 1897. It is proposed to extend the work to other cities. In order to secure for the deaconess nurses the certificate of the Royal British Association for nurses a hospital in which they are trained must have at least forty beds, and this condition has been met by the enlargement of the institution at Edinburgh. Rev. Archibald H. Charteris, D.D., has been a prominent leader in this advance. His statement is that woman's work is a pyramid, whose broad base is the Woman's Guild, with the deaconess work at the apex. The nurses and visiting missionaries are under the direction of the officers of the parish in which they labor.

The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland has a Committee on Christian Life and Work which stimulates and directs the philanthropic activities of the various voluntary societies of women and young people in that body. The reports of this committee are instructive in relation to the charitable activities of members of the establishment. An appeal quoted in one of these reports voices the motive: "Let us do more to make the church a living power over poor folks, not so much for church defence as for Christianity's own sake, which is nothing if not a mission of tenderness and sympathy to them, such as can only be conducted effectually with woman's assistance."[1]

The Women's Guild of the Church of Scotland is a national organization which has established branches in the congregations as widely as possible. The sections of these local branches carry on various kinds of philanthropic service, as: Visiting the sick and poor; hospitality to the lowly; entertainment for the people; mother's meetings; Dorcas society; temperance society, and religious work in Sunday Schools and homes. The Guilds of Young People are also guided into social service.[2]

The Episcopal Church in Scotland reports for 1903 collections for Rescue work, £363 19s. 5d.; for Temperance work, £139 12s. 4d.; for Mission to Fisher Folk, £183 18s. 4d.; for Widows and Orphans Fund,

[1] History of the Deaconess Movement in the Christian Church, by C. Golder, 1903, p. 201. W. Gladden, The Christian Pastor and the Working Church, pp. 299, 309.

[2] Report on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland, 1886, p. 412.

£462 9s. 2d. The Rescue Work is carried on by Sisters on behalf of erring and tempted girls and women. Connected with the mission among fishers there are nurses who dress wounds and care for the sick.[1]

E. Co-operation.—In the year 1869 the Board of Supervision (now Local Government Board) issued a circular letter on division of labor between public and private agencies of relief, in which they urged that distributors of private charity should exercise great caution in affording assistance, without the knowledge and concurrence of the parochial authorities, to any person who is either a proper object or a recipient of parochial relief. They said that the proper course was to refer the applicants to the inspector of the poor, and, at the same time, to transmit to that officer such information as they had obtained regarding them.[2] The advocates of the present Poor Laws declare that the neglect of these principles of division of labor between public and private charity, and the custom of indiscriminate almsgiving, are responsible for the continuance of vagrancy and begging.[3]

The Charity Organization Society Movement had its origin in the party opposed to compulsory assessment for poor-relief. It was their hope to create an organization which would make public outdoor relief unnecessary and so lead to its abolition. Indoor relief they did not expect to supplant. But gradually the purpose has changed, and now the idea of doing away with public assistance to the feeble and aged in their homes is held by a comparatively small number of persons. The societies for coöperation seek to prevent dependence and to reinstate the destitute in normal economic relations. The Scottish and English Societies work in the same general direction.

The Glasgow Charity Organization Society[4] was started in May, 1874, under the title, "The Association for Organizing Charitable Relief and Repressing Mendicity," and is now known by its short title "The Charity Organization Society." The objects are: (1)

[1] Annual Report of Representative Church Council, Edinburgh, 1903.

[2] Rules, Instructions and Recommendations issued by the Local Government Board for Scotland (1897), p. 93.

[3] Lamond, Scottish Poor Laws, p. 122 ff.

[4] The following clear account was kindly furnished by Mr. J. T. Strang, Secretary of the Glasgow C. O. S. in a letter to Mr. F. L. Tolman, April 3, 1903.

The assistance of the poor, in such a manner as shall effect permanent benefit in their condition. (2) The organization of charitable efforts in the city and the prevention of overlapping; the repression of mendicity; the exposure of imposture; and the collection and distribution of subscriptions for all bona-fide charitable and benevolent institutions in the city. (3) The promotion of thrift and of well-advised methods for improving the conditions of the poor.

The following are some of the methods adopted to carry out the objects of the Society: (1) Coöperation with the Magistrates, the Parish Councils, the School Boards, the Charities, the Churches, and Individual Workers. (2) Grants, loans, fares, clothing, medical aid, employment, etc., in cases where such assistance cannot be obtained from other charitable sources, or from relatives. The Labour Yard provides temporary relief for the able-bodied married men, and is a test of their desire to work; the Industrial Shelter provides food and lodging for homeless single men in return for work done; the Clothing Scheme deals with destitute children under fourteen years of age, whose parents are not in receipt of parochial relief; the Work Room of the Ladies' Auxiliary gives employment in needlework to poor and respectable elderly women. (3) Friendly Visitors, to watch over cases in which sympathy and counsel are specially needed. (4) Collecting Savings Banks, to encourage thrift through the weekly house to house collection of small sums by volunteer collectors. (5) Meetings of the Society from time to time for the consideration of questions bearing on charitable effort. Careful and judicious investigation is made in every case in which assistance is asked, followed by the adjudication of the Relief Committees and by appropriate treatment under their decision.

The affairs of the society are controlled by a Council of 48 members, one-half of whom are elected annually from the subscribers, and the other half from Public Bodies and Charitable Institutions. The Council is, therefore, representative of those who are in sympathy with and engaged in charitable and Social Work.

A staff of investigators is engaged making inquiries in the city and immediate neighborhood regarding applicants for assistance and discovering the facts as to character and circumstances and the cause of distress, etc. Inquiries have also to be made very often in distant places, and in such cases the Society communicates with other Charity Organization Societies; but where these do not exist commu-

nication is made with the Superintendent of Police, the Inspector of Poor or the minister of the Parish or other church, all of whom most readily afford valuable information. Of course all information is treated as private and confidential.

There are 11 kindred societies in the following places in Scotland, viz.: Aberdeen, Dundee, Edinburgh, Kilmarnock, Kirkcaldy, Leith, Montrose, Motherwell, Paisley, Perth and Uddingston.

During the past 28 years 149,410 cases have been brought under the notice of the Society. In adjudicating upon these the Relief Committees adopt the London C. O. S. classification of cases. They are divided into three classes, viz.:

Class I. Dismissed as undeserving, ineligible, not requiring aid, or having given false addresses. The number disposed of under this class was 45,056 or 30¼ per cent. of the total cases.

Class II. *Indirectly* assisted by reference to other agencies and private parties. The number disposed of under this class was 59,219, or 39½ per cent. of the total cases.

Class III. *Directly* assisted by the Society in loans, grants, lodgings, clothing, employment, admission lines to infirmaries and convalescent homes, or medical attendance at home. The number disposed of under this class was 45,135, or 30¼ per cent. of the total cases.

The work of the Society has steadily increased year by year. This is evident when it is mentioned that in the year 1874 the number of cases investigated was 146, whereas in the year 1902 the number investigated was 7,329. At three different periods during the past 28 years the number of cases investigated was 11,107, 11,991 and 12,424 respectively. These were winters of exceptional distress, when the magistrate opened relief works for the benefit of the unemployed, and asked the aid of the Society in the investigation of applications.

And whilst the Society has been steadily progressing and is being increasingly made use of by the citizens, the growth of the city has also been very great. In the year 1872 the population of the city and suburbs was 578,705, while now it is 924,000. The Council, feeling, therefore, that it was impossible to do effective work from a central office only, resolved 7 years ago to form local committees throughout the city, for it is now generally recognized that such committees are necessary to carry out the work of Charity Organiza-

tion in large cities. There are at present ten District Committees, and it is intended to increase their number until the whole city is covered. The District Committees are indeed only trying to do once more in a new shape and modified to suit the conditions of this age, what Dr. Chalmers attempted with such wonderful success to accomplish in St. John's Parish, Glasgow, early in the last century. For we believe that it is not money but "neighborliness," the friendship between rich and poor, which arouses and stimulates all the resourcefulness of the latter to help themselves, that is required to solve the problem of destitution to-day, as it solved it then.

The Society was established, as has been stated, for the primary object of organizing charity, preventing overlapping, exposing imposture and repressing mendicity, but very soon it became evident that the society would have to assist strictly a number of cases which were not eligible for any other society or at least could not derive all the assistance they required from them. Moreover, an increasing number of private persons desire to bestow their gifts only with the coöperation and through the medium of the C. O. S. Since its foundation the Society has spent £27,784 12s. 7d. in this direction.

Among some of the direct methods of assistance used by the Society a brief notice may be made of the following, viz.:

(1) The Labour Yard, instituted in 1884 to provide temporary employment for able-bodied married men. Here it may be mentioned that in Scotland it is illegal for the Poor Law Authorities or Parish Councils to grant relief to able-bodied men. In dealing with them the Council of the Society considered it wise to offer work as a means of distinguishing between those really seeking it and those who were not. The wisdom of this course has been fully justified by results. Since the opening of the Yard the offer of work has been made to 7,590 men, of whom 2,558, or about 34 per cent. declined it.

(2) The Industrial Shelter for Homeless Men opened in 1894 to provide temporary employment for homeless unmarried men by giving shelter and food in exchange for work. The following figures give the results from the commencement to 31st December, 1902: Admitted, 2,132. Left, having found work, 588; left of their own accord, 622; sent to Farm Colony, 178; sent to Hospital, etc., 116; sent home to friends, 48; sent to Poorhouse, 23; dismissed for various reasons, such as drunkenness, indolence, bad characters, etc., 557.

It should be borne in mind in considering the justification of start-

ing the above institutions that in Scotland the Poor Law does not relieve able-bodied men or women and their families, therefore they may fill a very useful place and escape doing the harm, if wisely managed, which in many places, (*e. g.*, in England) under a different Poor Law would undoubtedly result.

(3) The Poor Children's Clothing Scheme originated in 1893 to supply clothing to the children of those who, through poverty, are unable to provide what is needful. In carrying on this relief work, the main idea has been to direct into proper channels much indiscriminate giving, and the principles of the Society are strictly acted on. Every case is thoroughly investigated before any action is taken, and while on the one hand help is given, on the other hand negligent parents are induced, and sometimes compelled, to provide for their children. Thus, much suffering in child life is mitigated. Every safeguard is used to prevent the improper disposal of clothing, as all the garments are stamped before being given away, and the police, the pawnbrokers, the School Board and other agencies act in coöperation. It is worthy of note that although 109,000 garments and boots have been distributed there have been few attempts at pawning and these have been in the main unsuccessful. Since the commencement of the Scheme 36,332 children have been dealt with, and of these 22,418 have been clad, the remainder having been referred to other Agencies or declined.

The supplies of clothing and money have been procured chiefly through the Agency of the Glasgow Needlework Guild, started 9 years ago by a number of ladies interested in the clothing of poor children. The Guild has a membership of over 6,000 and since its origin it has contributed 79,123 garments and over £2,800 in money.

(4) Pension Scheme.—Three years ago the Society started a Pension Scheme. Only persons of 60 years of age and upwards are eligible, of thoroughly good character, and who have, moreover, in the past shown some rather exceptional degree of industry, self-control, thrift or sacrifice for the sake of others. The money required for a pension is, as far as possible, raised on each individual case from relatives, past or present employers, friends, churches or any other available source. The amount of the pension varies, but the minimum is 5s. per week for a single person and 7s. per week for a married couple, exclusive of rent. At present there are seven pensioners on the roll.

(5) The Collecting Savings Bank.—This method is preventive rather than alleviative. "Prevention is better than cure." Improvidence is found, in very many instances, to be the cause of a good deal of poverty. With a view to fostering habits of thrift the Society in 1898 commenced a system of house to house visitation and collection of small savings from those who do not make use of the existing savings bank, penny banks, etc. Lady collectors call once a week and receive deposits of one penny and upwards. The scheme has met with encouraging success. During the first year of its existence there were 574 depositors, the amount collected being £167. The number of depositors at the end of May, 1902, was 1,388, the amount collected being £1,062. This amount was collected from those who had not hitherto formed the habit of saving any considerable sum or who had thought it was impossible for them to lay up anything. If they will not go to the bank, then the bank goes to them.

With the view of informing the public on social and charitable questions a course of lectures and conferences are arranged every now and then. Much interest has been taken in these lectures, their object being to combine scientific views of social questions and of administration with information drawn from practical experience, and to embody the best economical teaching of our schools and universities in our various charitable and social activities, whether as individuals, as municipalities or as a nation.

Charities Collection Central Agency.[1]—This agency is closely connected with the C. O. S. and is disposed to afford subscribers an easy, simple, and economical method of giving their contributions to the various reliable charities of the city. The amounts received for the year ending May, 1902, and paid over to the respective treasurers, was £7,654 16s. 2d. The Society not only receives the subscriptions sent in by its printed schedule, but it collects the annual subscriptions towards the funds of 23 societies. The total amount received and collected since the commencement of the agency in 1885 was £86,680.

[1] 28th Annual Report of the C. O. S. of Glasgow, 1902, p. 13.

Edinburgh Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, 34th Annual Report, 1901; 35th Report, 1902, 13th Annual Report of the Motherwell C. O. S., 1902. Dundee C. O. S., 17th Annual Report, 1902, and 15th Report, 1900. 23rd and 24th Annual Reports of the Paisley Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, 1902, 1903. Association for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor in Leith, Rep. 1902, and constitution, by-laws and directory for visitors, 1899. This latter contains a list of charities in Edinburgh and Leith.

The system has been carried on successfully in Liverpool for years, and the last year reported the sum collected there was £30,310.

F. Indoor Relief, Poorhouses.—"For the care of the aged and other friendless impotent poor, and also for providing for poor persons who from weakness or facility of mind, or by reason of dissipated and improvident habits, are unable or unfit to take charge of their own affairs, it is expedient that poorhouses should be erected in populous parishes." (The Poor Law of Scotland, Act 1845). This "sentimental" preamble has been interpreted by courts and practice to include all sorts of poor whom the authorities think best to send to a poorhouse.

This brings us to the British "poorhouse test," on which the Board said in a circular of October, 1895:[1] "The necessity of a test, in certain cases at least, is now generally acknowledged, and the only practically effective test that can be applied is the offer of indoor relief.[2] While outdoor relief is and has been the rule in Scotland, prolonged experience satisfied the bodies to whom the administration of the poor law was entrusted that, without the right to use a poorhouse, they were powerless to check the growth of pauperism. . . . The inmates of a poorhouse may be broadly divided into two classes: (1) the test class; (2) the aged, the sick and the infirm. It is obvious that the treatment of the two classes should be conducted on widely different principles. As regards the first class, strict discipline and deterrent administration are needed to make the test effective and to secure order and decent conduct. As regards the second, the poorhouse should be looked upon rather as a house of refuge for the destitute, and the inmates should receive liberal and sympathetic treatment." It may be permissible for a foreigner who has observed at home the failure of the attempt to unite under one administration and in one community these two antagonistic aims, to question the wisdom of using a poorhouse as a "test" in any country.[3] Recent Scottish testimony throws some light on the efficiency of the famous "test": "Experience shows that the number of applicants who will accept the offer of indoor relief is increasing, and the majority who enter the

[1] Graham, p. 188.

[2] Compare the chapter on the German and the different principle of the test of personal acquaintance of an "Armenpfleger."

[3] See for details of administration: Rules and Regulations for the Management of Poorhouses, by Board of Supervision, 1892.

poorhouses are so affected by disease as to render the application of a strict and deterrent treatment impracticable."[1]

Two or more parishes may unite to erect and maintain a poorhouse for their common use on such terms as their Councils may agree to accept; but a parish cannot withdraw from such an agreement without obtaining the consent of the Board.

Plans for building a new poorhouse or for altering an old one, or for borrowing money, or making assessments for such purpose, must be approved by the Board. Regulations drawn up for the house by the parish council must be approved by the Board; and as this body is a part of the government its policy, if thought too harsh or severe, may be challenged in Parliament.

In 1902 there were 66 poorhouses in operation in Scotland with accommodations for 15,700 persons, in a population of 4,430,650. The total population of the parishes to which poorhouse accommodation was still not available was 41,452. The number of applicants who were refused relief by parish councils during the year ending May 15th, 1902, was 2,667. The number of applicants for parochial aid who were offered relief in the poorhouse only, who declined to accept that offer, and who thus did not become chargeable to the poor's fund, was 6,120. The number of applications complaining of inadequate relief between 1st of January to 31st December, 1902, was 114.[2]

The management of the poorhouse is under the control of a House-Governor, assisted by a matron, subject to the orders of a committee of the parochial board of the parish to which the poorhouse belongs. This committee is required to visit the establishment, attend to repairs and supplies, and, in general, to be responsible for the proper conduct of affairs in the house.

Admission and Discharge.—Inmates are admitted on an order of an inspector of the poor or by a parochial board, accompanied by the certificate of a medical officer in regular form. Upon entrance the pauper is thoroughly cleansed, his clothes are taken away for washing, and he is clothed in the poorhouse dress. He is also searched and prohibited articles are taken from him. Inmates are discharged simply upon giving notice of twenty-four hours to the House-

[1] Eighth Annual Report of the Local Government Board (Scotland), 1902, p. 2.
[2] Eighth Annual Report of the Local Government Board of Scotland.

Governor, but if he returns again it must be on the terms of original admission. The rules speak of frequent abuses of such easy discharge, but the law seems to give no way to correct them.

Classification of Inmates.—The inmates are divided, as far as possible, into three classes: (1) Males above the age of 15 years; (2) boys above the age of 2 years, and under that of 15 years; (3) females above the age of 15 years; (4) females above the age of 2 years and under that of 15 years; (5) children under 2 years of age. Separate yard and apartments are assigned to each class, without communication.

Nursing the Sick in Poorhouses.—The old practice still prevails in some parts of Scotland of having pauper nurses for sick paupers, and there are difficulties in the way of prohibiting the practice. "In the smaller poorhouses the number of sick is too small to occupy the time of even one nurse, and the work is too monotonous and uninteresting to attract capable and ambitious women." It has been suggested that acute cases be sent to some hospital, or that visiting nurses be employed to visit inmates of poorhouses, as these nurses are now available in almost every part of Scotland. In some large places the poorhouse has a lady superintendent or head nurse; in other places there is a matron who is a trained nurse and has nurses under her; and in some places nurses are under the direction of the matron. The evil of placing paupers under unskilled persons is recognized, but has not everywhere been corrected.

Religious Instruction.—The rules require that a Protestant Chaplain be appointed in every poorhouse to conduct services, give lectures or sermons, visit the sick, teach the children, and promote peace, order, obedience, and observance of the rules of the house. All inmates, unless excused for cause, are required to attend services on Sunday. A Catholic Chaplain may be appointed by the local authorities.

Discipline.—Disorderly and refractory inmates are punished by reduction of diet or by solitary confinement, within limits prescribed by the medical officer. Children under 15 years of age may be corrected with a rod.

G. Homeless People.—*Vagrants and Beggars.*—A constable is empowered to bring before the magistrate all beggars, vagrants, and idle poor persons strolling, or wandering, or seeking relief, or found lying in any outhouse, stair, close, or area, or other place. The person

is sent to the inspector of the poor, who is required to dispose of him according to law and report to the magistrate.[1]

Emergency Help for the Unemployed.—In December, 1878, the Central Board of Scotland published a minute in view of a temporary though urgent demand for help for unemployed men and women. They reminded the public that the Scottish Poor Law does not permit parochial authorities to give relief to able bodied persons, even when they are destitute, and that such relief must be provided by private organizations. "The legislature has entrusted the safety of these persons to the voluntary benevolence of the public, and that trust has never yet been found to have been misplaced." One hint, however, they give to local authorities, which afforded a little room for discretion: "It is obvious that if a person is really destitute, no long period would elapse before he also become disabled for want of food. It would probably be a safe rule of practice in such cases to afford immediate relief, if the inspector is of opinion that the sheriff on appeal would order it." The Board also urges the local authorities to make the investigations for the voluntary emergency relief associations, at the cost of these associations, and they recommend to the public that such emergency relief be carefully administered in accordance with certain principles: There should be in every case a strict inquiry into the previous history and present circumstances of all applicants. No person who is on strike, or who declines to accept employment at wages sufficient to maintain him, should be admitted to participation. No person who is already receiving public relief or private charity should be admitted. Labor should be required in return for aid given. If employment cannot be found then a work test should be applied. Relief should be given in rations, coal, etc., never in money. If a man claims that he is physically unable to work, he should be examined by a physician.[2]

Lamond urged that the parish councils be permitted to give temporary emergency relief; that this help be restricted to a few months at work; that it should not make the recipient a pauper, as permanent relief does, depriving him of the suffrage; that the sum should be

[1] The Burgh Police (Scotland) Act 1892 (55 and 56 Victoria, ch. 55), in Graham, at p. 440.—Minutes of Evidence taken before the Departmental Committee on Habitual Offenders, Vagrants, Beggars, etc., Edinburgh, 1895.

[2] Rules, Instructions and Recommendations of the Local Government Board (1897) p. 95.

regarded as a loan to be repayed; and that the Central Board should not be asked for its judgment in such a situation.[1] His argument sounds like one for some form of insurance against unemployment. "The struggle for existence is year by year becoming more intense. Multiplication of the people proceeds with rapid strides.....These must be fed. Their numbers press against each other, and wages are beat down. The greater use of machinery more and more supersedes hand labor. The facilities of production quickly accumulate stocks and glut markets.....The seasons of activity are shorter than those of dullness.....Not fewer than one-third of our able-bodied workers are always out of employment." And the remedy (?) extension of poor relief to an army of self-respecting wage-earners!

In Scotland, as elsewhere, the sad necessity is recognized of providing asylums for erring girls and fallen women, and the directories of urban charities give the names of numerous institutions for this class.[2]

H. Medical Relief.—Parish councils are authorized to appoint a competent medical man to attend to the sick in poor houses and medicines are to be supplied by the parish council. Parish councils are also empowered and required, out of the funds raised for the relief of the poor, to provide for medicines, medical attendance, nutritious diet, cordials, and clothing for the poor. The most general method is to appoint a physician at a fixed salary to attend to the poor of the parish.[3] The receipt of medical relief does not disqualify electors from voting, and this is not true of other kind of relief.

Vaccination.—By the Act of July 28th, 1863, provision was made for the vaccination of the poor. The parish council is required to see that vaccination is carried out by a proper medical officer. This is not deemed parochial relief and does not pauperize. The parents or guardians of children are required to have them vaccinated. All persons vaccinated are registered.

The Local Government Board in 1902 took action looking to the bacteriological examination of rats which were suspected of communicating the plague, and to measures for destroying them in ports and ships. They also gave attention to methods of dealing with

[1] Scottish Poor Laws, p. 259.

[2] List of Benevolent Institutions, Edinburgh and Leith.

[3] Graham, p. 195.—Rules, Instructions and Recommendations of the Local Government Board for Scotland (1897), p. 102; 169 (on vaccination).

quarantine, medical inspection of vessels, and the disinfection of goods imported from suspected ports. They urge local authorities to perform their statutory duty in seeking to diminish consumption, by preventing overcrowding, by improving ventilation, by the removal of general insanitary conditions in the houses of the working classes, and by guarding the health of cows. They advise local health authorities that they have legal power to diffuse among the people scientific information in respect to disease. They urge that local hospitals be prepared at any time to receive persons suffering from diphtheria, to have a fresh supply of anti-toxin for use, and all the facilities for diet and nursing.

In general the Board has very great power to advise and direct action in respect to public health, and thus, indirectly, to diminish the causes of pauperism which arise from disease and from depressing conditions. The Board of Local Government is using its powers to resist the spread of tuberculosis in poorhouses. The persons affected are isolated in special wards or separate buildings, or by the use of separate feeding utensils, disinfection of clothing, etc.

The general government grant for medical relief is conditioned on the establishment of a claim by the parish council, and this condition brings this branch of local charity under central control. In the year 1902 the number of parishes complying with legal requirements was 795, and the total amount distributed was £19,976 5s. 7d., which included £3,368 12s. 1d. for trained sick nursing in poorhouses. The whole sum expended on medical relief to the poor in all parishes in Scotland, during the year ending May 15th, 1902, was £56,742, which was equal to 3d. per head of the estimated population, and 11s. 3d. per head of persons on the roll of paupers on May 15th.

In the directories of charity for the cities one finds a descriptive list of private hospitals, more or less well endowed, and of various kinds: general, emergency, accident, children's, women and children, eye, ear and throat; for infectious diseases, maternity cases, consumption; dispensaries, and convalescent homes. There are training schools for nurses, among which belongs the Queen Victoria's Jubilee Institute for Nurses which trains and provides nurses for the sick poor in their own homes. Crippled children, suffering from hip-joint, spinal, and other diseases, are not forgotten.

There are private asylums for treatment of the intemperate; one for "ladies who are addicted to habits of intemperance."

Charity directories show the existence of asylums for the care of incurable invalids unable to gain a livelihood, those suffering from cancer, or who have lost their limbs, or who have become totally blind and helpless.

Inebriates.—The testimony of Professor W. T. Gairdner, M. D., LL.D., of the University of Glasgow, may be taken to represent medical judgments in Scotland: "The failure of our existing system demonstrates, and the experience of every medical man confirms the truth, that the habitual drunkard is in only too many cases absolutely a slave to his vice; and therefore he requires to be protected against it.....You must have the drunkard under control, and for a sufficient time.....It simply lies beyond the scope of medical experience in this country to say what time would be required to reform a habitual drunkard, because we have never had the opportunity of trying; the position now is that when you are called in to these cases, in a sense you feel paralyzed, you can do nothing."[1]

Inebriates Act, 1898 (61 and 62 Vict. Ch. 60).—This Act is an interpretation and extension of the Inebriates Acts of 1879 and 1888, and provides that habitual drunkards who are convicted of certain offenses may be detained for a term not exceeding three years in any state inebriate reformatory or in any certified inebriate reformatory the managers of which are willing to receive him. The discussions in charity circles during previous years had brought out with great clearness and certainty the fact that a habitual drunkard cannot be cured, in ordinary cases, without compulsory confinement during a long period. The statute expressly gives power to restrain such persons of liberty and to require them to work. The term of maximum sentence is fixed at three years as the time regarded by medical men as necessary to a cure. Thus the drunkard is distinguished from a criminal on the one hand and from the insane on the other, and a system of treatment is assigned which is thought at once to protect social order and give the victim of alcoholism the best chance of restoration to health. Here is a way of escape from the short sentences to houses of correction which are condemned by the competent of all civilized lands.

The Inebriates (Scotland) Act of 1888 empowered cities to

[1] Minutes of evidence, Departmental Committee on Habitual Offenders, etc., 1894, p. 28. There is a mine of information on this and related subjects in this document.

maintain inebriate reformatories, and in 1899 Glasgow took steps to establish for itself such an institution. They purchased a mansion house at a cost of £7,500 and formally opened it, under license of the Secretary of Scotland, January 12, 1901. Preference is given in every case to persons who, while habitual drunkards, are of such character and disposition that it may reasonably be expected, if cured of their intemperance, they would be able to take their places in society as self-supporting citizens. No one known to be a thief or otherwise criminal is admitted, nor are prostitutes or persons suffering from communicable diseases. The inmates are required to be industrious, and outdoor work is supplied as far as possible. The institution is purely an experiment and time has not yet elapsed to ascertain its value.[1]

J. Defectives.—*Education of Blind and Deaf-Mute Children.*—By an Act of 1890 it was enacted that such children, if their parents are too poor to provide for them, shall receive suitable elementary education and industrial training by the school board. The parent of such child shall not be deprived of any franchise right or privilege on this account.

Feeble-minded.—The Board of Commissioners in Lunacy has the power to license charitable institutions for the care and training of imbecile children, and supported in whole or in part by private subscription.[2]

Insane.—An insane person who has become chargeable to a parish is sent by the parish council within fourteen days to an asylum or establishment legally authorized to receive lunatic patients. It is the duty of an inspector of the poor to notify the parish council and the Board of Lunacy of the presence of any pauper lunatic ascertained to be in the parish.

A general Board of Commissioners in Lunacy for Scotland has the superintendence, management, direction, and regulation of all matters in relation to lunatics, and to public, private, and district asylums, and has power to grant or refuse licenses to the proprietors of private asylums, and of renewing, transferring, recalling or suspending such license.[3]

This Board inspects poorhouses and inquires whether the provis-

[1] Chisholm, Municipal Enterprises of Glasgow.
[2] Graham, o. c., p. 302.
[3] The Lunacy (Scotland) Act, 1857.

ions of the law relating to lunatics have been carried out, and as to the dietary, accommodation, and treatment of the lunatics in such poorhouse.

There is a system of eight district asylums, each district having its own board which is responsible to the General Board of Commissioners in Lunacy. Each pauper lunatic is maintained at the cost of the parish in which he has legal settlement. If the insane person has property, or relatives legally obliged to maintain him, the asylum recovers cost from these sources; if there are no such resources the person is adjudged a pauper and his parish pays the expenses of removal, care and maintenance. The Board may move the courts to appoint an agent to administer the property of an insane person and see that the income is properly used for his maintenance.

Persons charged with crime and acquitted on the ground of insanity are kept in custody and sent to such place as the crown may decide.

The Board has power to license lunatic wards of poorhouses for the reception and detention of such pauper lunatics only who are not dangerous, and do not require curative treatment.

The Board may grant a license to the occupier of a house to receive lunatics, not exceding four in number, subject to the rules and regulations of the Board; and, in 1895, the Board issued a book of "Instructions to Inspectors of Poor" for their guidance in the disposal and management of pauper lunatics. This legislation is the basis of the famous Scotch system of family care of the harmless insane.

On January 1, 1901, there were 2,793 patients in private dwellings in Scotland, of whom 1,111 were men and 1,682 were women. The total number of insane in Scotland at the same date was 15,899 (Forty-third Report of Commissioners in Lunacy). Miss Julia C. Lathrop, an American observer, visited some of these families in Lanashshire in 1898 and described the conditions. The housing was simple, frequently only a kitchen and parlor, with a double box-bed in each and a narrow passage between. The cleanliness was admirable. The cottages were well furnished, and in every instance had a pleasant air of homely comfort, and contentment was general. During forty-three years in which this system has been in operation there has been only one serious assault committed by a boarded-out patient. The freedom from irksome discipline, and the social advan-

tage of mixing with some people of their own rank in life and on a footing of equality, has a beneficial effect. The patients are carefully selected, and not more than 20 per cent. at most can be dealt with in this way.[1]

It is provided (Act of 1866) that all such private houses where insane persons are boarded shall be visited and inspected by medical men who report to the Board. Each such boarder must be visited at least once every three months by a medical man, and by the inspector of the poor at least twice a year.[2]

If a county or parish has provided accommodations for their own pauper lunatics satisfactory to the Board of Commissioners in Lunacy they are relieved from assessments for furnishing an asylum for the district, so far as the Board deems reasonable.

Lunatics are received into an asylum on the order of a sheriff in response to the petition of some citizen, with the certificate of two medical persons. In case of emergency the superintendent of an asylum may receive a person on the certificate of one medical person, but only for three days.

Pauper lunatics may be discharged on probation, but they remain subject to the inspection of the Commissioners until finally released by them from supervision.

K-L. Children and Youth.—*Children in Poorhouses and the Boarding-Out System.*—The world movement to remove all children from poorhouses has not yet been fully accepted for Scotland, although great advances have been made in that direction. Many children are still found in these establishments, and enlightened persons hope that the system of boarding out dependent children will before long remove all children from such unfavorable surroundings. The system has obtained in Scotland for a century and its value is beyond dispute. In its better form of administration orphans and deserted children are removed to a distance from the situation in cities which menaced their health and morality; they are boarded with respectable crofters and cottagers in the country; they are regularly visited by committees, who see to their food, clothing, education, and religious training. They are finally absorbed into the community of self-respecting workers. Sir John McNeill said: "They grow up with the family; they are

[1] National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1902, p. 191.

[2] Graham, p. 319.

treated as members of the family; they acquire the habits and feelings of the persons amongst whom they are brought up; they see the struggles of the family to maintain their own independence; they acquire a sort of domestic attachment to the father and mother, or to the old woman with whom they are boarding, and they are well educated, and ultimately they melt into the population."[1]

The Central Board has expressed this estimate of the system: "The administration of Parochial Relief to pauper children by boarding them with respectable families in rural districts continues to be satisfactorily conducted."[2] The total number chargeable May 15, 1893, was 5,545, of whom 4,629 were boarded out (1,822 with relatives and 2,807 with strangers). At the same date in 1902 the total number chargeable was 6,693, of whom 5,721 were boarded out (1,798 with relatives, and 3,923 with strangers).

In 1869-1870 the English Poor Law authorities[3] appointed an expert committee to investigate the Scottish system of boarding-out pauper children and to recommend any part of it which seemed suited to English conditions. At that time Mr. Henley said that the poorhouses were not giving suitable care to children, and in many instances they were not separated from the older paupers. His conclusions were: That the system, as conducted by the large city parochial boards generally, tends to improve the children physically and mentally, and effectually breaks their connection with the poorhouse; that, if properly carried out, it is preferable to the present system of the poorhouse provision for children in Scotland; that the condition of some children who are boarded in the towns is unsatisfactory, principally owing to the places in which they are lodged; that the official supervision of children belonging to certain parishes beyond the legal radius of their own inspectors is insufficient; that the separation of the sexes in the sleeping rooms is rarely attempted, being treated as unimportant when the children are young, and considered as members of the family in which they are boarded; that the education of the children is carefully atended to; that the medical attendance and extras are sufficient; that the practice of children be-

[1] Lamond, p. 265-266.

[2] Eighth Annual Report of the Local Government Board for Scotland, 1902, p. xii.

[3] Report of J. J. Henley, Poor Law Inspector, to the Poor Law Board, on the boarding out of pauper children in Scotland.

yond infancy sleeping in the same room with married couples is common and very objectionable.

Mr. Henley recommends that the following classes should under no circumstances be boarded out: illegitimate children of widows still living; other illegitimate children whose mothers are living; children deserted by one parent; children whose parents are living. Deserted children should not be boarded out till they have been for some time in the workhouse. Children should not usually be boarded with relatives. No child should be boarded with a person who is, or otherwise would be, in receipt of parochial relief. A child, before it is boarded out, should be passed by the medical officer, and a certificate given that it is in a proper state, mentally and bodily, to be sent out. Not more than two children, except in the case of a family, should be sent to one house. Brothers and sisters should usually be kept together. Children should be boarded out as young as possible. Children should be removed if they are kept away from school, Sunday school, or church; if lodgers are put in the same room with the children; if children are taken in to board from other unions or parishes, or from private people. Periodical reports should be secured from school teachers. Children should be visited by a paid officer every quarter at least, at uncertain periods. The fullest securities should be taken for a careful selection of nurses, and for their liberal payment, so as to avoid the employment of the lowest class of persons who would be willing to undertake the duty.

Many private agencies[1] seek to prevent the placing of children in poorhouses. For example, Stewart Hall, Bute, has accommodations for 20 children, where weak and tuberculous children can receive treatment fitting them for being boarded out, which it is practically impossible they can receive in the aggregation of a children's department of a poorhouse.

There are in Scotland, especially in cities, many schools upon endowed foundations, which provide for the maintenance, education and training of orphans, half-orphans and other dependent children. The selection of beneficiaries is generally in the hands of trustees and

[1] The industrial schools, privately supported, are mentioned with approval in the First Annual Report of the Board of Supervision, 1847, pp. xv-xvi; but the doubt is there expressed as to the possibility of making adequate provision by means of private contributions.

depends upon the purpose of the founder as expressed in wills and deeds of gift. One institution at Edinburgh receives 60 boys who are between the ages of nine and fourteen, educates them, gives them £7 for clothes on leaving, £10 annually during a period of five years in apprenticeship, and £50 to start in business. Orphans of burgesses formerly in good circumstances are aided by one school to the extent of £20 a year. One "hospital," accommodating 250 children, receives poor children of the name of the founder and others who are destitute; and here about half the inmates are deaf mutes. In another "hospital" the preference is given to the sons of respectable but poor teachers, farmers or mechanics. In Edinburgh also are schools for the blind, deaf mutes, imbecile children. On private and ecclesiastical foundations are industrial and reformatory schools, with one of which the illustratious name of Dr. Guthrie is connected; homes and training institutions for neglected, destitute, or imperilled children and youth. Both Catholics and Protestants support such institutions.[1]

Industrial Schools.—Any person may legally bring before two justices or a magistrate any child apparently under the age of fourteen years who is found begging or receiving alms (whether actually or under the pretext of selling or offering for sale any thing), or being in any street or public place for the purpose of begging or receiving alms; or, that is found wandering and not having any home or settled place of abode, or proper guardianship, or visible means of subsistence; or, that is found destitute, either being an orphan or having a surviving parent who is undergoing penal servitude or imprisonment; or that frequents the company of reputed thieves. The justices or magistrate may inquire into the case and, being satisfied that it is expedient to deal with him under this Act, may order him to be sent to a certified industrial school. The authorities for the poor may in the same way have a refractory child sent from a workhouse or a district pauper school to an industrial school. Children may be detained in a poorhouse or other place for seven days, pending inquiry, but not in a prison. Preference is given to an industrial school under the direction of the religious denomination in which the child has been reared. Parents are liable to pay the expense of the child sent to an industrial school, if they are able, not

[1] List of Benevolent and Charitable Institutions of Edinburgh and Leith, published by Association for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor, 1899.

to exceed five shillings a week. Dependent children are paid for by the parish of settlement.[1]

Prevention of Cruelty to Children.[2]—A constable or sheriff who discovers that a child is being ill-treated may take it to "a place of safety," which expression includes a workhouse or poorhouse.

M. Preventive Agencies and Methods.—Scotland is closely related to England in all matters relating to social legislation. Public schools have even a deeper root in the northern country, and their civilizing influence is appreciated. The sanitary agencies are unified and stimulated by the central administration and lend important aid to the amelioration of conditions in the life of the poor.

There is no present prospect of compulsory government insurance of workingmen to help them organize thrift and secure protective indemnity in case of disabling accident, sickness, infirmity and old age. Mr. Lamond[3] gives a sketch of recent proposals for old age pensions, but only to condemn them. But the matter comes up persistently in charity conferences, and apparently will ultimately have through consideration.[4]

In the matter of extending the socialistic or public service activity by municipalities the Scotch cities are among the foremost in the world. Retiring pensions are allowed the police, and the principle underlying state insurance is thereby accepted. In tenement house reform some of the cities have been pioneers.

The city of Glasgow owns and manages its own street transportation and gives low fares to workingmen; it keeps open its markets for fruit, fish, old clothes, and meat; it has adopted a liberal policy in regard to parks and playground; and makes provision for technical education.

The system of inspection of houses brings to the authorities a body of knowledge which guides administration and conveys to the poor people information which is useful to them. Especially is this true

[1] Graham, p. 433, gives text of Industrial Schools Act 1866 (29 and 30 Vict., ch. 118). Compare the Custody of Children Act 1891 (54 Vict. ch. 3), which defines the power of courts in relation to the rights of parents to claim custody of their children.

[2] Prevention of Cruelty to Children Act 1894 (57 and 58 Vict. ch. 41); Graham, p. 440.

[3] In his work, "Scottish Poor Laws."

[4] In the discussions of the International Home Relief Congress, Edinburgh, 1904, all aspects of insurance and pensions were fully treated.

of the women visitors, who carry into the dwellings of the poor suggestions as to cleanliness, order and health. In 1892 the visitors of Glasgow made 75,000 domiciliary visits.[1]

Improvements of Dwellings of the Poor.—While the habitations of the poor in crowded cities have secured the attention of philanthropists, those of the rural poor have required attention of thoughtful and humane men in Scotland. A statement of the Highland and Land Law Reform in 1885 presents a picture of a type of dwelling which seems happily to be passing away. It is a crofter's house in Lewis. "The west coast crofter has two foes to contend with—the fierce Atlantic blast, and the drenching winter rains. . . The walls are built of stones, gathered from the fields, and fitted roughly together. To keep out the wind they are made five feet thick, and both side walls and gable ends are but six feet in height. . . . The houses vary from 30 to 60 feet in length, and are 15 feet wide. You stoop your head as you enter the only door. If your visit is in March, the inside level is higher than the surface of the ground, for you step upon a thick mass of wet cattle-bedding and dung, which has accumulated since the previous summer. Coming in from the light of day you stumble in the deep obscurity, which is barely relieved by the single window of a foot square. . . . Smoke from a peat fire fills the house and finds partial egress through the thatch, for there is no chimney. Hens cackle overhead. Cows and calves keep company with the family."[2] The crofters had little encouragement to build better houses and make improvements, as their tenure was at the pleasure of the landlords and they were not paid for the betterments. While many abuses have been corrected already, the descriptions in state documents reveal a wretchedness and apathy which are not found in new countries, and which become habitual only when the outlook for better conditions has been narrowed by long-denied opportunity to rise.[3]

Glasgow opened in 1896 "The Family Home" at a cost of £17,609.

[1] A. Shaw, Municipal Government in Great Britain, p. 87.

[2] Reports of Her Majesty's Commissioners for inquiring into the Housing of the Working Classes (Scotland), 1885.—Report from the select committee on Poor Laws (Scotland), ordered printed July 6, 1869. A. Shaw, Municipal Government in Great Britain, ch. IV, "A Study of Glasgow."

[3] Dr. Angus Macaulay, medical officer for Barra, has a similar description of cottages in 8th Annual Report of the Local Government Board for Scotland, 1903, p. 65; and he affirms that such hovels increase tubercular diseases and other

It furnishes accommodations for deserving and respectable widows or widowers belonging to the working classes having one or more young children with no one to look after them. The house contains 160 single bedrooms, plainly furnished, each capable of accommodating one adult and their children, a common dining-room, a kitchen with gas fires and steam cooking boilers, a nursery, recreation rooms, baths, lavatories, and all heated by steam. The rent of a bedroom varies from 4s. to 5s. per week, and regular meals are furnished at the lowest possible charge.

Glasgow has also destroyed many old houses and built better in their places. In all 46 blocks had been rebuilt in 1902, with 200 shops and 1,455 dwelling-houses, with one to three apartments in each house. In all the lodging houses the Family Home and the new dwellings 11,875 persons have been provided for.

Another agency of the municipality of Glasgow is of a preventive character, the Labour Bureau and Servants' Registry, opened in 1896. There are no fees payable by either the employer or the worker. The corporation, while accepting no responsibility in connection with applicants, endeavors to assure itself of the character of those whom it sends to any situation. In 1900 the Bureau registered 5,224 applicants and found places for 42.30 per cent. of these, at a cost per head of the number registered of 9¾d.

The water works of Glasgow supply all charitable institutions free of charge, and also furnish water gratuitously to twelve public baths and wash-houses in the city belonging to the corporation. The water department does not charge the corporation for water used for cleansing purposes, watering streets, and flushing sewers. Bath and wash-houses were first established in 1876.

In 1866[1] the city of Glasgow began the policy of taking possession of common lodging houses, conducted by private enterprise, where men and women were huddled together promiscuously, in dark and unventilated rooms, without any of the conveniences requi-

pauperizing maladies. On p. 66 is a cheering report of improvement in Harris, by J. Wedderspoon, Sanitary Inspector of Inverness.

[1] Municipal Enterprises of Glasgow, by Samuel Chisholm.—Abstract of the Account of the Revenue and Expenditure and Stock account of the corporation acting under the Glasgow Public Parks Acts, May, 1901, and other reports on water-works, Improvements Acts, 1866-1895, of same date.—Notes on Municipal Work, 1896-99, by David Richmond, Corporation of the City of Glasgow, 1899.

site for decent living, not to speak of healthful existence. These houses, besides being hotbeds of vice and misery, were also centers for the propagation of disease. The authorities constructed and equipped seven model lodging houses which have served a good purpose and have been financially successful. The houses are provided with a common dining-room, a kitchen with utensils and fire available for cooking at any hour of the day, a large recreation room, and ample lavatory and bathing conveniences. Lodging costs from 3½d. to 6d. per night.

The construction of houses by municipalities or the state is not universally approved. The Landlords' Association of Glasgow, in 1885, declared that private enterprise would build all the houses that were required and that interference by the state "is uncalled for and impolitic." But on one point they declared there was a place for private charity and legislative measures. They said that some of the smaller dwellings were "occupied by tenants of a lower class, who are intemperate, filthy, and destructive in their habits. They neither appreciate cleanliness nor convenience. They are unsettled in their occupations, and their continued migrations from place to place give them great facilities for escaping payment of their debts or in implementing their obligations. . . . On this dirty and improvident class the landlord has little control, and the sanitary authorities do not seem to care actively to interfere in regulating their conduct." Two remedial agencies they recommend; the sanitary missionary with sufficient intelligence to expound to such tenants the benefits of sanitation, and with sufficient power to enforce personal observance of the regulations formed for their comfort and well-being; and a law enabling the landlord to remove expeditiously and inexpensively tenants who can be proved to be a moral and physical nuisance to the neighborhood. But the letter of the landlord does not give information as to the management of such persons after they have been removed.

Pawnbrokers.—A person intending to apply for the first time for a certificate must give previous notice of twenty-one days to an inspector of the poor of the parish in which he intends to carry on business, and to the superintendent of police of the district.[1]

Salvation Army.—The social as well as religious work of this body is extended to the cities of Scotland. The Salvation Army

[1] The Pawnbrokers' Act, 1872 (35 and 36 Vict. ch., 93), in Graham at p. 441.

Women's Social Work of Glasgow,[1] in a report made September 30, 1902, showed that they had received £879 11s. 6d., of which £99 18s. 10½d. came from gifts; that they had supported inebriate homes for girls, and had cared for maternity cases. It cost five shillings a week to maintain a girl in an industrial home. Pay is expected in these establishments, but there are many charity cases. One pound a week covers the cost for maternity cases. They had cared for 215 girls in the year, visited female prisoners, helped them to find shelter and occupation, and redeemed many from the drink habit. They maintain the Metropole, a working women's hotel, where any poor woman may find asylum and friendly help.

Aid for Discharged Prisoners and Their Families.—Edinburgh and other places have voluntary associations for aiding prisoners, after their discharge from prison, with advice and assistance in procuring honest employment.

SECTION 3.—IRELAND

BY PROFESSOR J. M. GILLETTE, D. B., PH. D.

A. Causes of Pauperism in General.—Pauperism in Ireland may be traced to several causes. First, a historical one, namely, the conquest of Ireland by England and the wholesale confiscation of the land which was bestowed on absentee landlords. This took away not only property value from the inhabitants, but along with it hope and interest in a larger material life. Second, a standing lack of unity and coöperation necessary to secure reform legislation looking to better conditions. Religiously Ireland has been divided between Catholics and Protestants. Socially it has been divided between a landed aristocracy and a landless peasantry and small shopkeepers, with no strong middle class so necessary to national progress. As against Protestant clergy Catholic priests have been powerful with the masses, the former being merely chaplains of the landed gentry. The feeling of superiority in the landed gentry is so strong that it has been their chief grievance under an extension of local government to be obliged, officially, to stand on an equality with the lower class. Third, financial depletion by the absentee landlords who spend their

[1] Report of the Salvation Army Women's Social Work, 1902.

large land incomes outside of Ireland, thus constantly sapping its resources, and by the British government which has been overtaxing Ireland at the rate of $14,000,000 per year. Ireland's proportion of the Imperial tax is 1-20. It has been paying 1-7, or in a half century has overpaid about $500,000,000. This is the estimate of the Royal Commission of 1896 appointed to investigate the subject. Fourth, agricultural and industrial decadence. The production of wheat has declined since 1850 nearly 80 per cent. and the farm produce nearly 50 per cent. The number of people in textile industries has decreased from 696,000 in 1841 to 130,000 in 1891. One large reason for agricultural decline has been the policy adhered to for a long time of reducing Ireland to pasturing. The result is seen in the size of holdings. In 1841 holdings of from 1 to 15 acres comprised over 80 per cent. of all farms above one acre; in 1850, 50 per cent.; in 1901, 42 per cent. Farms over 30 acres were only 7 per cent. in 1841, 26 per cent. in 1851, and 32 per cent. in 1900. On the large estates the best land has been set aside for grazing and the bogs given to the tenants. Once Ireland was a rival of England in commerce and industry and had great enterprise. During 250 years England has systematically legislated against one industry after another and forced the people into a close dependence upon the soil. Fifth, the drainage of the best population to foreign countries by emigration, leaving behind those willing to settle down to a landless and therefore hopeless condition. Sixth, the overwhelming consumption of liquor. Drunkenness is universal. Every grocery and drygoods store in the villages has a public bar at which men and many women drink in the open market. One town of 1,250 people has 85 public houses. Yet drink is not considered by the best observers so much an inherent vice as a recourse to drown the miseries of poverty, and it is already reduced with industrial opportunity and hope and by the earnest efforts of temperance advocates.

As a result of the loss of hope, racial, social and religious conflicts, agricultural and industrial decay, financial depletion, etc., pauperism has increased notwithstanding a twofold decrease of population during the last six decades. In 1864 Ireland had 32 paupers to each 1,000 of population; in 1894 it had 95 to each 1,000. In England there has been a decrease from 49 to 26 to each 1,000 of the population. The total number of paupers in 1902 was 102,771 supported at an expense of over £1,175,000.

Out of a total tax revenue from Ireland in a recent year of £6,392,-943, those who drank beer, wine, spirits, tea and smoked tobacco contributed £4,848,489.

Legislation.—Legislation on poor-relief in Ireland begins with the act of Irish parliament of 1771, which provided for the erection of eight houses of industries in Munster and three in Leinster. Eden (State of the Poor, III, p. cclxxvii) says that there were no poor laws, only Sunday collections, to which the absentee landlords contributed little. He speaks of a house of industry at Dublin. Only about £4,000 per year were raised out of the £14,000 sanctioned. In 1806 and 1818 added authority was given to county authorities. In 1838 it was enacted that paid vice-guardians might execute the laws on the failure of the local authorities. This came into force in 1840. In 1847 an Outdoor Relief Act was passed.

In 1856 Nicholls summarized previous legislation as follows: "Houses of industry and foundling hospitals, supported partly by public votes, and partly by voluntary contributions, were . . . established at Dublin and Cork, for the reception and bringing up of exposed and deserted children, and the confinement of vagrants; . . . free schools were directed to be maintained in every diocese, for educating children of the poor; . . . parishes were required to support the children exposed and deserted within their limits, and vestries were organized and overseers appointed to attend to their duty; . . . hospitals, houses of industry or workhouses, were to be provided in every county, and county of a city or town; severe punishments were enacted against idle vagabonds and vagrants; whilst the deserving poor were to be lodged and licensed to beg, or if infirm and helpless were to be maintained in the hospitals or houses of industry, for the building and upholding of which, however, reliance was chiefly placed on the charitable aid of the humane and affluent, assessments for the purpose being limited to £400 in counties at large, and £200 in counties of cities or towns." All of this partakes of the nature of poor laws, yet no provisions were made to carry them into effect. Only a portion of the provisions was imposed. The most was voluntary. Various amendments have been made in the poor laws of Ireland. These will appear in the various portions of this paper.

Settlement.—There is no specific law of settlement in Ireland. One was proposed to Parliament in 1838 but voted down. However, it was necessary to define the terms of the location of the duty to give

relief in terms of electoral divisions of a union. Hence the final amendment of the law of 1847 reads that no person shall be deemed resident in an electoral division unless three years before he applies for relief, he shall have occupied some tenement within it for three months, or usually slept within it thirty months.

Class of Indigent With Claims.—Guardians are directed "to make provision for the due relief of all destitute poor persons disabled by old age or infirmity; and of destitute poor persons disabled by sickness or serious accident, and thereby prevented from earning a subsistence for themselves and their families; and of destitute poor widows, having two or more legitimate children dependent upon them. Such poor persons, being destitute, are to be relieved either in the worhouse or out of the workhouse as the guardians may deem expedient; and the guardians are also to take order for relieving and setting to work in the workhouse when there shall be sufficient room for so doing, such other destitute poor persons as they shall deem to be unable to support." (10 and 11 Vict. Chap. 31, Sect. 1).

Law of Outdoor and Indoor Relief.—"Whenever relief cannot be afforded in the workhouse owing to want of room, or when by reason of fever or infectious disease the workhouse is unfit for the reception of poor persons, the Poor Law Commissioners may by order empower the guardians to administer relief out of the workhouse to such destitute poor persons, for any time not exceeding two months; and on receipt of such order the guardians are to make provisions accordingly. Relief to able-bodied persons out of the workhouse, is, however, to be given in food only, and the Commissioners may from time to time regulate its application." (*Ibid.*, Sections 2, 3).

Relieving officers may not only give orders of admission to workhouses or fever hospitals of the union for provisional relief, but also to give temporary relief in food, lodging, medicine, or medical attendance, until the next meeting of the board of guardians. The funds are furnished the officers by the guardians.

Liabilities.—Relief to wife or child is considered as given to the husband or parent. Children are liable for relief given to parents. Husbands are liable for maintenance of wife and her children under 15, legitimate or illegitimate; also for that of his children, widows for theirs, mothers for their bastards up to 15 years. Relief may be considered a loan to be recovered. Persons deserting workhouses, leaving wife or child to be relieved, refusing to work, guilty of drunken-

ness or disobedience in workhouse, or introducing liquors, are liable to prison and labor for not over one month. Deserters of wife or children so that they have to be relieved may be sent to a house of correction for three months with labor.

B. Organization and Administration.—In 1838 Parliament gave the general oversight and control of Ireland poor-relief into the hands of the Poor Law Commissioners of England and Wales, who were declared to be the Poor Law Commissioners for Ireland. In 1847 Irish poor-relief administration was made separate. A chief commissioner was appointed, who, along with the chief and under-secretaries of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, constituted the "Commissioners for administering the Laws for Relief of the Poor in Ireland." This Board may appoint a secretary, inspectors, clerks, etc. It is empowered to make rules, orders and regulations, to vary and rescind them, and to make general rules with the approbation of the lord lieutenant, who has final voice in the matter. Rules, orders, or regulations affecting more than one union are deemed general. It may appoint paid officers of unions needed, prescribe qualifications, define duties and terms of service and fix salaries. It may remove incompetent officers, dissolve boards of guardians and appoint temporary paid successors. It reports annually to the lord lieutenant, who lays the report before parliament.

Medical charities were added to the poor law in 1852. The act provided for the appointment of a medical commissioner, a physician or surgeon of not less than 13 years' standing, to be united with the above officers in executing the Act. The Board may appoint inspectors, physicians or surgeons of not less than 7 years' standing. Medical commissioners and inspectors are prohibited from practicing professionally. The inspector is entitled to attend meetings of boards of guardians, and all meetings held for the relief of the poor; he may take part in proceedings, but cannot vote.

For purposes of local administration of poor-relief Ireland comprises 163 unions made up of 3,438 electoral districts from which guardians are sent to the board of guardians. Under the local government act of 1898 the franchise is made universal for local matters, even including women. This broadening of the franchise has been an advantage to all local administrative affairs including poor-relief. Guardians are elected every three years. None may be clergymen. The number and qualifications are decided by the Board of Commis-

sioners. The number ranges from 16 to 24. Their functions are to provide revenue for erecting workhouses, sustaining the poor of their union, and seeing that the various poor agencies work efficiently. Relief officers may be provided by the commissioners to assist in the administration of relief.[1] Also medical officers for relief outside of workhouses may be appointed when necessary or expedient.

Outdoor Relief.—The extent of outdoor relief is expressed in these figures. Daily average for 1901 (excluding boarded-out children) was 55,587, a decrease of over 500 as compared with 1900. Total expenditure for this relief was £966,830, an increase of £28,317 over 1900. This is more than one-half the total number of persons relieved and of amount expended in the island. Outdoor relief has been imperatively needed at times in Ireland on account of recurring famines. While there has been a diminution in frequency and virulence of famines due to better agriculture and dependence on other produce than the potato, there has been a tendency to undue increase in outdoor relief. In 1856 its expenditure stood £2,246; in 1876, a normal year, at £97,403; in 1880, at £153,586; in 1901, as given above, £966,830. Seemingly without reason it spreads to districts which have long existed without it. This may be due to the yielding of boards of guardians to the antagonism of Irish poor to the workhouse system. They have a great repugnance to entering these institutions. Too often they prefer to die in their cabins of destitution rather than enter a workhouse for life.

C. Private Charity.—Various agencies for purposes of private charity exist, although no full reports are obtainable as to scope and strength of the various associations. Some of the principal institutions are the following: "The Society for the Relief of Sick, Indigent Room-Keepers of all Religious Persuasions." Since its inception up to December 31, 1890, it has relieved over 2,500,000 sick and distressed room-keepers. During the year ending with December 31, 1890, it relieved 38,476. It is supported by donations, subscriptions and bequests. A person may receive aid whose application therefor is signed by a yearly subscriber of over 8s. Clergy-

[1] There is a relieving officer connected with each workhouse who investigates cases arising, and if they are meritorious he issues relief certificates to the master in charge of the workhouse. Relieving officers look after outdoor cases, investigate, relieve emergency cases, and report later to the guardians.

men and physicians may recommend without subscribing. It operates in Dublin. "The Society of St. Vincent de Paul" was established in 1845 for the relief of the poor without distinction of religion and they are visited at their homes by the members of the society. Both sustenance and administration are voluntary. It has over 140 branches in the various cities and towns of Ireland. The following establishments are for specific purposes: "Dublin Typographical Fund," "Protestant Shoemakers' Charitable Society," "Medical Benevolent Fund Society of Ireland," "Apothecaries' Benevolent Society," "Dublin Midnight Mission and Female Refuge," giving immediate refuge to personal applications from outcast women; "Catholic Boys' Home," which gives food and lodging for the night to outcast boys.

The frequent potato famines in the island have elicited much outside aid from the English-speaking world. Thus pursuant to appeals for relief by the Duchess of Marlborough, Parnell and others in 1879, Canada, Australia, India, the United States and England supplied relief funds during 1880 amounting to several hundred thousand pounds.

F. Indoor Relief.—Public indoor relief in Ireland is under the jurisdiction of the various unions. The Local Government Board has general supervision. In conjunction with the latter the unions establish the various workhouses, workhouse schools, hospitals, etc., in their territories. When established they superintend the administration of relief in the institutions. The largest agency for indoor relief is the workhouse. Each union or association of unions may support one. Twelve acres of land may be bought or rented for the location. The funds may be raised by poor-rate or borrowed on the future poor-rate. The aged poor, the infirm, the dependent defectives and other dependent poor are given admittance. Those living in a union have precedence in case of crowded conditions. Inmates from the various electoral divisions of a union are charged to their respective divisions. Others are charged to the whole union. In connection with each workhouse are the master and matron who directly control it and the relieving officer who investigates and certificates individual applicants.[1] Those receiving indoor relief in 1900-01 were as follows: Average daily number in workhouses, 40,153; in hospitals, institutions and district schools,

[1] For hospitals and schools see Medical Relief and Care of Children.

1,443; percentage in population, .92. The maximum number in workhouses was, February 16, 1901, 43,827; the minimum number in workhouses, September 1, 1900, 37,304. Night lodgers or casuals in workhouses averaged monthly from April 1, 1900, to September 30, 1901, 2,969. From October 1, 1900 to March 31, 1901, 3,378. The weekly average for the same year was 486.9.

Poorhouse as a Test.—In the report of the Irish Poor Law Commissioners for 1869 it is said: "The system of workhouse relief, the ordinary form of relief in Ireland, tends to diminish mendicancy and vagrancy, inasmuch as persons so relieved have all their wants supplied, and cannot go abroad begging. Outdoor relief, on the other hand, fails to supply all the wants of the recipients, and a large number of them, therefore, being at liberty to go where they please, naturally supplement their means of livelihood by wandering abroad and begging."[1]

G. VAGRANTS, ETC.—There are sufficiently stringent laws enacted against vagrancy, begging and inducing children to beg or wander. Such a law was passed in 1847. Persons convicted are liable to hard labor for one month. It is possible to deal with those persons in rural regions where they soon become known. But they are not interfered with there. In the cities they are arrested only upon persisting in begging when warned by the police. The police visit the workhouses in the morning to see if any among the "casuals" are criminals wanted. These workhouses afford night lodgings and so provide transient homes for the homeless. It is reported that efforts are made to convert beggars and tramps to self-support by the discipline of the workhouse and gaol, by stimulating, while residents of either, feelings of self-respect, religion, and independence. There are no statistics on the subject, but it is officially reported that only a small portion of professional tramps and beggars are taken again.

Aid to Emigration.—No direct effort has ever been made by Great Britain to colonize the Irish poor. However, this was suggested by a poor-relief commission in 1830, but it was not enacted in legislation. But the policy of aiding emigration to her colonies has prevailed. Since 1843 persons in workhouses for three months might be assisted to emigrate. In 1847 the time limit was reduced. The fund was not to be considered relief. Since 1849, 5,799 men,

[1] R. P. Lamond, The Scottish Poor Laws, p. 125.

20,851 women and 17,991 children under 15 have been deported at a total expense of £161,238. The largest number sent out was in 1852, when 4,336 went out. The general average has decreased year by year. Since 1895 the yearly number has been less than 100. The year ending March 31, 1901, only 46 were deported.

Voluntary and independent emigration has depopulated Ireland. In 1840 it had a population of about 9,000,000. To-day there are less than 4,500,000 inhabitants. The United States of America have more Irish-born inhabitants than has Ireland.

H. Medical Relief.—As early as 1836 there was a commission appointed which looked into the matter of care of the sick poor. The system was considered inefficient. In 1842 an effort was made to get the system reformed. A reform law was passed in 1852 which provided for a medical commissioner, to be a physician or surgeon of at least 13 years' standing, and who must not practice his profession while in office; for medical inspectors to be appointed by the commissioners and who must be physicans or surgeons of at least 7 years' standing and must refrain from professional practice. It also provided that when needed the guardians shall divide a union into dispensary districts, appoint dispensary committees, provide buildings, necessary medicines and appliances. A committee of management appoints one or more medical men for advice and care of the poor. The latter vaccinate applicants. All dispensary relief of the district is given in the institution. In 1891 there were 747 such districts, 1,196 dispensaries or dispensary stations, 811 medical officers, 47 apothecaries or pharmaceutical chemists, 508 midwives and an annual expenditure of £173,582.

Nursing.—That part of the care of the sick which involves nursing is done in workhouse infirmaries and hospitals. Sick relief is in a transition state with reference to the qualification of nurses. Many boards of guardians cling to old ideas, but there is great advance. A general order of 1895 created the office of nurse of the workhouse. In 1897 another order forbade the employment of paupers as nurses and authorized medical officers to procure nurses in emergencies. Objections arose among guardians to temporary nurses, hence a general order of 1901 empowered the guardians of any workhouse to increase the nurses and medical staff when necessary. At present the majority of nurses receive only such instruction for training as the medical officers will give them. Since the

Local Government Act of 1898 it has been the practice to recommend only trained nurses. The training of nurses in the larger poor law infirmaries and hospitals in which facilities for instruction exist is encouraged. The Belfast workhouse Infirmary and Fever Hospital is such an establishment. There are 159 union infirmaries. Including fever and auxiliary hospitals there are 320 hospitals of all kinds managed by poor law guardians. At the beginning of 1901 there were 18,318 sick besides 3,930 lunatics cared for in workhouse infirmaries and hospitals. The institutions vary greatly in the number of inmates. One has 1,976 and another but 13.

As regards vaccination the guardians are charged with the administration of the law. Each dispensary medical officer reports quarterly to the local and central authorities a list of registered births of children over three months old which are not vaccinated. Relieving officers look after these cases. In 1901 the Local Government Board issued strenuous advice to guardians to provide for separate wards in workhouses and infirmaries for consumptives. Smallpox has greatly diminished. In 1898 there were no deaths and only two cases. In 1895 there were 10 deaths and 692 cases. In 1872-3 there were 677 deaths and 10,317 cases, which was above the average. All sorts of fevers have been likewise reduced. Outside of scarlet fever in 1865 there were over 26,000 cases; in 1881, about 10,000; in 1901, about 2,300. Of scarlet fever there were about 1,600 cases in 1901, a reduction of over 500 cases as compared with the previous year. Much typhus fever abounds in Connaught and Western Ulster. Overcrowding and bad economic and sanitary conditions influence the prevalence of this disease. Sanitary authorities are being impressed with the importance of using their powers.

Sanitation.—Ireland is provided with sanitary laws sufficient to cover cases of plague and other contagious diseases as well as to regulate sanitation. Besides urban districts, it is divided into rural sanitary districts. Sanitary authorities must secure good water, sewers, etc. Rural regions may be placed under urban regulations if necessary. The Local Government Board may make loans to districts to provide improved lodgings for the working classes. In 1900-1901 the necessary steps were taken to guard the seaports against the bubonic plague which appeared in Glasgow. A law of 1817 provided hospitals for the insane in districts comprising one or more counties, and these houses were able to contain from 100

to 150 inmates. In 1830 a commission reported that they formed the best institution in the world for curable insane. However, incurables were left to workhouse hospitals and workhouses. A law of 1843 enabled guardians to transfer insane persons from workhouses to insane hospitals and maintain them there. In 1901 chronic lunatics to the number of over 4,000 were scattered about Ireland in workhouses and district asylums. The first could not properly care for them, the second were overcrowded. The act of 1898 provided that this may be remedied by county councils who may build a separate asylum for chronic lunatics or a new department to an existing asylum. The initiative rests with the council. The cost of support rests upon the rate payer. Unions may combine to secure a workhouse convertible into an asylum, or an adjunct. The opinion of the Local Government Board is favorable to the segregation of insane and feeble-minded in separate special institutions. Of lunatics there are in Ireland of non-epileptic 801 males and 1,197 females; of epileptics 72 males and 150 females. Of feeble-minded there are non-epileptic 664 males, 814 females; epileptics 119 males and 113 females. There are of epileptics not mentally affected 316. Figures on lunacy for all of Ireland show it to be increasing. Between 1851 and 1891 it had trebled. In the same time feeble-mindedness had doubled. In the latter year in the county of Meath there was one lunatic to every 177 of the population.

The number of blind is decreasing, but not much faster than the population. In 1851 there were 7,587. In 1891 there were 5,341. The proportion is large because emigration leaves the defectives behind. Forty per cent. are uneducated. Of deaf-mutes there were in 1891, 3,365, of which 76 per cent. were congenitally defective. The law of 1843 provides for the support of all blind and deaf indigents under 18 years of age in institutions for the blind and deaf. The guardians were made responsible for their accommodation and support.

J. The Insane.—Lunatic asylums are supported wholly out of the county rates (grand jury cess), but each asylum is under the administration of a board of governors appointed by the Lord Lieutenant. The kingdom is divided into 22 districts, each with its asylum. Twelve districts consist of single counties and 10 embrace two or more counties. They provide for about 8,500 patients. The Lord Lieutenant appoints the resident and visiting medical officers.

Two inspectors enforce the regulations made by the Lord Lieutenant in council for the administration of the asylums. They also perform the work of inspection. The number of inmates has increased in late years, a fact due, not to the increase of lunatics, but to the fact that they are now more frequently submitted to medical treatment. Total number in 1870, 10,257; in 1879, 12,819. In the latter year in district asylums were 8,490; in workhouses, 3,491; in private asylums, 651; in Dundorm Asylum, 187.

K. Children.—As early as 1715 the law provided for apprenticing male and female children who were found begging, or other poor children, with the consent of their parents, and for their supervision by justices of the peace. In 1735 it was enacted that all foundlings left on the parishes should be kept and taught a trade or calling until 21 years of age in the workhouse. In 1771-2 a distinction was made between vagrants and foundlings. A foundling hospital was provided in Dublin in which all foundlings under 6 were to be kept or from which they were to be sent to nurse. Such large numbers appeared that the age limit was placed at three years. In 1772-74 a law provided that each parish outside of Dublin and Cork should provide for the support of its foundlings by a special levy and for their education, the levy not to exceed £5 per child. In 1830 there were two large foundling hospitals at Cork and Dublin and one small one at Galway. The one at Dublin was to cease operation. The one at Cork still had 1,329 on its books.

In 1847 it was provided that unions might be grouped into districts to maintain a "district school" for the "joint reception, maintenance and education" of the children of the unions. Workhouse children under 15 may attend them. They are controlled by the guardians. The law of 1843 made it possible to send deaf and dumb or blind children under 18 to a special institution for defective persons. The number of district school children in 1901 was 530. The method of caring for children most admired and stimulated now by relief authorities is that of boarding out. It is reported to be the most satisfactory. In 1901 these children numbered 2,755 as against 2,604 of the previous year. The act of 1898 makes it a duty of the guardians to appoint a committee of ladies, not necessarily guardians, to visit boarded-out children. They report to the guardians. The committees with the names of the children under their jurisdiction are reported to the Local Government Board. It is

testified that the children as a rule become part of the family to which they are sent. The age was advanced to 13 years to encourage the system. The failure of the intelligent citizens to take part in the work of supervision led to the constitution of the above board.

L. Youth. Youthful criminals in Ireland are sent to reform schools. In these schools they are all alike instructed in some trade or craft. They are maintained by imperial grants, local taxes, capitation payments made by capable parents of inmates, and produce of the labor of the inmates. In 1890 there were four such schools for boys, one of which was Protestant with 10 inmates, and three Roman Catholic, with 104 inmates.

For the superintendence and training of the indigent young who have not sunk so low as to require a sentence of penal labor or confinement industrial schools have been established. They are supported in the same way as the Reform Schools. The inmates are instructed in the trade or service for which they appear most adapted. The attempt is made to equip them for self-support. The law establishing such schools was passed in 1868. The number of schools having certificates on December 31, 1889, was 70; 11 for Protestants and 59 for Roman Catholics, 21 for boys, 48 for girls and one mixed for young boys and girls. The number of inmates were 7,574. The average net cost per head was £18 4s. 4d.

In 1898 various schools were provided for pauper children. In 1900 orders were issued that the following were ready for occupancy: Cripples' workshop, Borough Polytechnic Institute, London, 1 child in 1901; Protestant Home, West House, Galway, 50 children in 1901; "Meath" Protestant Industrial School, Dublin, 126 children, 1901.

M. Preventive.—Social legislation has not been developed in Ireland. Whatever the government does for its people is done in line with its economic needs. Not being an industrial society Ireland has little needed the legislation suitable for such societies. It is essentially an agricultural community, as may be judged from data of distribution of inhabitants. In 1891, 17.9 per cent. lived in towns of 10,000 and over, 26.4 per cent. in incorporated towns of 2,000 and over. But much of the population of the smaller towns is directly agricultural. Manufacturing is limited to the larger cities, such as Belfast and Dublin, and does not dominate other interests even there. Labor has not largely organized to make itself felt. In 1890 Trade Unions claimed 40,000 members, chiefly in Cork and Dublin.

Education in Ireland was undertaken by the government authorities in order to lessen crime and pauperism, and a school system was established under a royal board of commissioners. The state bears about 94 per cent. of the expenditures. Model schools to the number of 30 with 9,615 students in training for teaching were supported in 1899. Students of normal schools use them. The state aids one national and four denominational normal schools. Provision for agricultural training is made. Instruction in the theory of agriculture is compulsory in all rural schools for boys in the 4th, 5th and 6th classes, and optional for girls. Two male agricultural schools are maintained, and in 1897 there were reported 38 school farms in connection with elementary schools and 116 schools with school gardens attached. Technical instruction is just being developed. The Technical Instruction Act of 1899 provided $1,000,000 per year for such instruction. Technical schools are being established throughout the country in urban districts and in many counties itinerant instructors on agricultural subjects are employed in connection with experiment plots. The department under which technical and agricultural education is conducted is akin to the United States Department of Agriculture. It helps only the localities which help themselves. Yet in 1902 only two counties had not responded. School attendance in Ireland is legally compulsory but the enrollment is only 60 per cent. Connaught County has 27 per cent., Galway County 34.1 per cent. of illiteracy.

Land Purchase.—Acute observers ascribe Ireland's poor condition chiefly to the fact that the inhabitants have had no secure interests to impel to ambitious endeavor. Under the old land tenure system there has been a year to year tenancy. It has been the practice of landlords to exact a higher rent in every case where a tenant by building, draining, clearing or fencing had added value to the holding. He was taxed for his own improvements. It was therefore his interest to leave the farm as near a wilderness as was possible to secure a living at all. Gradually the government has legislated to change these conditions. Its various Land Purchase Acts aimed to do so. Beginning with 1869 a series of such acts induced larger and larger numbers of tenants to become owners of small properties. Under the acts of 1891 and 1896, 37,000 tenants purchased. After due investigation of the results of previous acts the Wyndham Land Act was passed in 1903 under which the whole of Ireland has been

made available for purchase. The commission reported that men improve their land first and when that is secure then their houses and yards. They have ceased to sublet and refused to sell. Intemperance was decreased in land-purchase districts one-third. Rebellion and disorder gave place to coöperation and order. The recent bill enables a purchaser to repay the government in about 68 years by paying about 3¼ per cent. on the purchase per year, which is less than rent paid to landlords.

Dwellings.—The Labourers' Dwellings Act provided for the rental of cottages and ½ to 1 acre plots of land for gardens to laborers at rates hardly sufficient to pay for maintenance and management. The local government act of 1898 extending the franchise to laborers stimulated new activities to reap the advantages of this act. Applications for houses and plots are filed before the cottages are built. Up to March, 1901, 17,160 houses were authorized, 14,689 were provided, 14,548 actually let and 498 in progress or contracted for. Further improvements were made or about to be made for 7,691 new cottages with full garden allotments and 3,951 additional ½-acre allotments. The Congested District Law was passed in 1821. It provided for boards to assist congested districts by advice, removal of families to other regions, consolidation of small holdings to make holdings capable of support, the development of coast fisheries, etc.

Sanitation.—About all the sanitary provisions undertaken by the state have been mentioned. An interesting illustration of the willingness of citizens to coöperate with the government sanitary authorities is seen in the advocacy of pasteurizing milk by managers of creameries upon evidence found pointing to the close relation between creameries and enteric fever.

Coöperative Effort.—Unity, coöperation, hope, interest, self-help are elements Ireland has needed to lift it out of penury. Voluntary agencies and particularly individuals have wrought much to introduce those elements. The Hon. H. P. Plunkett had been a student of economics and industrial conditions in modern countries. In 1889 he founded the Irish Agricultural Organization Society for the purpose of introducting the principle of organization and coöperation among Irish farmers. It has about 500 societies with 50,000 members. "The purpose of these societies is the manufacture of butter on the best and most scientific principle in creameries; the joint purchase of agricultural requirements and the sale of the produce; the

improvement of live stock and methods of tillage; the acquisition of machinery for the joint use of the members; the development of early market gardening; the introduction of the continental system of collecting, grading and packing eggs; the establishment of experimental farms; the formation of coöperative rural banks, the promotion of rural industries such as lace making, embroidery and needlework." The good results are seen on every hand. The coöperative creameries now rank with those of Denmark, the best in the world; Irish butter was so pronounced in 1901 at the great English Agricultural Show. The agricultural banks are on the plan of Raiffeisen. They are coöperative, managed by the best local minds and lend for only productive purposes to approved applicants at from 2 to 6 per cent. interest instead of, as formerly, at 30 per cent. interest to some "Sombeen" man or "loan bank." Neither religious nor political differences are allowed to enter the coöperative societies. Catholic priests and Protestant ministers frequently coöperate to form them. Statistics for coöperative efforts are not published distinct from those of Great Britain so as to be available.

The Future.—Unquestionably Ireland's future is full of hope. With ownership, local government and coöperation are being born new zeal in labor and real ambitions for life which will create a new Ireland. The Irish race has proved itself peculiarly talented in homes of its adoption. With opportunity that genius may be expected to exhibit itself and prove productive for Ireland and the world. Where they have become property owners the Irish have become conservative in Ireland instead of continuing radical. Hence a loyal support of the government. With productive ownership is coming temperance and diminution of pauperism.

SECTION 4.—INDIA[1]

BY O. J. PRICE, PE. D.

India, in its widest sense, includes British India and the Native States; the former is under the direct control in all respects of British officials. The control which the Supreme Government exercises

[1] The purpose of introducing a section on the charities of India in connection with the chapter on English relief systems was to show how the European ideas

over the Native States varies, but they are all governed by native rulers with the help of a British agent. They are restricted in foreign relations and in strength of their military force, and for misgovernment their rulers may be deposed.

The comparative area in square miles shows British India to contain 1,087,249, and the Native States, 679,393, making a total area of 1,766,642 square miles. The comparative population by the census of 1901 was British India, 231,899,507, and the Native States, 62,461,549, showing an increase in ten years in India of 7,046,385, but a decrease in the Native States of 3,613,607.

The administration of the Indian Empire in England is entrusted to a Secretary of State for India, assisted by a council of not less than ten members. The supreme executive authority in India is vested in the Governor-General in Council, often styled the Government of India. The work of Governor-General in Council is distributed among seven departments—Home, Foreign, Finance, Military, Public Works, Revenues and Agriculture, Legislative. The Governor-General's Council becomes a Legislative Council to make laws for all persons within British India, by adding to the five ordinary members sixteen additional members.

For purposes of administration India is divided into eight great provinces and a few minor charges as follows: Madras, Bombay, Bengal, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, The Punjab, Burma, Assam, the Central Provinces; the minor charges, Coorg, Ajmer-Merwara, British Baloochistan and the Andaman Islands. The provinces enjoy much administrative independence varying with their importance. The provinces are usually broken up into divisions, under commissioners, and then divided into districts, which form the units of administration. At the head of each district is a magistrate who has entire control of the district and is responsible to the Governor of the province. There are about 250 such districts in British India.

make their way under the peculiar conditions of another civilization. Brief as this sketch is, it reveals the working of a beneficent force which promises to lift up millions of the depressed in India. The British people have been aggressive in commerce and conquest of territory, and no apology is made for some of their acts; but their most serious critics must acknowledge that they have made a noble and humane use of their power in the East. Rev. W. E. Hopkins and Rev. F. H. Levering have supplied certain data.—C. R. H.

A considerable measure of local self-government obtains in the municipalities. In 1901 there were 759 municipal towns, with a population of 16,691,521. The town committees everywhere contain a majority of natives, and in all the larger and in many smaller towns the majority of members of committees are elected by the rate-payers. These bodies have care of roads, water-supply, drains, markets, sanitation; they impose taxes and enact by-laws with sanction of the Provincial Government. For rural tracts, except in Burma, there are district and local boards which have charge of roads, district schools and hospitals.

While India is a land of many races dwelling in a vast area there is yet a remarkable degree of unity to be seen. Religiously 92 per cent. are either Hindus or Mohammedans, there being 207,146,422 of the former and 65,458,061 of the latter. The nine million Buddhists are mostly in Burma, and the number of Christians is 2,923,241. There are 94,000 Parsis and over 2,000,000 Sikhs, nearly all in the Punjab. Five divisions may be made according to language: 1) The Dravidian stock in the South; 2) the Negroid, with the Kolarian dialects in the hill-tribes of Central India; 3) the Indo-Chinese, on the south slopes of the Himalayas, in the greater part of Assam and all Burma; 4) High-caste Hindus, the Aryan race; 5) Mohammedans—Arab, Afghan, Mughel, Persian.

Three distinctly defined physical regions are recognized, the mountain districts of the Himalayas, the low plains of the three great rivers of North India, and the high plateau of the Deccan, extending from the valley of the Ganges to the south end of the Peninsula.

Into this area equal to Europe without including Russia are crowded about one-fifth of the population of the earth. Of the 294,000,000, 191,692,000 are engaged in agricultural employment and are thus directly dependent upon the soil for existence. The population of British India averages 211 to the square mile, while Oudh, the N. W. Provinces and Bengal average more than 400 to the square mile, and in entire India 188, as against 283 (estimated) for China, and 25.6 (1900) for the United States. In most districts the population presses closely upon the limits of the means of subsistence. In many places there has been a very marked increase of population since the British took possession. As immigration is next to unknown, the growth of population depends on natural increase.[1]

[1] W. S. Lilly in "India and Its Problems" quotes Sir Wm. Hunter as saying,

The problem of poverty in India is exceedingly complex. It is bound up with religion more than in any other country. Meteorology is directly related to it. Domestic customs and national traits are factors in the problem. The Hindus delight to call their land, "The Land of Charity." Foreigners add, "and of beggars." Begging[1] is respectable. The laws of Manu make it the Brahmin's duty to beg. Besides, there is the beggar caste, the members of which are forbidden by custom to live by any other means. The lowest coolie considers himself defiled should one of this caste labor beside him. The Eurasians (half-caste), of whom there are 20,000 in the Madras Presidency alone, present a most perplexing problem to organized and private charities. As a class they are looked down upon by the English and despised by the natives. Many of them seem to have "inherited the vices of both parents and the virtues of neither;" large numbers have not sufficient education or training for profitable employment, are too proud to perform menial service and fall easily into habits of begging. Missionaries as a rule not only do not entertain this sentiment but most strenuously uphold the dignity of honest labor.

Not only does religion and custom make begging respectable, the same sanctions are bestowed upon giving to beggars. To bestow charity on a beggar is to win merit for a future state, and he regards his asking alms as conferring a favor upon the donor. Thus with begging protected from the standpoint of society, the mendicant upheld in his own self-respect, and with no opportunity offered him to earn a living, indiscriminate private charity with all its attendant evils is the result. And this state of things obtains in the entire Indian Empire to-day. "With few unimportant exceptions in the larger cities there are no workhouses, no vagrant laws, no restrictive or reformative regulations of any[2] kind."

Famine has long been the terror of India. The Indian at best is wretchedly poor.[3] "A careful estimate based on the census shows

"there is plenty of land in India for the whole population; what is required is not the diminution of the people, but their more equal distribution."

Mr. Lilly adds: "India is not over-populated. Nor is it true that the population is larger or rapidly increasing. * * * During the ten years ending on the first of March, 1901, the addition to the population in the whole of India was under 7,000,000."

[1] Beach, The Cross in the Land of the Trident. [2] Beach. [3] Dennis I, p. 232.

that there are multitudes who have not more than from six to twelve rupees a year for support. The mean annual income of the people of India is from 20 to 27 rupees, equivalent at present rate of silver in India to about six to eight dollars."[1] Sir W. Hunter states that 40,000,000, or one-sixth of the people, go through life on insufficient food. It is small wonder that oftener than once a decade, failure of food supply brings calamity.[2] In the past 122 years there have been 17 famines. "In 1832-33 Madras lost 150,000 to 200,000 out of a population of 500,000. In 1865-66 in Orissa alone 1,000,000 out of a population of 3,000,000 perished. In the last famine of 1896-97 a population of 72,000,000 was affected, 37,000,000 in veritable famine, and 35,000,000 in land of scarcity."

Lord Curzon wrote to the Lord Mayor of London this letter, May 23, 1900: "We are struggling with a famine greater in its intensity over the areas afflicted than any previously recorded visitation. . . In the middle of May, 1897, an area of 205,000 square miles, with a population of 40,000,000 persons, was affected. In the middle of May, 1900, the figures are 417,000 square miles (or nearly one-fourth of the entire extent of the Indian Empire), and 54,000,000 persons. In May, 1897, 3,811,000 persons were in receipt of Government relief; in May, 1900, the total relieved was 5,607,000. At the present movement, if we take the whole of the afflicted regions in British India, 15 per cent. of the entire population are being supported by Government (in many parts the proportion is nearly double)."[3]

There is said to be no year when India does not produce food enough for all its inhabitants. The immediate cause of famine in parts of the country then, are attributed to lack of transportation facilities, crop failure in parts, and the general thriftlessness of the people. If the southwest or northwest monsoon fails to bring rain and thus the food supply is short, India is in want.[4] To feed the N. W. Provinces and Oudh takes 15½ mill.; to feed Madras, 32 mill.; to feed Bengal, 54½ mill.; to feed Bombay, 24½ mill. of well-watered lands. The possible remedy for this failure of rain is irrigation. From remote times Indians have sought by this means to protect themselves from the calamities of drought. Under British

[1] England's Work in India.—Hunter. [2] Dennis I.
[3] W. S. Lilly, India and its Problems, p. 288.
[4] Arnold, N. A. Rev., March, 1897.

control the irrigation works have been enlarged and new ones constructed on an enormous scale. In 1900 there were 31,544,000 acres, one-seventh of the total crop area, under irrigation. Wells, tanks and canals are employed. The Ganges Canal, the Bari Doab Canal, and the Western Jumna Canal are among the most famous. These works while involving great expenditure are indirectly profitable to the British Government, since they obviate the loss of land revenue and the expense of supplying a famine-stricken district with food during a drought year.

In times of famine one method of relief employed by the government is to provide labor upon these public works for wages sufficient to keep the natives from starvation.

Over-population in India must be given as one cause of the extreme poverty. Sir William Hunter is quoted by Dr. John Murdoch, D. D., in "Twelve Years of Indian Progress," Madras, 1898, as saying that the people of India are very poor "because every square mile of Bengal has now to support three times as many families as it had a hundred years ago; because every square mile of British India, deducting the outlying provinces of Burma and Assam, has to feed nearly three times as many mouths as another square mile of the Native States; because the population has increased at such a rate as to outstrip, in some parts, the food-producing powers of the land." It should be remembered that before English rule in India many causes operated to keep the population from increasing as it has since. The constant internecine war and invasions by hostile tribes almost depopulated large tracts. The ravages of famine were practically unchecked. Diseases, such as smallpox, carried off hundreds of thousands each year; thuggism (there were over one hundred robber-castes in India) was unrestrained, and wild animals killed many thousands yearly. But after a century of almost uninterrupted peace, and after a struggle with famine which has greatly lessened its evils; with vaccination for smallpox, with the suppression of robbery and its attendant murders, and with the clearing of many of the jungles, the rapid increase in the population is itself a serious difficulty.

This over-population and consequent poverty is due further to certain domestic and religious customs.[1] The common belief of the

[1] Is India Becoming Richer or Poorer, Madras, 1898 (Papers on Indian Reform).

Hindus that a man who has no son to make offerings for him after death falls into the hell called *Put,* leads to early marriage. Prof. Runganatha Mudaliyar of Madras says: "I may feel that the best thing I can do for my stupid son is to keep him single, until such time at least as he is able to shift for himself and earn enough to maintain a wife and children with; but such is the tyranny of custom that he must be married as soon as he arrives at man's estate, even though I have the burden of supporting, it may be to the last day of my life, my worthless son and his wife and all the creatures they may bring into existence." People marry[1] "irrespective of the means of subsistence, and allow their numbers to outstrip the food-producing powers of the soil. The mass of husbandmen are living in defiance of economic laws."

The marriage customs and Shradda expenses are impoverishing the Indians. A governor of Madras said:[2] "He who could persuade his countrymen to give up their, to us, astounding expenditure on marriages, would do more for South India than any government could do in a decade." The Shraddas are ceremonies made after a man's death by Brahmins, and are paid for by offerings left to them by the deceased. Both of these customs put burdens upon the people far beyond their ability and bring debts which paralyze all prosperity. For a long time Rajputs murdered their infant daughters to avoid the ruinous marriage expenses, until the British Government employed agents to stop the practice.[3] The amount required for a funeral ceremony or for a son's marriage is often from Rs. 400 to Rs. 500.

The debts inevitable from such customs have made the Indian usurer notorious. "The people may be separated into two classes, borrowers and usurers." The Indian money-lender receives interest from 15 per cent. to 75 per cent. a year. William Carey wrote in 1821:[4] "Among the numerous causes which contribute to exclude happiness from the natives of India is the universal tendency to borrow which pervades the whole country . . . with the inveteracy of a second nature."

The tendency[5] to turn money into ornaments is cited as another leak for India's finances. There are (1898) 401,582 goldsmiths in

[1] Is India Becoming Richer or Poorer, p. 32.
[2] Causes of Indian Poverty, Madras, 1896.
[3] Is India Becoming Richer or Poorer, p. 65. [4] Idem, p. 66. [5] Idem, p. 69.

India, to 384,908 blacksmiths.[1] India receives one-quarter of the gold and one-third of the silver produced throughout the whole world. Untold wealth, non-producing, is in hands of the Indians, many of whom are borrowers, but whose love of hoarding and of jewelry adds another item to the causes of ever-present poverty.

The Hindu family system often encourages idleness. The intensest loyalty to kin exists everywhere. If one member of the family has food or shelter, whether obtained by work or begging, it is shared with all who can claim relationship.[2] "Ties of kinship are everywhere acknowledged, discharged and repaid." This often leads to improvident habits and idleness. Caste prejudice must come in for its share of the responsibility for the pitiable condition of India as respects poverty. The civil architect,[3] the artisan, the tiller of the soil are all accursed and degraded. Honest labor is a disgrace, and begging is honorable. This state of things discourages arts and the true development of the physical resources of a country. Caste is responsible, too, for much of the suffering that results from poverty.[4] "A member of one caste will pass by the sufferings and cruelties that come to one of another caste with supreme unconcern."

"Outside their own caste the weal or woe of their fellows affects them in no degree whatever. We have again and again witnessed along the great pilgrim routes of India harrowing illustrations of this sad truth. We have seen poor creatures, smitten with disease, lying on the roadside passed by hundreds of their co-religionists with no more concern than if they were dying dogs; we have seen the poor parched sufferers with folded hands and pleading voice crave a drop of water to moisten their lips, but all in vain. Hundreds thus perish, untended, unpitied, unaided; perhaps before death does its work, the vultures and jackals begin theirs, and thus lines of whitened bones and blackened skulls border the roads leading to the sacred shrines; and whence this worse than brutal callousness? What has dried up the springs of human sympathy? *It is caste.* This, first of all, taught the people to look upon differing castes as different species; it next taught the lesson of defilement by contact; thus utter isolation and heartless selfishness account for the whole of the sickening scenes described." ("The Trident, the Crescent and the Cross").

[1] Debt: How to Get Out of It, Madras, 1892.
[2] Arnold.
[3] Causes of India's Poverty, p. 11.
[4] Beach.

"More enlightened views are beginning to prevail among some, and a large-hearted benevolence, embracing all, is not unfrequently exhibited. Still, such is not the caste spirit."[1]

A. Public Poor-Relief.[2]—The Government makes grants for hospitals and schools and the local municipal Boards are charged with administering the greater part of them, *e. g.*, the medical grant of 1889-90 was Rs. 81,000. It will be remembered that these boards are partly elected by the towns folk and partly appointed by the government. The district boards also administer funds made over to them for medical-sanitation purposes, but delegate much to local boards. As an illustration of expenses for medical work and hospitals in the N. W. provinces and Oudh out of a total expenditure in 1889-90 on public works, hospitals, etc., of Rs. 352,920, nearly one-eighth, or Rs. 38,535, went for hospitals and Rs. 117,040 for education.

Besides this system of hospitals Great Britain keeps[3] "a vast organization of preventive and remedial agencies in readiness to deal with the periodically recurring deaths," and a crore and a half a year is allotted as a famine fund, to be supplemented in severe famines by subscriptions in England, India and other parts of the world.[4] This appropriation, made for relieving distress arising from famine, is said to be making inroads on the old eleemosynary practice of caste.

There is no Poor Law system in India.

C. Private Charity.—Hindu charity is all private charity. A writer on Hindoo Charity for Charities Review, February, 1903, says: "So secretly are the Hindoo charities managed that very few persons, however fair-minded, have any adequate conception of how the poor in India are succored." "No Brahmin would ever think for an instant of asking how a person came to be in a needy condition. . . . His charities are done in secret, and this makes him oppose all charitable institutions and organizations, believing they cannot possibly operate in secrecy. . . . In no quarter of the globe are the needy so well looked after." This is evidently stated from the point of view of a Brahmin, but it serves to show that we

[1] Rev. John Murdoch, D. D., Madras. See "The Women of India," pp. 83-87.
[2] Statement Exhibiting the Material Moral Progress of India, 1899-90.
[3] Twelve Years of Indian Progress, p. 28.
[4] Charity Organization Review, Feb., 1903.

need look for no organized charity among the Hindoos at the present time.

In the principal cities of India[1] Europeans have established Friend-in-Need societies, in which relief is given only after due inquiry. In some cases also workshops have been established to enable persons to earn a living. These are solely for Europeans and Eurasians. It should be said in this connection that while these societies usually are made up of the missionaries, chaplains and officers of the British contingent, merchants and other Europeans who reside in the station, there are frequently associated with them Eurasian gentlemen of wealth, intelligence, in high standing as citizens and of strong religious character. There are thousands of Eurasian families of most estimable character and public spirited citizenship. More and more this community is coming to be recognized as one of the important factors of Indian life and government and Christian activity. Rev. Frank H. Levering of Secunderabad writes, June 30, 1903: "I do not know that there is a single agency that has yet had the courage to attempt the task of applying enlightened methods of dealing with the poverty of the native population. . . . . There is a woman's workshop in the place, where women who can sew are given work. These dependent women, as a rule, have children. For a long time the care of these children, during the hours of labor, was a problem. We have established a sort of day nursery where they can be cared for, and now, the mothers, with one accord, shun both the shop and the nursery."

A unique form of charity in connection with religious work is mentioned by Dennis, vol. II, p. 387, called the "Beggars' Church." At Agra Dr. Valentine gathers on Sabbath morning the poorest of the poor to a religious service attended by a distribution of alms. This has resulted in the formation of a church of over 800 members, of whom 300 are blind.

At all mission stations where several missionaries are laboring Charity Boards are maintained to oversee the charity work of Christian people of that particular place and surrounding districts.

In some stations these boards have no formal organization, while in others the missionaries and engineers of the station (the latter usually English or Eurasian) associate in this work the leading natives—preachers and teachers employed in the mission work, sub-

[1] Charity, False and True, p. 10, Madras, 1892.

ordinate officials, merchants and other citizens with necessary qualifications. Through this medium enlightened views of benevolence and all lines of social and religious reform are penetrating into the rural districts of India, where is to be found the great mass of the peasantry.

There are 48 different homes for rescue work of opium refugees, homes for widows and converts and asylums for insane (under missionary auspices). The largest of these is under the Ramabai Association, a school at Kedgaum, Bombay, which has 580 girls. This association has three others, one a home for widows at Poona—the well-known *Sharada Sadan*—where 250 widows are given advanced normal and industrial training; the *Mukti* home for widows at Kedgaum, where Ramabai now cares for and is educating some 1,500 widows, and a rescue home for girls at Bombay. The Salvation Army also supports three such homes.

Bombay has a District Benevolent Society whose object is to suppress vagrancy and to provide for the destitute poor. There are 27 different guilds and societies in India which have varied objects, as providing Soldiers' Homes, Seamen's Rests, Sailors' Coffee Rooms, organizations for prison visiting and others. There are 29 homes for rescue work and widows, under the various missionary organizations.

H. Medical Relief.—It is in the line of medical relief that we find most of the organized work for the unfortunate in India being done. Besides the government hospitals in the larger cities, and the government dispensaries, all of which are chiefly supported by the government, there are 180 dispensaries and hospitals, sometimes both combined, sometimes one without the other, in various parts of India, under control of and supported by the various missionary organizations. Two of these at least are under the immediate supervision of natives.

The Lady Dufferin Association,[1] which began work in 1885, maintains in India 133 hospitals and dispensaries, supports 74 lady doctors, 52 hospital assistants, with 257 medical students in medical colleges and training classes. This is a purely philanthropic work, as distinguished from missionary organizations. In 1897-98, 1,327,000 women were treated by those identified with this organization. There is a total of foreign and native medical women of all grades,

[1] Dennis.

inclusive of trained nurses, connected with all British societies in India, 300 women. The Lodiana Medical School for native Christian women, and the open doors of the medical colleges of Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Lahore and Agra all encourage the women to pursue medicine.

The work for lepers[1] is a large work in India. When Dr. Carey, 1812, saw a leper burned, he set up the first leper hospital in India. India by census has 119,044 lepers, but missionaries do not regard 500,000 as too high an estimate. The mission to lepers in India and the East, coöperative with 18 prominent missionary societies, maintains 47 asylums for lepers, the government conducting seven, and municipalities five more, having unitedly 3,799 inmates. Twelve of these are for the untainted children of lepers, some for women only, but generally for both sexes.

A very important preventive work is being done by Rev. John Murdoch, D. D., by printing through the Christian Vernacular Education Society of India books on thrift, sanitation, domestic conduct.

It is estimated that as yet only 5 per cent. of the population is practically reached by existing medical and hospital facilities.[2]

Besides the above is an India nursing service, with headquarters in London, where two grades of nurses are trained for work in India, viz., lady superintendents and nursing sisters.[3]

Also, in addition to the leper-hospitals mentioned above the British Government has provided large asylums in some of the prominent centers, as Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Saharaupur, Tourandrum, Rawel Pindi, Colombo, and elsewhere. The largest leper-asylum in British India is at Puralia, with 545 inmates.

Deserving of mention here, too, is the Up-Country Nursing Association for Europeans in India, founded in 1892, which supplies trained nurses for Europeans in the interior of India. The association engages nurses and sends them to local committees, paying for their outfit and their travelling expenses.

Account should also be taken of the medical provision made by the native states. They have encouraged and in many cases aided medical students at the different training schools and hospitals of the country in preparation for government medical service. These students are chiefly native, but include, also, Eurasians. They qualify as apothecaries and are licensed to take charge of dispensaries

[1] Dennis II, p. 436. [2] Dennis II, p. 413. [3] Burdett's H. C.

and serve in other capacities under a graduate physician. The native states provide free dispensaries in many remote centers of population, and to some extent a hospital service as well. All ordinary diseases (and some very extraordinary ones) receive a treatment which, though not the most skilful, is still vastly more humane and effectual than the old methods of superstition and ignorance provided.

J. Care of Defectives, Public and Private.—Dennis reports (vol. III) nine asylums and schools for the blind and for deaf mutes, two of which are independent, *i. e.*, have undenominational boards, while the others are under missionary societies. An educated Hindu, Mr. J. N. Banerji, has visited England and the United States to study the best method of caring for and educating this class and affirms that to provide for them as is done in America would require 450 schools of the class that now exist.

Medical missionaries are busy everywhere with skillful ministrations to those whose vision can be restored by surgical service. In some sections of India ophthalmia is prevalent and as many as 300 operations on eyes within a month are reported by physicians of the church missionary society in Kashmir.

Of institutions for the insane, Bengal has five for India natives, with a total number of patients of 906, one-half of which are criminal; there is a European lunatic asylum at Bhowanipara; the N. W. Provinces and Oudh have four, Punjab has one, Bombay six, Madras three, the Central Provinces two, and Assam one, making in India 23 asylums for the insane under government control and with government support.

K. Treatment of Children.[1]—There are under the missionary societies in India 115 orphanages and foundling asylums with 8,960 inmates. With many of these, industrial departments are connected, the girls are taught domestic work, sewing, crocheting and weaving. The boys are taught carpentery, weaving, blacksmithing, printing, leather working, gardening and farming, tailoring, dairying. Some schools have special industries, *e. g.*, the one at Hassan, Mysore, where the knitting of wollen caps is a special industry. The number of inmates ranges all the way from a half dozen to 300. Very many of these are famine refugees. There are seven juvenile reformatories (1890) in India whose influence for good is appreciable.

[1] Dennis III.

During famine times great numbers of orphans are thrown upon the missions, giving rise to the demand for industrial schools. The natives, both Mohammedans and Hindus, seeing their children in great numbers fall into the hands of the missionaries, have in many places set up rival schools, introducing industrial features, and lavishing great wealth upon these institutions.

Calcutta, in Bengal, has a society for the Protection of the Children of India from ill-treatment of every kind involving injury to their health, life, or morals. The same city has also a Social Purity Committee, organized 1893, while Lahore possesses a Purity Association whose special object is to help widows; both of these are independent of missionary societies.

The new standard of self-control introduced by missions and the public sentiment created in this direction is new in India. There are not a few journals published by social reformers that serve as media for expressing modern ideas with regard to the ancient immoral, unsanitary, and wasteful practices of Indians. The *Indian Spectator* and the *Subodha Patrika* of Bombay, *the Indian Social Reformer,* and the *Christian Patriot of Madras* belong to this class.

The anti-nautch movement among Hindoo reformers, which opposes the dancing girls at public functions and private entertainments, is gaining ground, and deserves to, when we recall that in the Madras Presidency alone are 12,000 of these girls (the huri-douloi of the Temple of Venus at Corinth).

In this place should be mentioned the work of B. B. Nagarker, the Brahmo-Somaj whose outlined reforms include the abolition of caste, prevention of infant marriage, education of women and similar measures. Madras has a Hindu Social Reform Association, a purely Hindoo movement to promote social reforms. Dennis[1] gives a list of 33 organizations, mostly under native control, which have as their object the furtherance of national, social, moral and religious reforms, and adds that a complete list would include many others. A summary of the reports of these associations is published every year by Mr. Justice Renade, which mentions many associations with reform programmes more or less liberal.

The work of Hindoo philanthropists is little known outside of India. Dennis names several well-known (in India) Parsis whose

[1] Dennis II.

gifts for institutional charity work have been munificent and whose aid for famine sufferers and lepers and orphans deserves recognition.

M. Preventive Policy.—In addition to the great schemes of irrigation, protection of property, education, commerce and industry already mentioned may be cited the arrangements for securing credit for poor persons. The British Government is introducing a system of "agricultural" banks[1] where the peasant populace can make loans on low rates of interest, and where they are encouraged to deposit savings at interest. The Government "Postal Savings Bank" system has for years been in operation and Indian clerks in Government and private employ are learning to place their savings at 3 per cent. interest. This whole question of finance in relation to *native* India presents one of the most complex and difficult of problems that any government can be called upon to solve. The British Indian Government has undertaken it with a courage and thoroughness which characterizes their rule of this great country.

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[1] See H. Wolff's People's Banks, for particulars of the method in Europe.

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SECTION 5.—AUSTRALASIA

BY O. J. PRICE, PH. D.

The British colonies in Australasia comprise the self-governing states of the Commonwealth of Australia; the Australian Dependency of British New Guinea, the self-governing colony of New Zealand, and the Crown colony of Fiji. The Commonwealth of Australia consists of six original states (since January 1, 1901), New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, Western Australia and Tasmania. Legislative power is vested in a Federal Parliament of two houses, a Senate and House of Repre-

sentatives. The executive power is vested in the King, who is represented by the Governor-General, who is nominated by the Crown and who is assisted by an Executive Council of seven ministers of state, members of the Federal Parliament. The Constitution of Australia is modeled upon that of the United States, and all powers not delegated to the Central Government are reserved to the states, yet with the difference that the Central Government has control of such matters as marriage and divorce laws, bankruptcy, corporations and railways. The judicial power is vested in a Federal Supreme Court, known as the High Court of Australia, which has jurisdiction where the Commonwealth is a party, which hears appeals from the minor Federal Courts, and from the Supreme Courts of the states.

The New Zealand Government is similar, having a Parliament of two houses, a Governor appointed by the Crown and a Ministry of eight members. Suffrage is universal for adults of both sexes. New Zealand has also enlarged the sphere of state activities, especially since 1890. This has been largely brought about by the influence of organized labor upon legislation.[1] The ownership of public utilities, the insurance business, banking business, the public land policy, the progressive income tax, and the measures that directly and indirectly affect the problems of public-relief and charity, which will be noticed later, are some cases in point.

The population of Australasia (1901) was 3,771,715, exclusive of New Zealand, which had 772,719.[2] More than one-half of this population is in the southeastern part of the island-continent, New South Wales having 1,354,846; Victoria, 1,201,070; Queensland comes next with 496,596; South Australia with 362,604; West Australia with 184,124; Tasmania 172,475. This means that we have in Australia a country the size of the United States with one-twentieth of its population, and in New Zealand a land the size of Italy with one-fortieth of the population. It is worth while to remember that in 1800 the population of Australia was some 30,000, three-fourths of whom were convicts transported hither from Great Britain.

In Australia wheat and hay are the principal agricultural products. Cattle and sheep products, especially in the western states,

[1] See New International Encyclopedia, Art. New Zealand.

[2] Statesman's Year Book.

form a large share of wealth of the people. Mining has played the most important part in the industrial upbuilding of Australia, especially gold mining. The people are of British stock both in New Zealand and Australia, less than 4 per cent. in the latter country being from countries other than British possessions. In New Zealand, English predominate, the Scotch and Irish follow in order.

The small population, the abundant resources, and the character of the people, a high degree of general intelligence, combine to produce a social condition not usual in older countries.[1] In general wages are high, food is cheap, and the comforts of life within reach of all but the unfortunate. Wealth is widely distributed, and consequently only a small proportion of the people are in want. In the United Kingdom 9 out of 100 persons own £100; in Australasia, 16 per cent. As in republics, there is no hereditary pauper class and no poor rate levied, the assistance granted by the state, as will be seen later, being in the form of employment and opportunities for self-help. Each of the colonies has practically unlimited land, but only limited chances for wage-earning employments. Millions of acres are still awaiting settlement, and only a small per cent. of the land is as yet used in the pastoral occupations.

Still the ordinary problems of pauperism have been felt acutely in Australasia, and varied and interesting are the attempts which have been made to meet them in the different provinces.[2] The chief efforts of authorities as regards charity are: (1) The rescue of the young from criminal companionship and temptation to crime; (2) support of the aged and infirm; (3) care of the imbecile and insane; (4) subsidizing of private institutions for the cure of the sick and injured, and (5) the amelioration of want.

A. Public Poor-Relief Legislation.—Legislation in Australasia takes the form largely of measures of prevention, such as: provisions for life insurance under a state department, as in New Zealand, where the Government does more than one-half the life insurance business, and provides a separate insurance under the temperance section, by which abstainers are placed in a class apart; provisions for giving employment to the "out-of-works," as is done by the Public Works Department of New Zealand, which employs the principle of coöperative contracts with laborers; provisions for

[1] The Seven Colonies of Australasia, 1899-1900.

[2] Reeves, State Experiments in New Zealand and Australia, p. 283.

a "Labor Department" which coöperates with Public Works Department and Land Department in organizing what are known as "Improved Farm Settlements" to give homes to those who have lost all; provisions for special boards such as the "Unemployed Advisory Board" of New South Wales.

The Old Age Pensions law of New Zealand, New South Wales and Victoria is perhaps the most sweeping measure ever enacted in the colonies to prevent pauperism. While ostensibly based upon the social principle of the gratitude of the state to the underpaid employee of society, the various limitations of the law make it in effect nothing less than a species of poor law legislation.[1]

In New Zealand this Old Age Pensions Law[2] entitles to a pension every person 65 years of age or more, who has resided continuously for 25 years in the colony, who has not in the previous 12 years been imprisoned four months, or in the 25 years been imprisoned five years, who has not deserted wife or children (or husband or child) for a period of six months, who is of good moral character, and has been for the past five years sober, and whose yearly income does not amount to £52, or whose accumulated property is not £270,—every such person may apply under the law for a pension of £18 a year, payable monthly. For each £1 income above £34 or for each £15 of property owned by the applicant above £50, £1 is deducted from this £18 pension.[3] New South Wales has enacted a similar law with modifications to the effect that the pension may be as great as £26 annually, and claimants may be considered who are between 60 and 65 years, who have been disabled by sickness or accident. Victoria passed an Old Age Pensions Act December, 1901.[4] "Notable for its number of provisions and precautions and reservations and for the care with which it tries to confine its pensions to the enfeebled and utterly necessitous." An applicant must satisfy a commissioner that the husband, wife, father, mother, children, or any or

[1] The preamble of the Old Age Pensions Bill which went into effect in New Zealand July 1, 1901 (reënacted from November 1, 1898), reads as follows: "It is equitable that deserving persons who during the prime of life have helped to bear the public burdens of the colony by the payment of taxes, and by opening up its resources with their labor and skill should receive from the colony pensions in their old age."—Reeves, State Experiments in New Zealand and Australia, p. 283. [This is justice, not poor law.—C. R. H.]

[2] New Zealand Official Year Book, 1902. [3] Reeves. [4] Reeves, idem.

all of them are unable to provide for or maintain the claimant. Misconduct will nullify the pension.

As to the results of these laws after the few years of trial various opinions are held.[1] In March, 1902, after a little more than three years' life of the law in New Zealand there were 12,776 pensions in force amounting to £217,192. Payments being made through the Postal Department the cost of administration was only £2,535.[2] The number of whites over 65 were in 1901 found to be 31,353, showing that a little more than one-third of those over 65 were on the pension list. Reeves states (p. 273) that "at the present time in New Zealand there is little avowed antagonism to the broad principle of making some special provision for old age with the help and under the supervision of the state." Reeves is also authority for the statement that the death rate in New Zealand is the lowest in the world, viz., 9.6 per 1,000, and that the average worker is as old in England at 60 as in New Zealand at 65. An editorial in the Charity Organization Review for February, 1903, says that the "Australian states which have adopted systems of old age pensions seem at the present time to be laboring rather heavily under the enormous financial burdens they have taken on their shoulders," and that the Premier of Victoria in a recent speech regretted the present expenditure as too burdensome. Also that sons and daughters have in great numbers in Victoria shifted on the state burdens which they could easily bear. It is admitted on all hands that the pension act has cost more than had been calculated and that the present systems are all defective. Nevertheless the attempt to establish a Federal system of pensions in accordance with the powers of the central government is now being made.[3] The same journal speaks of this and similar legislation as "most demoralizing and pauperizing legislation."[4]

The arguments urged against an old age pension of this nature are that it discourages thrift; tends to loosen family obligations to care for the aged—obligation as binding as to care for the young; that it offers an extensive field for corruption in administration; and that it lays upon society a heavy financial burden. These arguments are well balanced by those on the other side, as can be imagined, inasmuch as at the time of the reënactment of the law in New Zealand in 1901, 1,400 speeches were made for and against the law. All

[1] New Zealand Official Year Book, 1902. [2] Reeves.
[3] Ch. Org. Review, Feb. 1903. [4] C. O. R., 1904, p. 136.

writers with socialistic tendencies find much to admire in these experiments, while others are inclined to view them askance. It were indeed strange if any satisfactory trial could be made with this or any other kind of legislation in the few years which have passed since these laws went into operation.

Legislation in New Zealand divides the three islands into thirty hospital districts to be presided over by elective boards, designated "Hospital and Charitable Aid Boards,"[1] with revenues from: (1) Endowments vested in the board or set apart for particular institutions; (2) voluntary contributions; (3) grants from contributory local authorities; (4) subsidies from the Consolidated Fund [which subsidies are granted at the rate of 10s. for every £1 of bequests up to £500 for one bequest, £1 4s. for every £1 local contribution, £1 for every £1 received from local authorities]. These District Boards are empowered to assess the County and Borough Councils and Boards of Road and Town Districts for their proper contributions.

A. State Children's Department in South Australia looks after destitute and incorrigible children. A Destitute Board has care of destitute poor supported or relieved by the government. New South Wales has a council which deals with subsidized children and those at service.[2] Victoria has no council but a very strong central department with county committees organized.[3]

B. Public Poor-Relief Administration.[4]—The above-mentioned boards for hospital and charitable aid distribute alms from the principal towns in each district. "Outside relief" is distributed to the lowest bidder, but "rations" are distributed under an officer. The board also employs a "relieving officer" who investigates all applications for relief.

[1] N. Z. Official Year Book, 1902.

[2] Congress of Charities, Chicago, 1893, vol. II.

[3] J. G. Gray in his book "Australasia Old-New," 1901, says: "It is absurd to claim that New Zealand has shown the world how to deal with its aged poor, or given it an object lesson in social economics that it can profit by. There is nothing of statesmenlike character in the hap-hazard plan which has been adopted in that colony, nothing which imparts to it any measure of permanence or an assured finance. [The individualistic bias of English writers must be considered. See chapter on Germany.—C. R. H.]

[4] Coglan, A Statistical Account of the Seven Colonies of Australasia.

A liberal amount of outdoor relief[1] is given in all the Australasian colonies; the returns are imperfect, but the sum of public and private aid, indoor and outdoor is equal in the seven colonies to £1,250,000 per annum. Charitable institutions, hospitals included, are supported by grants from the state and municipalities, by inmates' payment, by voluntary contributions, in Victoria.[2] The number of persons receiving charitable relief in the colony in one year, not including old age pensioners, was 127,037, of whom 96,483 were outdoor patients.

C. Private Charity.—Australasia has a liberal amount of private charities. New South Wales had in 1900 40 metropolitan and 49 country benevolent associations recorded,[3] with a combined expense of £37,138, which furnished outdoor and other relief to 33,553 persons out of a population of one and one-third millions. The Government aided 65 of these societies to the amount of £24,979. South Australia has one in ten of the population in Friendly societies, Victoria, one in fifteen.

There were in 1897 in Australasia[4] 3,306 branches of friendly societies with 276,772 members, or 6.24 per cent. of the population with a revenue of £1,012,608. Of these Victoria had 1,088; New South Wales, 817; Queensland, 328; South Australia, 487; Western Australia, 68; Tasmania, 130; New Zealand, 388. These societies and associations generally have their own independent boards, yet cooperate by exchanging reports and information frequently.[5]

Indiscriminate charity is rigorously discouraged. Applicants, instead of receiving alms, are directed to those institutions created to find suitable employment for those able to work, or are investigated if destitute and unable to work.

D. Ecclesiastical Charity.[6]—In New South Wales there are 20 charitable institutions under the Catholics with over 1,000 inmates. None of these are aided by the Government. The Church of England maintains four, one of which is partly supported by the Government. The Salvation Army has seven institutions—homes for women—all with Government aid, while the Wesleyans have one

[1] Seven Colonies of Australasia, 1899-1900.
[2] Ch. Org. Review, Feb., 1903.
[3] Statistical Register of N. S. W., 1900.
[4] Australasian Statistics, 1898.
[5] Coglan, Statistical Account of Seven Colonies of Australasia, 1902.
[6] Statistical Review of N. S. Wales, 1900.

orphans' home. The Society of St. Vincent de Paul has 29 branches and distributes outdoor relief. The Catholic institutions named above are for homeless women, for aged poor, rescue homes for the intemperate and fallen, female night refuges and soup kitchens. Michael Davitt says:[1] "To the Salvation Army belongs greatest credit of any Christian body in New Zealand for its thoroughly practical and unselfish efforts to ameliorate and elevate the fallen of both sexes."

The same general conditions of ecclesiastical work prevail in all the colonies, and no small part of the relief work is done in this way.

E. Co-operation and Co-ordination of Public and Private Relief.—As already noted, the Government coöperates with religious societies in charitable work and with the friendly societies and benevolent associations, and with the local district and municipal boards of various kinds, making grants of money and powers, but leaving in general the details of legislation and administration to the local bodies. To illustrate, in New South Wales[2] 156 charitable associations and societies are reported which expended in 1900 £219,516; of these 106 receive Government aid to extent of £150,347.

Movements toward establishment of "clearing-houses" are also noted.[3] The Melbourne Charity Organization Society promoted recently a conference in which were represented 26 charitable societies, which formed an agreement to establish a common register of those helped "for mutual protection against imposition."

F. Indoor Poor-Relief (in institutions), Public and Private.—Australasia is well supplied with institutions for indoor relief.[4] In the Commonwealth of Australasia 11,614 were cared for in Destitute Asylums in one year; (including New Zealand), 12,794, at a cost of £308,315. All large centers have institutions for the destitute managed on a practically uniform plan.[5] The government of the colony generally grants half the cost, remainder comes from local sources. Adalaide Asylum (for destitute) answers for the whole colony and the state (South Australia) contributes the entire expense. The cost per inmate is annually about £15. Official salaries take but a small proportion of the income. The condition of

[1] Life and Progress in Australasia, 1898.
[2] Statistical Register N. S. Wales, 1900.
[3] Charity Org. Review, 1902, p. 218.
[4] Seven Colonies of Australasia, 1899-1900.
[5] Davitt, p. 163 ff.

admission is a *bona fide* inability to earn a livelihood. "There is no social stigma attached to the inmates of these institutions. . . . The work of providing a shelter free from the idea of shame for people thus circumstanced is considered in a high spirit of public duty, and not as an act of municipal or state obligation. [The Australians] are careful not to sap the dignity of manhood and womanhood in their methods of ministering to the needs of those who become destitute. They have not copied the professional charity of the old world in dealing with their unfortunate fellows." Western Australia had three charitable institutions, two in Perth, one at Freemantle, supported by public funds, with 659 inmates (December 31, 1902).

New Zealand has nineteen benevolent asylums for indigent persons, with 1,167 inmates.

G. Vagrants, Homeless Men and Women, Asylums, Refuges, Colonies.—There are no "tramps" in New Zealand. Persons out of employment are helped by relief boards. If a man is an imposter his own district is held responsible for repayment of aid given. The police have power to arraign before a magistrate any person with no visible or with insufficient means of support. For begging there is a three months' imprisonment as penalty. Begging alms or subscriptions under false pretences is punished with one year's imprisonment. The result is that begging is almost unknown.

For the reformation of vagrants the Government establishes "village settlements" where land can be had on most favorable terms. Also the "Improved Farm Settlements" mentioned above is the New Zealand substitute for poorhouses and jails. To found one of these a tract of Crown land is selected, and laid out into farms from 10 to 200 acres each. A party of unemployed is then sent out by the Labor Department. Shelter and work await them. Money is loaned on the value they create. No rent is asked until an outlet for their products is provided. In one settlement 98 sections were taken at once.[1] About fifty settlers remain. Seven years ago this tract was an unbroken forest. The department advances everything except food, but gives nothing. These settlements are not all successful, but there were in 1899 2,093 men settled on lands, with families, a total population of 6,509. Of these improved farm settlements there were in 1899 in New Zealand 45, of the village homestead settlements,

[1] Lloyd, Newest England, 1900.

165; the area covered by both, 109,109 acres, with improvements amounting to £180,822, and rent and interest paid in a year equal to £5,588. The Unemployed Advisory Board of New South Wales recommends a state farm as a transit-station for the unemployed, as an indispensable part of its plan to educate the unemployed. New Zealand has such a state farm at Levin, where the tramp is sent to learn to work, if no private employer wants him, or no settlement is ready or proves attractive to him.

The Bureau of Public Works[1] coöperates in the suppression of vagrancy by throwing open public works to a coöperative system of working. A government engineer makes an estimate of the cost of constructing a railroad for instance. Bids are taken and the work let to gangs of laborers banded together for that purpose, who receive the same rate per yard for earth or rock excavation as if the work were let to a contractor. "The system works admirably. It imbues the laborers with the spirit of self-reliance and independence so often unknown among laborers." The practical efforts of the Government for the prevention of distress has been blessed with signal success. The law in Victoria also forbids begging.

H. Medical Relief. Public and Private Hospitals, Nurses, Convalescents.[2]—The Commonwealth of Australia possesses 278 hospitals, while New Zealand has 43, making a total of 321. Of these New South Wales has 118, with 618 nurses, of which 105 are subsidized, three are not subsidized, one is privately endowed, one is supported by the Government alone.[3] . . . . The admissions in 1900 were 28,691, while 61,192 cases of outdoor relief were given; the total income from all sources was £191,029.[4] The sources of income are Government subsidies, subscriptions, donations, contributions by patients, interest on invested funds, and municipal support. Western Australia has 27 government hospitals, 2 public hospitals, 11 assisted hospitals and numerous private hospitals.

A Hospital for Consumptives Fund was started in New South Wales at the time of the Queen's Diamond Jubilee.[5] Victoria has two Convalescent Homes.

[1] Vagrancy, Pub. Charities in Foreign Countries, U. S. Document, 1893.
[2] Coglan, Statistical Account of Seven Colonies of Australasia, 1902.
[3] Wealth and Progress of N. S. Wales.
[4] Statis. Reg. of N. S. Wales, 1900.
[5] Coglan, Wealth and Progress of N. S. Wales.

J. Care of Defectives, Public and Private.—All of the seven colonies have institutions for the insane which are under Government control. In one year (1898 in some, 1899 in others) 17,070 patients were treated at a cost of £370,940. Asylums for the afflicted, incurable, insane, are all regarded as Government affairs and supported out of the general revenue. There is at Darlinghurst a Reception House for the insane, where transfers are made. The total transfers, deaths, and discharges in 1900 were 581. Paramatta has an institution for the criminal insane. A Lazaret at Little Bay had 13 lepers at close of 1900.

In New Zealand the Jubilee Institute for the Blind at Auckland (private) receives aid at times out of the Consolidated Revenue Fund and from the Education Department on account of pupils for whose tuition the department is responsible. The Sumner Institute is for deaf mutes. A home for inebriates is at Waitati, to which patients are committed by judge or magistrate. There are 7 public lunatic asylums in the colony, maintained wholly or in part out of the public revenue. There is also one private asylum licensed by the Governor for the reception of lunatics.

A law was passed in 1902 to compel parents of blind children and deaf mutes to send them to school and to contribute toward the expense as they were able.[1] The result has been an increase in the number of candidates for entrance at the Sumner School for Deaf Mutes. The Jubilee Institute for the Blind at Auckland receives pay from the state for all state children educated there.

There are seven hospitals for the treatmnt of the insane in New South Wales under supervision of the Government, six for ordinary insane, one for criminal insane.[2] There are also four licensed private institutions for insane. Juvenile lunatics are sent to the Newcastle Hospital. The average weekly cost of maintaining insane patients in hospitals in 1898 was 11s. 6½d. per head, of which the state paid 9s. 5d., the rest being made up by friends.

K. Treatment of Children.[3]—In New South Wales there is a State Children's Relief Board, with the Central Home at Paddington, where children remain only until they are boarded out. There were under control in April, 1900, a total of 3,844 boys and girls;

[1] 25th Annual Rep. of Minister of Ed. of New Zealand.
[2] Wealth and Progress in N. S. Wales, 1898-99.
[3] Statistical Register, New South Wales, 1900.

there were placed out in the year to April 1, 1901, 596, and discharged in same year 514, making a total under control April 1, 1901, of 3,910. Of these, 2,478 were supported by the Government, 143 adopted without payment, and 1,289 apprenticed. Since 1881, 10,862 have been received and 6,952 discharged or died. These children were received by the State Children's Relief Board from 34 different institutions, including 8 hospitals, 4 benevolent asylums and 13 Government institutions. The net expenditure for a year is £42,422.

There is a Children's Protection Board, which registered from lying-in homes, etc., in 1900, 1,321 infants, of which there were returned to parents or adopted, 742.

There are four orphan asylums in New Zealand; one is under a District Hospital Board, one under the Church of England, two under the Roman Catholic Church. Three of them, constituted "industrial schools," receive at the charge of the state, orphan, destitute and other children committed to them by the stipendiary magistrate.

South Australia has[1] a State Children's Department, composed of a Council of 12; 2 inspectors, an inquiry officer, accountant, clerks, inspectress of foster mothers and lying-in houses, matron of Industrial School, superintendent of Protestant Boys' Reformatory, superintendent of Catholic Boys' Reformatory, matron of Protestant Girls' Reformatory, matron of Catholic Girls' Reformatory, and a medical officer.

Here, as in New Zealand and New South Wales, the boarding-out system is employed. A visiting committee in each county is maintained to work under the two inspectors. Foster mothers are licensed; lying-in homes are licensed. All maternity homes require to be licensed by the State Board of Health. The total number of children under control of the Council June 30, 1899, was 1,223; of these 63 were in industrial schools, 128 in reformatories, 1,004 placed out, others in various asylums.

The department collects money from defaulting parents and the fathers of illegitimate children and pays the money thus obtained to the mothers of the children and thus prevents the committal of many children. Parents deserting to other colonies are traced at

[1] Report of State Children's Council, Adalaide, 1899.

infinite pains through coöperation with the police in other colonies. Expense of Council, 1899, was £16,677.

The trials of children in South Australia were in 1899 conducted in Police Court, where the charge was felony. Departmental courts exist, but not for felony. The Council recommends a separate court for the trial of all children.

The care of dependent children has come to be regarded as educational rather than as charitable in Australasia.[1] Everywhere the Government accepts the position as parental guardian to those children who fall into its custody. The system is not merely official, but in all the colonies volunteer inspectors coöperate and thus lessen the cost of supervision and make the method more popular.

South Australia has a "Destitute Asylum" for unwedded mothers, where the mother is required to stay six months with the child and is then placed in service with her child if possible.

The Council of the Melbourne Charity Organization Society[2] has lately formed a *Child Protection Committee* for promoting the cooperation of child-saving societies, legislation for protecting childhood. The report of the State Children's Council for South Australia says that juvenile crime is increasing.[3]

South Australia has a system of outdoor relief which prevents many children being thrown on the state.[4] The Government aids a widow with children. She is supposed to maintain herself and one child. For two children one ration is allowed her, for three one and one-half rations in food and other necessities.

L. Care of Youth, 12-18 Years of Age.—Orphanages and industrial schools for abandoned children or children of incapable parents and reformatories for incorrigible children, and the placing out as apprentices are the usual methods in the colonies.

Under the First Offenders' Probation Act in New Zealand, 83 per cent. of the prisoners placed on probation have done well; 2.41 per cent. have eluded the probation officers and absconded. The probation officer's work is done gratuitously.

M. Preventive Work.—The Public Trustee of New Zealand takes charge of estates where no will is left, lunatics' estates, funds left for charitable purposes, funds for relief of widows of men killed

[1] Congress of Charities, Chicago, '93. [2] Char. Org. Review, 1903.
[3] Char. Org. Review, 1902.
[4] International Cong. of Charities, Chicago, 1893.

in accidents, and maintains a number of cottages in which certain poor people are allowed to live. The Unemployed Advisory Board of New South Wales, the Labor Bureau, Land Department and Department of Public Works in New Zealand, through their various agencies mentioned above, work effectively to prevent a large part of the pauperism seemingly inevitable in other lands. [1]Also the general government has labor bureaus established throughout the colonies, where information is always available as to where employment can be found.[1] The Prison Brigade Homes of the Salvation Army for prisoners who have served sentences, have each a few acres attached which help them to be self-sustaining. Ex-prisoners may wait here until employment is found for them. The "Army" has also labor bureaus and renders invaluable aid to those seeking employment.

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SECTION 6.—CANADA

BY C. R. HENDERSON

The Dominion of Canada is composed of seven provinces—Quebec, Nova Scotia, Ontario, New Brunswick, Manitoba, British Columbia, Prince Edward Island, and the Territories. The government is administered by a legislative body of two chambers, the Parliament of the Dominion being a Senate and a House of Commons. The chief executive is the Governor-General, assisted by a responsible Privy Council. Each province has its own Parliament and administration, the right to regulate its own local affairs and dispose of its revenues, provided that it does not interfere with the action and policy of the general government.[1]

The population of Canada in 1901 was 5,371,315 (2,751,708 males and 2,619,607 females), which showed an increase since 1891 of 11.13 per cent. There were 3,428,265 English-speaking persons, 1,404,974 French-speaking, and 108,112 Indians. The largest cities are Montreal (267,730), Toronto (208,040) and Quebec (68,840). The increase of population in Manitoba alone is due to growth of rural population. Ontario lost in rural population but gained greatly in the industrial and commercial centers.

In 1901 there were 17,987 immigrants from the United States, 9,401 from England,—in all 49,149.

[1] Statesman's Year Book, 1904.

There is no church established by law in British North America. The Church of England has about 1,000 clergy, the Catholic about 1,500, the Presbyterian about 1,400, the Methodists 1,950 and the Baptists about 500. The adherents of the Roman Catholic Church are the most numerous of any single sect,—2,229,000 out of a total of 5,371,315.

Education is nominally compulsory, but the law is not very strictly enforced. Funds for schools are generally supplied from Government grants and local taxation. In Ontario, Quebec, and the Northwest Territories there are separate schools for Roman Catholics; in the other provinces the schools are unsectarian.

In the strict sense of the word there is no "poor law" in Canada. "There are no poor rates levied in Canada, and nearly all the relief is distributed through private or benevolent organizations; they, however, receiving the bulk of their funds from the municipalities" (J. J. Kelso).[1] It might have seemed more logical to discuss Canadian charities in close connection with the French system, since in the Province of Quebec the methods of the Latin countries are followed, and the same tendencies are observed even in the Protestant provinces. But, on the other hand, Canada is a part of the British Empire and English law and administrative ideals are rapidly shaping institutional life. Close relations with the United States have increasing influence, and we already see the extension of provincial care of dependents. The Government has brought the insane under its direction, and both outdoor and indoor relief, as well as child-saving work, are coming under the regulation of law and receiving help from general and local governments.

There is complaint in the Province of Quebec that the laws do not prevent the sending of paupers to Montreal from the rural neighborhoods and from other provinces and from the United States. There is a growing demand for stricter settlement laws; and it seems entirely probably that the immigration and settlement of foreigners, and the changes wrought by urban growth will necessitate the development of a poor law. For the state will not suffer its poor citizens to perish and the methods of the former days will not give security

[1] Charity Organization Review, 1900, p. 90.—Proc. National Conference of Charities and Corrections, Reports from States, 1901, 1902, 1903, by A. M. Rosebrugh, B. Balderston, L. Borden, H. Boyd, etc. Paper by F. H. McLean, N. C. C., 1901, p. 139 ff.—Rep. Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities of Ontario, 1895.

to citizens recently arrived and without family and ecclesiastical connections to protect them.[1]

A. Outdoor Relief (Quebec).—The poor in the old-fashioned French villages are helped by their neighbors, often almost as poor as themselves, yet taught charity by the village priest, whose word is a higher law. First of all, the family is expected to care for one of its members who is destitute, and mendicancy is exceptional. Now and then an aged day laborer must be supported by his neighbors. Alms are collected, generally in kind, and the collection is made a religious ceremony and festival. So long as the community is not invaded by "civilization" and its personal ties are not yet cut apart by modern industry this simple and primitive charity is sufficient for all ordinary requirements, and the insane can be taken to an asylum.[2]

The vicissitudes of industries are already making themselves felt in a population far more mobile and composite than that of earlier days.

"The phenomenon of partial pauperization, occasioned by the severe winters and the cutting off of industries should not be passed by. There are hundreds of families who seek aid as a matter of right during the severe winters who never by any chance apply for relief at other seasons of the year, no matter how things may come out. During the periods of begging you could imagine you were dealing with English paupers and yet at a given point the deceit and hypocrisy are put away for the next season. Of course, the true pauper is present in plenty, but the partial pauper is a type in himself." (F. H. McLean.)

Outdoor Relief (Ontario).—Apparently the influence of the French ideas of private charity is strongly felt, even in Ontario, where British and Protestant influences are so strong; for there the outdoor relief in cities is largely supplied and directed by voluntary agents. The number of recipients in cities is very large, owing to the severity of the winters, the presence of a large number of defec-

[1] Another aspect is presented in a letter from Mr. F. H. McLean, "The 'backing up' of undesirable immigrants trying to get into the United States by the back doors and failing, owing to the recent thorough work of the Immigration Department, has forced the whole question of immigration to the fore."

[2] L'Habitant de Saint Justin, par M. Gérin, in Proc. and Trans. of the Royal Society of Canada, 1898, p. 139.

tives[1] sent over by philanthropic societies across the Atlantic, to causes inherent interest in human nature everywhere, and to defects in organization. In Toronto a system has been employed which resembles at some points the Elberfeld system; for the city is divided into districts, in each of which applicants for relief are visited by unpaid male agents. Able-bodied men, as a condition of receiving aid, must cut wood or break stone as an earnest of sincerity. The writer here quoted says: "There have not been lacking demands for a national system, which should at least possess the advantages of unity and of equalization of pressure of a burden which now weighs heavily on the benevolently disposed. Yet many thoughtful Canadians would deprecate the adoption of anything resembling the English poor law system, which has produced, as we believe, so rank a crop of pauperism. For the touch of the state, in administering charity, is cold and lifeless." Yet on another page it is said of Toronto that in 1896 there were 8,000 persons, or about one in twenty-two of the population, who received aid, "which is nearly double the corresponding proportion in London, England." The committee which manages the "House of Industry" is severely criticized by some observers on the ground that they permit themselves to be imposed upon, and that respectable and hardworking families are discouraged by seeing drunken and unworthy persons freely assisted. Their own report for 1901-2 shows that they gave relief to 1,459 families, $9,749.79 for all expenses, an average to each family of $6.68. They add: "Whether it would be better to give assistance to a less number of families and to increase the amount to those receiving aid, is an open question. The most valuable assistance that any family in need can receive is a visit by a wise, sympathetic friend, and such we believe all our visitors to be." They assert that the investigations of their 50 visitors are both thorough and sympathetic. "The wonder is that so many men can be found who are willing and have the qualifications which fit them for this delicate and benevolent work." In 1894 the number of outdoor poor relieved was 11,498; in 1901, with much greater population, only 5,713. Perhaps criticism has improved the methods. Relief is given in kind,—food, fuel, etc. The able-bodied applicants are subjected to a labor-test in the stoneyard, breaking stone. The grants from the Ontario government were $3,662.47; from the city corporation, $14,000.00;

[1] A. M. Machar, in The Charities Review, 6:461 (1897).

from gifts, $2,498.11. The city gave grants to about 30 charity associations in 1900. The Toronto Relief Society is administered by women and they also have visitors for districts.

One of the effects of lack of outdoor relief is mentioned by Mr. Kelso in his report for 1903: "Our present system of relief is woefully lacking. If a mother is left with several little ones whom she is unable to support, they are placed in public institutions or otherwise scattered, and the unoffending children, and in most cases equally innocent mother, are separated to the permanent injury of both and to the detriment of society."

New Brunswick made grants in 1901 for public charities and reform to the amount of $63,000.

B. Public Administration (Province of Quebec).—While the reformatories, industrial schools and asylums for the insane are under private management, yet they receive public subsidies and are subject to inspection by officials of government. The list of institutions receiving subsidies in 1901 included general hospitals, orphan asylums, a shelter for women, 78 in all, and the sum divided was only $44,570.75.

The municipality shares with the province the cost of maintaining the insane. The arrangement for destitute children is not so definite, and generally the municipality cares for them.

In New Brunswick outdoor relief is given from public funds by the Almshouse Commission after investigation.

C. Private Charity (Nova Scotia).—Supported by voluntary contributions are several hospitals, associations for relieving needy families, the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, Society for the Prevention of Cruelty, a Protestant industrial school, a house of industry for girls, an infants' home, a Protestant orphans' home, homes for the aged, and various institutions for youth, for sailors, etc.

In the Province of Quebec there is a mixture of English and Latin ideals. In Montreal the substitute for the poorhouse is licensed begging[1] in the streets, as in Italy. At the same time one observes the generous spirit of philanthropy manifested in the voluntary support of relief societies, churches and individual acts of kindness. Indeed, practically all the charities of the Province of Quebec are supported and controlled by private associations, many of them under the direction of the church, although not without aid from public funds.

[1] Richard H. Lane, N. C. C., 1903, p. 112.

In 1902 Mr. F. H. McLean expressed the judgment, in a survey of the situation, that there was adequate provision for children and the acutely sick; that there were no places of refuge for the abjectly miserable and degraded who are not in prisons,—no almshouses; that there was fair provision for the respectable aged; that there was inadequate provision for incurables,—those suffering from chronic diseases, the blind, the feeble-minded, homeless, convalescents, etc. Since that time a refuge for incurables has been erected.

E. Co-operation (New Brunswick).—The Associated Charities of St. John was organized in 1889, in response to the conviction that concerted action was desirable to secure more effective help to the needy and to prevent imposture.

Coöperation (Quebec).—The C. O. S. movement has slowly but quietly won its way in the cities. In 1903 it was reported from Montreal that coöperation was more heartily accepted; that the laws against unlawful begging were better enforced; that deserters of families were being brought back to their duty of support. The C. O. S. of Montreal and the League for the Prevention of Tuberculosis, under the patronage of the Governor-General, are working out plans for arresting the spread of consumption and for helping the sick and poor.

F. Indoor Relief (Prince Edward Island).—There is a poorhouse, sustained by the province, which has a population of about 50 paupers.

(Ontario).—As late as 1895 the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities of Ontario reported that there were strong protests from judges, grand jurors and others against placing the county poor in the gaols. Old people had been committed to these places, designed for criminals, under the vagrancy act, solely on account of their poverty, had been clothed in prison clothes and fed upon the diet prescribed for felons. The Government stimulated the counties to build proper asylums by offering them grants to aid in erecting the homes, and the counties were rapidly responding to the appeals for change. The province contributes not to exceed $4,000 toward the cost of erecting the building, other expenses being defrayed by the county. In Toronto there is "The House of Industry," where funds are furnished by the municipality and whose affairs are managed by a committee of citizens. The House of Providence, under Catholic control, has about 600 inmates, from infants to old people, and incurables.

It is supported in part by an allowance from the Government and from the city.[1]

The number of the inmates of the Toronto House of Industry in 1901-2 was 341; the daily average 140; the cost $9,315.63; the per diem cost per capita 18.1 cents.[2]

The typical House of Industry is on a farm of from 45 to 125 acres situated within easy reach of the town. The statute places it under the County Council, but a special committee with an inspector directly administers its affairs. Each institution has its superintendent, matron and consulting physician. The expense for maintenance is met by a general tax and by special assessments for local municipalities for the support of inmates sent by them.

In 1901 there were reported to be nineteen poor farms and asylums in the Province of Nova Scotia.

There are six almshouses in the Province of New Brunswick. There are also private institutions for aged females, penitents, orphans, and the sick.

Indoor Relief in Quebec.—We have in the experience of the Province of Quebec an interesting social experiment to show the effects on charity methods of the absence of poorhouses. The causes for this absence go back to the primitive settlement of the country by a people homogeneous in religious faith, with a strong family and neighborhood feeling, frugal in habits and hospitable to the destitute. Their habitations served for refuges of distress. Isolation cut them off from the development which went forward in France and elsewhere; strong tradition and custom upheld the ancient ways; and so it happened that there were no almshouses for the most miserable and wretched of all the destitute, those who were not wanted in habitations and were not fit to mingle with the respectable and tidy poor.[3]

Mr. McLean's observations in Montreal led him to these conclusions: The absence of poorhouses does not materially increase the number of those who give to private charity. The burdens of

[1] Twenty-eighth Annual Report on Gaols, etc., 1895, p. 2.—Poor Relief in Canada, by J. J. Kelso, Charity Organization Review, 1900, p. 89 ff. K. W. McKay, Municipal Organization in Ontario, 1903 (in University of Toronto Studies, vol. II, No. 2).

[2] 65th Annual Rep. House of Industry, 1901-02.

[3] Mr. F. H. McLean brought out these significant points at the National Conference of Charities in 1901 (N. C. C., p. 139 ff).

private charity in the support of non-residents are increased, because the government is not concerned and does not give the protection of settlement laws and does not provide funds. The private institutional relief is also affected by the lack of poorhouses: discrimination in regard to applicants is made more difficult; yet there is no assurance anywhere that a particular applicant will be received and find shelter; and proper classification is rendered impossible, while the service often deteriorates. The effects on outdoor private relief are also serious. The absence of a place of final resort, though it would only be required in a comparatively few cases, weakens the spirit of sympathetic firmness which is often required in giving or withholding aid. There is an unusual amount of indiscriminate relief even among the more intelligent, and this makes it more difficult to secure means to help the helpable cases. Private outdoor charity has taken on some of the worst features of public outdoor relief,—stereotyped amounts of relief, neglect of investigation and personal service, doles, officialism, and methods of relief which mean degradation and humiliation to applicants. The custom of requiring the applicants to herd together in a room while the boards meet and to submit to questions before the full board in a public office, without friendly visits at homes, tends to harden both officials and recipients.

This analysis does not reflect on the disposition of the people, for nowhere are men more sympathetic and generous; but it reveals the importance of modern system and methods, and shows that the spirit of charity, in order to produce the effect which it seeks, cannot dispense with science and suitable mechanism.

The Roman Catholic Archbishop of Montreal has recently established, under the management of the Sisters of Providence, the Hospice des Incurables; and this will give some relief.

H. Medical Relief.—The absence of a system of outdoor relief and even of county poorhouses in many parts of the Dominion throws the care of the destitute sick and injured upon private charity. In the vast regions not yet settled and brought under tillage the arrangements remain very primitive and inadequate. Nowhere does voluntary philanthropy supply medical relief with that certainty and comprehensiveness which are found in the established public systems of older peoples. There must, in the nature of the case, be much neglect in rural neighborhoods remote from centers of population;

although wherever physicians are found we may be sure that poverty will not be refused the aid of their skill. In Canada, quite as much as elsewhere, the heaviest part of the burden of medical charity falls on the members of the healing profession. Such deeds cannot be chronicled, save in the forgiven accounts of country doctors and in the golden books of the recording angels. Statistics in this region are dumb.

With the growth of wealth, science and cities the people push forward the establishments of hospitals. Physicians desire to have them for the more effective treatment of private patients and for instruction and clinical experience of students. Charity lends its own motive in happy union with science and personal interests; and so we find in Mr. Burdett's list the descriptions of hospitals supported by fees of pay-patients, gifts of benevolent persons, contributions from churches, grants and subsidies from public authorities.

General Hospitals (Public). — The Statistical Year-Book of Canada for 1901 gives these data: In 1900 there were in Ontario 52 general hospitals, with 29,761 patients; in Nova Scotia, 2 hospitals with 1,868 patients; in New Brunswick, 4 hospitals with 1,492 patients; in Manitoba, 7 hospitals with 5,933 patients; the Territories, 10 hospitals with 2,142 patients.

The expenditures on general hospitals from government and other sources were: Ontario, $570,150 (government gave of this, $110,000); Nova Scotia, $55,957 (government, $49,756); Manitoba, $213,719 (government, $47,089); Territories, $53,893 (government, $24,519).

The Prince Edward Island Hospital was built and equipped at a cost of $20,000 by voluntary gifts and on ground given by a clergyman. There are now two hospitals supported by subscriptions, and about one-half the patients are unable to pay.

New Brunswick has a general hospital at St. John, and at Fredericton, Chatham, Campbellton, Seton Falls, and St. Stephens. At Tracadie a hospital for lepers was founded in 1858 by the Sisters of the Hôtel Dieu of Montreal, which had in 1901, 21 patients.

Mr. Burdett gives the cost of maintenance and treatment in typical Canadian hospitals. The cost per in-patient per day at the Montreal General was $1.37 and at the Winnipeg General, $1.13. The former are old figures. In the English general hospitals, without medical schools, the rates vary from $.81 to $1.60 in London, and

in the provincial institutions, from $.59 to $1.42. In hospitals with medical schools the rates are higher,—from $1.05 to $1.73.[1]

Nursing (Province of Quebec).—The Victorian Order of Nurses provides for district nursing in the city of Montreal. The training of nurses continues to attract the attention of medical men and of the philanthropic public, and is recognized as a necessary element in the service of hospitals.

Tuberculosis (Ontario).—The National Sanitarium Association has an establishment in the famous health resort at Muskoka, Northern Ontario, and the general hospitals set apart special rooms for consumptive patients. In Toronto a society has been formed for the purpose of providing proper treatment of the consumptive poor of that city.

J. Blind.—Prince Edward Island has no institution for the blind, but the province pays for the education of blind children in a school at Halifax, Nova Scotia.

The Institution for the Blind of the Maritime Provinces is at Halifax, Nova Scotia.

Deaf Mutes (Prince Edward Island).—At Halifax is a school for deaf mutes to which the children of this class are sent for instruction and their expenses are paid by the province.

Insane.—For New Brunswick is claimed the honor of being the first of the old British North American provinces to make special provision for its insane. At first each county cared for its own insane, and they were kept in jails or poorhouses. A provincial asylum was established in 1832 and it has been improved and enlarged from time to time. In 1893 a board of visitors, representatives of various religious denominations and other social interests, was appointed to safeguard the welfare of patients and assure the public that they were faithfully served. The province recognizes the duty of the state to care for all the insane and seeks to provide for them in hospitals rather than in poorhouses.

In Ontario the first movement on behalf of the insane was made in 1830, but went no further than to legalize the payment for maintenance in county jails, their only public shelter and refuge. In 1841 the old jail of Toronto was transformed into an asylum for this class of patients. After a history, often marked by ignorance,

[1] Burdett, Hospitals and Charities, 1903, p. 161; and on pages 791-805 a list of Canadian hospitals in all the provinces.

neglect and cruelty, a really modern institution was developed and humane and scientific treatment afforded. Other institutions (at Kingston, Hamilton, Minico, and Brockville) have been erected to meet the growing needs of a larger population, and all are conducted according to the demands of modern science.

There were 18 asylums for the insane in the Dominion in 1900-1 and during the year indicated 11,879 persons were treated, of whom 6,116 were males and 5,581 females. The apparent increase of insanity during the forty years 1861-1901 is shown in the fact that the total number of insane and idiots officially known in 1861 was 1,631, or 1 to 856 of the population; and in 1901 the number was 5,880, or 1 to 371 of the population.[1]

The expenditures were as follows: Ontario (1901), $623,676; Quebec (1900), $321,979 (government paid all); Nova Scotia, the government paid $69,029; New Brunswick, $57,834 (government, $36,000); Manitoba, $82,491 (all by government); British Columbia, $49,262 (government, $43,828); Prince Edward Island, $21,123 (all by government).

Quebec is the only one of the provinces of the Dominion in which there are no state institutions for the care of the insane, its provision for this unfortunate class consisting of four proprietary establishments, and one incorporated, charitable institution, the latter the Protestant Hospital for the insane.

During the latter part of the eighteenth century dangerous lunatics were intrusted to the care of religious orders, with a payment from the Legislature. It became manifest that these persons were not trained to care for the insane and that they could not give them suitable shelter.

In 1884 Dr. D. Hack Tuke,[2] the eminent alienist, visited the asylums of Quebec and published very severe criticisms of their condition. He found them crowded, the patients without occupation or recreation, held under excessive restraint, and the government visiting physicians without authority to correct the abuses which they found. The medical men united in a complaint to the government and in 1885 an act was passed placing the medical control of these establishments in the hands of the government, which reserved to

[1] The Canadian Annual Review, 1902, pp. 397-398.—Statistical Year Book, 1901, pp. 590, 592.

[2] The Insane in the United States and Canada (1885).

itself the appointment of a medical superintendent and assistant physicians for each of them. There was resistance to the new order at Beauport Asylum, disagreeable revelations of abuses, and, in 1893, a transfer of proprietorship to the Sisters of Charity of Quebec, with whom the government made an agreement for the maintenance of the public insane at $100 the person annually. The buildings were modernized and the entire administration and service improved.

The lesson from the painful history revealed by Dr. Tuke was that the kindness, tidiness, and self-sacrificing devotion of religious women is no substitute for the firm and humane direction of a modern physician, expert in psychiatry and familiar with scientific methods.[1]

One-half the cost of pauper patients is met by the municipalities in which they were committed. The number supported by provincial and local funds in 1900 was 2,953, at a cost of $321,979. The percentages of cures to admission, as claimed by the institutions, were 27.49, 27.23 and 37.41. The percentage of patients able to work was 65.49 in the Verdun Asylum and 58 in the St. Jean de Dieu.

The Protestant Hospital of Quebec was established, after many delays and trials, in 1890. The capacity in 1898 was 412. The institution is governed by a board and is subject to government inspection. The average annual rate of maintenance is $175 and the government subsidy is only $150 per patient. There is some endowment and deficits are made up by voluntary contributions. The non-restraint policy is carried out in treatment of patients.

There is a hospital for the insane of New Brunswick at St. John.

In 1901 in Nova Scotia there were nineteen poor farms and asylums for chronic harmless insane in the province. The Nova Scotia Hospital for Insane had under treatment in 1901, 538 patients.

The insane of Prince Edward Island are treated in a provincial hospital. In 1901 there were on an average 195 inmates, and the cost to the province was $22,472.76.

Insane Paupers (Ontario).—The insane population of the Province of Ontario is about 4,500, and about 1,000 of them are thought to be simple cases of senility or dementia. The policy has been to care for such cases of chronic pauper insane in local poorhouses and at local expense. The provincial authorities seek to avoid crowd-

[1] Address of T. J. W. Burgess, in Proc. and Trans. of Royal Society of Canada, 1898, sec. iv, p. 1 ff.

ing the hospital with such patients. In 1903 it was declared that fifty or sixty of the insane were confined in county jails awaiting admission to the asylums, and some controversy has arisen between the provincial and local authorities over the problem.

By special arrangement with the Dominion Government insane patients from the frontier regions of the unorganized territories of the Northwest are cared for in the provincial asylums of Manitoba, the rate paid being one dollar per day for each patient.

Feeble-Minded (Quebec).—In 1873 the government made a contract with the Sisters of Charity to care for the idiots who were up to that time held in asylums for the insane at excessive cost and under unsuitable conditions.

Prince Edward Island has no school for feeble-minded children.

Feeble-Minded (Ontario).—There is a state institution for feeble-minded children and youth at Orillia founded in 1876, and the question of providing for the custodial care of weak-minded women of child-bearing age has been discussed by the Canadian Conference of Charities and Correction and by the National Council of Women of Canada, but the government has not moved in the matter; but the idea of custodial care was in some degree realized at Orillia earlier than elsewhere in America.

Epileptics (Ontario).—Separate institutions for epileptics have been favored by competent leaders but have not yet been provided by the province. A number of these patients are in the state institution for the feeble-minded and a few are in the county houses of refuge, but these are probably only about one-quarter of all who need public care.[1]

Children and Youth (Ontario).—The preventive work of the Province of Ontario has been developed under the leadership of Mr. J. J. Kelso. There are 27 children's aid societies acting under his superintendence. These agencies have prevented abuse and cruelty in homes and have found foster homes for many children who were a public charge. About two thousand children have been placed out and their interests are carefully safeguarded by a system of supervision. About 380 delinquent children were, at the last report, in various institutions of the province, and they are gradually being transferred from a reformatory to the industrial schools, a signal mark of the modern spirit in dealing with such children. The

[1] A. M. Rosebrugh, M. D., N. C. C., 1902, p. 114.

Ontario Legislature passed an act providing for the absorption of the Ontario Reformatory by the Victoria and St. John schools, and raised the age for commitment to industrial schools from fourteen to sixteen years. Children found begging, or without a home, or neglected and unsuitable for placing out, or exposed to moral dangers by dissolute parents, or guilty of petty crimes, or expelled from school for vicious conduct, may be sent to the industrial school. Children discharged from school are to be supervised by its officers, and are under guardianship until 21 years of age. The population of four schools (in 1903) was 267. The Manitoba Legislature is working in the same direction.[1]

Ontario.—There is as yet in Ontario no system of probation officers, except a few agents of the Children's Aid Societies. "At present boys who commit minor offences are allowed to go on suspended sentence, and they often return to the same surroundings and the same temptations, with the additional difficulty that they have attained a bad reputation and are more liable than ever to go astray." (Mr. Kelso). Such lads need a friend to advise and help them, to warn the junk dealer and idle companions not to tempt them, and to win them to a better way.

The last Legislature passed a law which may open the way for the appointment of probation officers. When a child under sixteen years of age is charged with any offense the judge may place him in the care of a probation officer who is required to report on his progress and conduct. The law does not state who shall appoint probation officers and says nothing about payment for their services. At the last report very little use had been made of the act.

The same Legislature passed a law forbidding the confinement of children under the age of fourteen in jails, and requiring that they be placed in the custody of a friend or society until the time of trial. But this law does not apply in cases of violation of the penal code of the Dominion, but only when the provincial acts have been violated; and the sheriffs do not carry it into effect even when it applies. Until a corps of reliable agents are provided and paid these excellent laws will be in great part a dead letter.

Prince Edward Island.—The province has no institution for destitute children, but supports them in private families.

[1] Eleventh Report of Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children of Ontario, 1903. All the reports of Mr. Kelso are valuable and interesting.

Children's Courts, Province of Quebec.—The trials of children are held in places apart from the ordinary court-rooms, generally private. The regulation was made a part of the penal code in 1892, antedating most of the Children's Courts established in the United States. Children must be kept in separate rooms in jails and prisons apart from other offenders while awaiting trial. In Montreal they are placed in an industrial school, and are never confined in the jail. The new city charter of Montreal provides that children under sixteen years of age and having no one to give them proper care, may be sent by a recorder to an institution, apprenticed, or confided to a suitable person to the eighteenth year.

In the five reformatory schools, three for boys and two for girls, there were in 1900, 259 inmates, and the cost of maintenance was $34,945.70. In the industrial schools there was a population of 304, and the cost of maintenance was $20,603.41.

Prisons and penitentiaries of Quebec are maintained and administered by the province; but reformatories and industrial schools for youthful delinquents are under private control, and for these a per capita allowance is paid for their maintenance.

The Ontario law prohibits the admission into any poorhouse or institution where adult dependents are kept of any child between the ages of two and sixteen.

There are nine societies in England, both Protestant and Catholic, which send out waifs and poor adults to find homes in Canada. The most famous of these is the National Incorporated Waifs' Association, otherwise known as Dr. Barnardo's Homes. This society has distributing homes in various places, as at Peterborough, Ontario (for girls); Toronto (for older lads), and in Winnipeg. These children have first been tested for a time in the homes in England. The number emigrated in 1901 by Dr. Barnardo was 1,053. There seems to be now little opposition to the immigration of these children since the system of testing at home and supervision in the provinces was introduced.

In March, 1903, the Local Government Board of England urged the Board of Guardians to emigrate orphans and deserted children; stated that the average cost was not to exceed £15, including the expense of inspection; and quoting the Commissioner of Emigration of the Dominion of Canada as saying that "at no previous time in

Canada have there been so many opportunities as at present for absorbing in a satisfactory manner young emigrants."

The Province of Ontario keeps an inspector in Liverpool who is required to reject children who are diseased, defective, immoral and not furnished with clothing for both summer and winter. They are usually old enough to render some assistance in domestic or agricultural work, and they have some training.

M. PREVENTIVE. *Care for Discharged Prisoners.*—There is a Prisoners' Aid Association in Ontario which urges reforms and looks after discharged prisoners upon release. This society advocates the indeterminate sentence and parole system, the extension of probation for first offenders, and a more scientific treatment of inebriates.

Preventive Work (Province of Quebec).—In Montreal the Park and Playground Society was organized to establish model playgrounds in small public squares; and a Decimal Stamp Savings Fund for the encouragement of thrift.

Mutual Benefit Associations.—About 30 societies of wage-workers were reported in 1900 as furnishing sick and funeral benefits, and six which gave indemnities akin to life insurance. The number of members in each society ranged from 23 to 920, none being of great extent. (Labour Gazette,[1] 1901.)

The principle of state care of wage-earners through compulsory insurance is hardly discussed, even as a theoretical possibility, in Canada. Industries must be much further developed than now before a general conviction of need of such legislation will be felt. But the Dominion government, with its department of labor and its official Labour Gazette, gives evidence of the interest of men of state in the life conditions of the rapidly growing group of industrials, and this department is administered in a thoroughly modern spirit.

[1] Information kindly supplied by Dr. W. L. M. King, Deputy Commissioner of Labour.

CHAPTER V

HOLLAND

BY PROFESSOR ROMANZO ADAMS, PH. D.

Historical Introduction.—During the Middle Ages, the poor of Holland were assisted either through unorganized private beneficence, or by the church, which administered charity through the parish organization. With the decline of this parish administration came numerous hospitals and other institutions for the needy, most of which were founded by civic orders and by religious guilds and brotherhoods. After the fourteenth century there was an overseer of the poor who looked after the indoor poor.

In spite of the relief offered by these various agencies, or, perhaps, on account of the relief, the number of beggars and vagrants became so great that the state and city were often impelled to issue police orders against them. These orders were ineffectual. The chief difficulty lay in the practice of indiscriminate giving on the part of the private citizens and in the lack of unity among organized charities. It was to secure the desired unity that the ordinance of 1531 was passed. This ordinance was modelled upon a system which had been introduced in Ypern and which had been praised by the faculty of the Sorbonne in Paris. To the end of gaining unity, it was decreed that all charitable institutions should have a common purse. But the times were unfavorable for carrying out the provisions of this ordinance. The princes were occupied with the political disturbances of the Reformation and were unable to execute reforms which conflicted with so many private interests. The greater number of the old institutions founded by private beneficence remained with regulations but slightly changed.

In the latter part of the sixteenth century the old system of parish administration was revived by the Old Church and by the Reformed Church. Later the other churches, Catholic, Lutheran and Jewish,

also adopted the system. There were two important features in this later parish system. In the first place, provision was made for the selection of capable deacons who were to give their time to the work of administration. Secondly, the poor received individual treatment, since a part of the deacon's duty was to visit each poor family, giving counsel as well as material assistance.

The poor who were not members of any church were cared for either by institutions supported by the cities or by the institutions of the deacons in the Reformed Church. The cities paid these deacons for caring for those who were not members of the Reformed Church and through these payments came to have oversight of the institutions, thus preventing the development of an independent ecclesiastical administration. The most confused diversity, as to methods of relief, ruled in each district. There were at least two ways of giving aid in almost every institution. In the first place there were homes into which were brought the sick, the aged, the defective and orphans, for permanent support. Then there were those to whom transient support was given in their own homes. The work of these charity organizations was supported by Sunday collections, house to house collections and by legacies.

That the poor-relief of Holland in the seventeenth century was inefficient is proved by the high rate of mortality, by the great number of hospitals and pest houses, and by the large numbers of beggars, tramps and foundlings. During the latter part of the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century, the situation was improved. This period was marked by the building of almshouses richly supported by legacies and bequests, and by the employment of the poor in industrial undertakings and in workhouses, although this last was almost without results.

Toward the end of the eighteenth century the burden of pauperism had become so great, as a result of the unfavorable industrial situation and the confusion in charity administration, that the state was compelled to do something that would bring relief. The wars of the Revolution had increased the burden of taxation and brought about a stagnation of business, thus depriving large numbers of the means of support. It has been estimated that in Amsterdam not less than fifty per cent. of the people received support, while the proportion thus aided in Delft, Leiden and Rotterdam was thirty, twenty-five and eighteen per cent., respectively. According to the constitu-

tion of 1798, the poor administration of the whole republic was to be regulated according to a single uniform plan. Accordingly a general law for the regulation of charities was passed in 1800. This law provided for the erection of public poorhouses by each parish, which were to be the principal means of furnishing relief to the needy. Although the law left private and ecclesiastical institutions undisturbed, in so far as they were able to prove that they possessed resources sufficient to enable them to do efficient work, they felt that their prestige was endangered and so opposed it. The law was never made effective, and in 1815, with the establishment of the kingdom of the Netherlands, the old system was restored, but with some modifications.

The fundamental law of 1815 lays upon the government the duty of providing institutions for the welfare and education of the poor, but almost no one at that time thought of a single unified regulation of the whole poor system. Nevertheless, provision was made for annual reports to be made by each institution to the government. The law of 1818 had two important provisions and these remained in force until 1854. The first provided that when any request for aid was apparently well founded and still of such a character that the parish or institution took some time to investigate, it had to supply immediate urgent needs provisionally, and that such parish or institution should be reimbursed for such expenditure by the parish properly charged with the support of such persons. The second provision determined the domicile of various classes of persons for purposes of support. The place of birth was designated as the place of residence, but this could be lost by four years' continuous residence in another place. By marriage the woman took the domicile of her husband, and minor children had the residence of their parents. Foreigners could gain a settlement by six years' residence in the same place. This law worked well at first, but was gradually made unsuitable through a series of decrees which tended to bring the church institutions under the control of the state and thus aroused their opposition. Finally, in 1851, a bill was proposed designed to limit the sphere of all ecclesiastical institutions and increase that of the public institutions. This bill called forth a storm of petitions from all parts of the kingdom. These petitions were the forerunners of the crisis which ended with the resignation of the ministry in 1853.

The relative importance of the three classes of charitable institutions, public, church, and mixed, may be seen from the following statistics: In 1851 there were in all 3,506 institutions for indoor relief. Of these, 2,230 belonged to the churches, 1,179 were public and 79 mixed. Of those belonging to the churches the great majority were wholly supported by freewill offerings, only 454 receiving contributions from the civil parish resources.

At this point the notable experiment made by the "Maatschappy van Weldadigheid" (Society of Beneficence) in establishing farm labor colonies should receive some attention. These colonies were founded in 1818 and have continued with a somewhat varied experience to the present time. On account of the special interest attaching to their experiment it will be given a separate section at the close and there accorded a more extended treatment than could be given here without destroying the unity of the presentation.

The law under which the charities of Holland are administered to-day was passed in 1854 and amended in 1870. The purpose of this law was to bring the whole system of poor-relief into some sort of unity. As the church institutions of charity were determined to maintain their independence, the plan of the law was to secure as great a unity as was possible without encroaching upon their independence. Four classes of institutions were recognized: (a) Public institutions of charity—state, provincial, and municipal—under the control of the civil authorities; (b) institutions founded, supported, and controlled by church congregations for the benefit of the poor of a specified faith; (c) institutions founded and supported by private organizations; (d) mixed institutions ruled and administered by the civil authorities in union with church congregations or private organizations.

The main idea is that the support of the poor is to be kept as a rule to churches and private societies. The public charitable institutions were empowered to give aid only in cases of extreme necessity where the needy were unable to receive help from any other institutions. The church and private institutions were to have the largest possible sphere of service, but each was required to furnish regular reports containing information as to its burdens, regulations and administration. Moreover, for all collections except those made in church the consent of the city government had to be obtained. The policy of the civil poor administration was to assist the poor

to the natural means of support, so far as possible, rather than to give money. All institutions and administrative bodies had a right to be recompensed by relatives of the persons supported. It was expected that each institution would keep the others informed as to its internal organization and the result of its activities. The unity of the system was to be secured through the information thus furnished each to others. Moreover, each civil parish had to keep a current record of the institutions within its borders.

The definitions of domicile for the purposes of support constituted a fruitful source of inequality and contention. The trouble arose out of the fact that there had come to be a large number of people who, leaving the place of their birth, moved from place to place in the larger cities, not staying anywhere long enough to acquire a residence. Four years' continuous residence in one place was necessary in order to gain a settlement. After spending the better years of their lives working in large cities, many laborers were compelled to ask for support in their old age. Not having acquired a settlement in the city, they had to be cared for by the parish of their birthplace, or if cared for by some institution in the city the home parish was compelled to pay the expense. This had the effect of giving the working years of a man's life to the city and the years of his dependency to the poor rural parish. Many of the contests that grew out of such cases had to be referred to the King for decision. Similarly, the parishes of their former home were often called upon to pay for the support of women at maternity hospitals in cities. The opposition to these payments by the rural parishes led to an amendment of the law in 1870, by which the burden of assisting such persons was placed upon the parishes in which they resided at the time.

There has come to be a great dissimilarity in the scope and method of poor-relief due to the changes of conditions. In the large cities there are old institutions with large and increasing endowments. Here also are large parish contributions, extensive private beneficence and abundant means of employment. In the rural districts all these are lacking. In the poorer parishes the legal provision for poor-relief falls far short of that which in the more prosperous parishes would be secured through private benevolence alone. Moreover, there has been a gradual shrinkage of the provisions made by the church. This shrinkage is made up, not by the public, but by insti-

tutions of private beneficence. Of the total expenditures for charity in 1854, 40.1 per cent. was made by public, 50.4 per cent. by religious, and 9.5 per cent. by private institutions. In 1896 the proportions were, public, 41.8 per cent.; religious, 43.4 per cent, and private, 14.8 per cent. It is estimated that there are in all 7,476 charitable institutions in Holland. Of these, 1,198 are under civil administrations, 3,057 are controlled by churches and exist for the general care of the poor, and the rest, including 710 for the aged and 712 for the sick, offer relief for special classes of dependents.

While these three classes of institutions do not specialize, each treating certain sorts of cases, there is a tendency toward such specialization. In Amsterdam, for instance, where there are 105 institutions and organizations of a charitable character, those controlled by the civil authorities have charge of 82 per cent. of the cases needing medical aid, and but 20 per cent. of the orphans who receive support, while religious institutions care for over 70 per cent. of the orphans and but 10 per cent. of the sick and infirm. Similarly, but in a less marked degree, cases for permanent support go to religious and those calling for temporary assistance to the public institutions. There are certain private organizations which have the special function of finding work for the able-bodied needy.

The share which the civil parish has in the support of the poor varies in different cities. In Amsterdam the levy is about $.88, in Gröningen it is about $1.04 per capita, while in Rotterdam and The Hague it is only $.60 and $.64, respectively. The civil parish is the basis of public charity organization. The mayor alone or the mayor aided by the council or a regular relief officer transacts the business. Sometimes the means of a private association are placed at the disposal of the public officials. The almshouses and hospitals are supported almost entirely by the civil parishes. The name diaconate (Diakonie) is the technical term for all sorts of provisions for poor-relief made by the evangelical churches. This name is used in all cases, whether there are special members of the congrgation appointed for this work or whether the parish vestry itself assumes this duty. The Catholic church works according to parishes with one or more parish boards. In Amsterdam, however, the city is divided into fifty administrative districts. Extensive aid is given by the Society of St. Vincent of Paul, and that of considerable variety and extent. In this association the religious conduct of

the indigents is of great importance, unchristian conduct leading to exclusion from aid.

The aims of private charities are very numerous, practically every cause being represented among them. The purposes and methods of a few of the many private organizations will be described below. District nursing is established in Deventer. Whenever the physician believes that the woman of the house is unable to take proper care of the sick he may call for a trained nurse. These nurses are chosen with great care, so that only those of approved moral character and skill are employed. Their work is supervised by a woman overseer who visits each house unexpectedly several times a week. The family is expected to maintain the nurse during her stay, which is not to extend beyond six weeks.

A society recently established at The Hague has for its object the saving of broken food. All otherwise worthless leavings from the tables of the wealthier houses are collected and worked over to be sold to the poor. In order to prevent an undesirable competition the rule of the society is to sell only to the poor people who could not otherwise obtain similar food.

Several organizations assist the poor by securing for them an opportunity to work. Sometimes temporary or permanent employment is found in the cities and sometimes the poor are sent to the farm labor colonies. Of particular importance is the work of the "Society for Beneficence" which will be described later. The rural colony of the Salvation Army rents land at low rates in order to allow its tenants to become free land owners. In Friesland, where the soil is of unusually poor quality and the people correspondingly poor, there is a unique association, the Door Arbeit tot Verbeetung, which aims to improve the soil, otherwise almost or quite useless, by means of the labor of those who otherwise would be unemployed. Many parishes have joined in this enterprise with most beneficial results, the number of needy persons being considerably reduced.

Of special importance is the great Amsterdam benevolent society, Tiefdadigheit naas Vermogen (Charity according to means). This society has existed for forty years. Its work embraces the whole city, which is divided into thirty-four districts, each with a superintendent at its head. The superintendent is assisted by helpers, both men and women. The society has 2,881 members, each of whom pays about $1.60 annually, and 3,298 friends who have contributed

to its support. The society gives help by obtaining work, by temporary or permanent support, and by loans without interest. The amount of a loan may not exceed eighty dollars. Moreover, this society aims to coöperate with all other organized charities, to combat the habit of indiscriminate almsgiving and to educate the public as to the best methods of relief work. For its district workers it publishes careful directions with a view to individual relief. The greatest stress is laid upon personal visits and the help of man to man. The good offices of private individuals are thought to be very important. Those familiar with charity organization work in America will recognize that the aim of this society is to a considerable extent similar to that of the Charity Organization Society in our larger cities. The income of the society in 1900 was about $66,000. The number of needy persons helped was 2,067, at an expense of about $38,240.00. In the proportion of income devoted to material aid the society differs from the Charity Organization Society, which aims to use its income chiefly for administrative purposes, that is, for forms of assistance which help persons to support themselves.

In recent years there has been considerable effort made toward reform. The present system of providing for the poor in Holland is far from satisfactory to those who are most familiar with the situation. The board of directors of the society mentioned above, in its report for 1900, is unanimous in recommending reforms. The grounds of opposition to a regular system of charities are considered in the same report. This opposition has its origin in the general ignorance as to the extent of poverty and the best methods of treating it, and in the hopeless disorganization of Dutch relief methods. There is no unity between the individual institutions. Each goes its own way without reference to the others. General leadership is lacking.

Public care of the poor is closely restricted by the existing law. Through the lack of a strong central organization there may be established institutions that are absolutely superfluous and injurious, while many others which are doing the most valuable and necessary work are hindered in their development. Then, too, lack of organization leads to the waste of money through the multiplication of administrations. Falkenberg and Smissart express similar opinions.

The efforts toward reform are along the line of strengthening the public relief, the introduction of regular supervision and the

establishment of a rational union between the various charitable organizations. An encouraging feature of the situation is the growth of public opinion in favor of reform founded upon expert knowledge. In 1897 the political parties declared in favor of reform. In 1895 the Society for Public Welfare through its delegates, men of high standing in Holland, reported very minutely concerning the present condition of poor-relief. In the second part of this report there is a detailed outline for a new poor law.

In January, 1900, Dompierre de Chaufepié, Blankenberg, and Smissart established a periodical, Tijdschrift voor Armenzorg, the purpose of which is to enlighten public opinion and give information to existing organizations. This periodical, which appears bi-monthly, undertakes the observation of all existing organizations, follows critically the transactions of law-givers, giving needed advice, and furnishes information concerning the poor-relief of foreign countries. The same men have published the Gids der Nederlandsche Weldadigheit (Guide of Netherland Charities). This contains a description of all the arrangements for the public, religious and private care of the poor, and is indexed according to subjects and provinces, so that it is easy to find out whether in a certain place there is an organization of a certain kind or not. Altogether 7,476 organizations are considered in the work. These various efforts toward reform have met with some success. In June, 1891, the government submitted to the second chamber an outline of a new system of poor laws. While this has not been accepted as yet it may be worth while to notice its provisions. In the first place the law is not radical in character. Its purpose is to strengthen the position of the government with reference to the existing institutions. It is not intended to limit the religious and private charities further than is necessary in order to secure the general welfare. Without prejudice to their principles, which may be quite different from those of the civil organizations, they must keep the government more fully informed as to their doings. The government shall have authority to require information of each institution as to its means, the terms of its constitution, the composition of its board of directors, etc., and to punish failure to comply with such requirements by fines.

It is further provided that in every parish there shall be a central office at which may be found information concerning all the needy poor of the district. The records of the reputable and those of the

disreputable poor are to be kept separate. The information is to be sent from the different institutions to the central office and corrections made weekly. It is recommended that local associations be formed where the representatives of all the different charities may meet for the exchange of experiences. These of course must be voluntary.

The public provision for the care of the poor is to be granted only in case the individual is unable to obtain aid elsewhere. Thus the strictly subsidiary character of the public system is retained. One important advance, however, is made. The public institution will not be restricted as much as formerly in its efforts to aid. Even in cases where other agencies have given aid the public institution may assist, providing there is an agreement between those interested, as to the amount and kind of help. It is prescribed that the public system must have an organization in each parish adequate to its needs, so that help may be given wherever necessary. Each parish must see to it that physicians are provided for the sick, and midwives for cases of confinement. The compensation for physicians and midwives is determined by the council after the sanitary officials and the official overseers report. The pay shall be in the form of a stated fee or compensation according to services performed. In places where there is no druggist other means are taken for supplying medicine. Each parish is required to maintain a workhouse in which the able-bodied poor who are responsible for their own need may find admission. Such persons are aided only on condition that they do the work allotted to them. When an inmate of a workhouse leaves without permission the police and poor officers must be notified. Should anyone refuse to accept the help which has been given him under the conditions of his admission to the workhouse and, leaving the workhouse without permission, should not endeavor to support himself and family, he may be sent to the penitentiary for a term not to exceed three years.

These and many other specifications give the character of the proposed law. At all points the effort to individualize the systems is evident. The regulations concerning poor boards met the demands of this principle. In the large cities poor boards are to be established, while in the smaller the mayor and councilmen shall have charge of the poor administration. In case the city is large enough to have a poor board it may be divided into administrative districts.

Beside the district superintendents there are to be deputies who may be either men or women. These deputies may be compensated in case a sufficient number of persons do not volunteer to serve without pay. Deputies who receive pay are not permitted to follow any trade or business in the district in which they act.

The entire system is to be placed under the control of one or more inspectors acceptable to the Minister of the Interior. Each charitable institution is to be subject to permanent supervision. The superintendent must place at the disposal of the inspector all materials bearing on the conduct of the institution. Furthermore, all almshouses and workhouses are to be under the control of the parish. In case any institution is not being administered according to the official regulations, it is given six months to make the necessary changes.

In recent years have been enacted several laws which have to do do with the protection and care of children. One law provides for compulsory education. Another has to do with the punishment of children. The power of the parents is limited and the child may be taken from the parent on account of abuse, gross negligence or dissolute conduct.

The Dutch Home Colonies.—A notable experiment in charitable methods in Holland was that of Maatschappy van Weldadigheit (Society of Beneficence). The idea of the founders of this society was that pauperism might be prevented to a large extent by providing agricultural training and employment to able-bodied deserving destitute persons. In more recent years the Salvation Army in England and America has made use of the same idea. In Holland the scheme originated with General van den Bosch and the society was organized in 1816. According to the rules of this society each member paid a little more than a dollar a year. The membership grew rapidly, reaching twenty thousand within a year. The society established two sorts of colonies, the free and the beggar. Frederiksoord, Wilhelmsoord and the Forest colony were for free colonists. The colonies at Omerschans and Veenhuisen were for beggars. Frederiksoord, the first colony established, had at first twelve hundred acres of heath land of very poor quality. It was flat, dry, and sandy and ill suited to agricultural purposes. To this colony were taken fifty-two families, three hundred and fifty-six persons. Each family was provided with a house, a stable and cattle. It was

expected that the colonist would pay for the cattle after a little time, but the hope was not realized. Those members of the colony who were not members of families were taken into families as boarders and paid for their board out of their wages. Families also received orphans as boarders, the society or parish paying for their support. The members of the colony were employed in two ways. Some were employed by the day and paid wages. Others were given a plot of ground to cultivate, paying a small rental. These two classes were known as laborers and free tenants. It was the desire of the society to have as many free tenants and as few laborers as possible, but it was necessary to employ most of them as laborers at first because they were not competent to manage any independent business. It was expected that the colonist would be self-supporting in either case or that he would soon become so. As a further inducement to good conduct and industry there were medals offered. In general the plan of Frederiksoord was the plan of the other free colonies. The results were very disappointing. Very few of the colonists showed any ambition to better their condition. They were sure of a living in any case and the desire for a superior status was not strong enough to produce effects in the way of industry and economy. Only a few were self-supporting, only a few became free tenants, and the laborers were very inefficient. A better soil with its richer harvests might have induced larger numbers to try free tenantry, but the fundamental difficulty lay in the character of the colonists and in the plan.

Nearly all of the colonists were from the cities and consequently they knew little or nothing about farming. Furthermore, farming is not an industry in which it is easy to superintend the work of a large number of incompetent workers, nor is it suitable for the most inefficient workers. Farm labor does not consist in a few simple processes which may be repeated indefinitely. In the variety of its occupations, with the changing seasons, planting, cultivating, reaping, etc., there is great educational value for the worker as compared with that of the laborer which merely repeats irksomely a simple process throughout the year; but when we consider the value of the product the tables are turned, especially if the laborer is deficient in energy and intelligence.

The society gave most aid to those most in need, that is, to those who were least industrious and thrifty. As fast as the colonist began

to do more for himself the society did less, and consequently the colonist felt that there was little or nothing gained through industry.

After experimenting with farming, the society introduced other industries into the colonies. Among these spinning and weaving were the most important. In some respects these were more successful than farming. For several years the product was sold at a profit. But the profit was more apparent than real, since the product was sold to the government for more than the ordinary price, thus balancing the society's profits with a government loss. The labor of these industries was certainly better suited to the capacity of the colonists than was farming. It consisted in the constant repetition of a simple and mechanical process and permitted the introduction of piece wages instead of time wages. But this was a time when even the thrifty and industrious textile workers were being forced to abandon hand methods. Home industry was already doomed. Handworkers could not compete with the great factories with their machinery driven by water or steam. Little wonder then that these industries failed in the pauper colonies. As a result of the industrial inefficiency of the colonists, the debts of the societies increased from year to year until 1859, when the colonies were turned over to the government. At that time the total indebtedness was about $3,200,000, while the resources amounted only to about $1,200,000. So far as self-support was concerned the colonies had proved to be failures. They had not only failed to be self-supporting but had actually increased the cost to the public of maintaining paupers.

But there are considerations other than those of a financial character. What was the effect of the system upon the pauper colonists themselves? Here again the verdict must be unfavorable. In 1853, out of many thousand colonists only twenty had become free tenants, the renters being contented to go on working for the society, earning part of their support and being given the rent. They did not become efficient laborers in any field nor did they make a reasonable effort to become such. Practically, none were rescued from pauperism and sent back into society as self-supporting workers. The certainty of support removed the stimulus to work. The children did not learn self-reliance. Brought up in an atmosphere of pauperism they received the training to fit them for a life of pauperism. This is a very serious criticism upon the whole system. It is right that society should provide for the support of its inefficient

members, securing from them such labor as they are able to render, but it is not right that society should encourage the growth of a permanent pauper class by maintaining the paupers in families under conditions that pauperize the children. If it is conceded that any persons are so inefficient that they must receive permanent support they should receive that support under conditions that will render the propagation of their kind impossible.

After the colonies passed under the control of the government, important reforms were introduced. Regulations were adopted which had the effect of decreasing the inducements to labor for wages and of increasing the inducements to free tenantry. Model farms were established. Weaving was abandoned and other industries substituted. Colonists were allowed to keep all of their earnings and piece work was substituted for time work. As a result of these various improvements a better spirit prevails among the colonists. Their labor is somewhat more efficient and a larger number are free tenants. Still it must be admitted that the colonies have not solved the problem of caring for paupers. It is still true that they are better adapted to the rural poor than to the poor of cities, although nearly all of the residents are from the cities. Another serious objection lies in the fact that they are able to take in but very few families from year to year. One large colony takes in less than six families a year. This is because very few if any are fitted for independent support.

The Beggar Colonies have a different plan. Mendicants are sentenced to these colonies as a penalty for begging. While in the colonies they are required to work. These colonies likewise have failed to secure the desired results. Sir T. McNeil reported in 1853 that it took fifteen colonists to do as much work as one good laborer would do. The cost of keeping the mendicants in the colony was greater than it would have been without the colony. Furthermore, the colony has no reforming influence. There is at present very little mendicancy in Holland, but this is not due to the deterrent influence of the penalty imposed in connection with the colonies. They are too pleasant places of residence. Large numbers of beggars return time after time. Some have been known to beg for the very purpose of being sent to a colony.

There is this to be said in favor of the colonies, both free and beggar, that they do provide support for the poor who are helpless

or nearly so and that the treatment is humane. Their failure lies in their inability to make self-supporting those individuals who might become so through proper treatment. The cause of this failure might be stated in a general way as follows: The colony plan, if adapted to any class of paupers, is best adapted to those who are but little below the plane of self-support. Such persons might be made self-supporting under suitable supervision and with proper encouragement, and, becoming self-supporting, would become self-respecting, and thus the social purpose would be subserved. Many of the paupers sent to the free colonies were so far below the plane of self-support that the society felt under obligation to adapt its methods to the needs of this lower class. These methods were of such a character as to defeat the main purpose so far as the redeemable members were concerned.[1]

K.-L. Children and Youth.—The penal code distinguishes (art. 38 and 39) between minors who act with and without discernment. Minors convicted as having acted with discernment incur the same penalties as adults, only with certain mitigation. Those acquitted as having acted without discernment are sent to public or private houses of correction. There are three colonies, two for boys and one for girls, and a private colony.

A law of 1886 regulates the conditions of placing children morally neglected in public houses of education. Private charity watches over them in orphanages and homes. The Society for the Education of Orphans in Families works to place children in homes of farmers or workmen selected by them.

M. Preventive. *School for Training Social Workers.*—In view of the movements in London and in American cities it is interesting to note that they were anticipated in Holland. Mr. Janssen has established at Amsterdam "Ons Huis" (Our House) whose purpose is general "extension" of school work for the people without regard to religious and political differences. Here also is a course of study for social workers, somewhat similar to that given in Berlin for women engaged in public service. The Amsterdam school has in view a systematic, theoretical and practical education of persons of both sexes who intend to give themselves to earnest labors. The course is two years in length. The first year is devoted to obtaining

[1] Robin, M. le pasteur; Hospitalité et travail, Paris, 1887. Rivière, L. Mendiants et Vagabonds, p. 7, 1902.

general social knowledge about various branches of philanthropic enterprise; and at the close of the first year the pupils decide to which branch they will devote themselves; and in the second year they make special preparation for this chosen pursuit. Pupils are also received for the second year alone. The training is extended at present to the following branches: Poor-relief, management of tenement houses, care of children who are deprived of their parents, and, finally, to that which is the principal aim of the House, "The effort to put within the reach of workingmen the mental development which they need, and to further friendly relations between different social classes." This is very similar to the English and American settlement activity. Students must be 23 years of age to be admitted.

The theoretical instruction is in economics, state administration, civil law, hygiene, pedagogics, poor-relief, care of children, tenement house problems, factory laws, workingmen's insurance, socialism, alcoholism, youthful offenders, savings banks, general insurance, etc. Practical training is given in the first year by visits to all kinds of institutions, and in the second year by actual participation in particular forms of work under the guidance of experts. It has been difficult to secure suitable practical teachers, but progress has been made. These courses have now been given since 1900. From 10 to 12 new students enter each year, all but two being women.[1]

Schools for Nurses.—In 1884 Miss Reijnsvaan secured the establishment of a school for nurses at Amsterdam and superintended the pupils. The first course was a year, but the time was afterward extended to three years and an examination is required. By means of the Netherland Union for the Treatment of the Sick this form of instruction has been introduced in most of the cities of Holland since 1893. The general committee issues diplomas to approved graduates. The institution of the White Cross in Amsterdam up to March 31, 1901, had issued 652 diplomas. The schools are connected with the leading hospitals.

Workingmen's Insurance.[2]—In Holland we can observe the

[1] Zeit. f. d. Armenwesen, August, 1903, p. 248.

[2] Zachar, Die Arbeiter-Versicherung in Auslande, Heft XIII, 1901. M. Bellom, Les lois d'assurance ouvrière à l'étranger, II, 1896, pp. 1163-1164. J. G. Brooks, Compulsory Insurance, p. 349 (rev. ed.). T. Bödiker, Die Arbeiter-Versicherung in den Europäischen Staaten, 1895.

gradual approach through voluntary associations for insurance to a measure of state intervention and action. In respect to sickness Zacher (1901) showed that the very poor are generally cast upon public charity, since they are unable to pay premiums into a fund. In Amsterdam, in 1895, 15 per cent. of the population were dependent on free medical relief at home and 10,531 persons on hospitals. In The Hague 9 per cent. of the population were treated by medical charity. There were indeed many voluntary societies which collected premiums and paid sick and burial benefits, but these associations reveal the defects of their kind. Few of them extend over the entire country. In many places none exist. The premiums are not paid on sound actuarial principles. The administrators are not always competent and honest. In spite of many abuses laid bare by the investigations of a commission the people are generally opposed to state interference and supervision.

The necessity for old age pensions and invalid benefits has been made apparent by governmental investigations. Outside of a few favored localities the majority of workmen who live beyond 65 years become dependent on charity. The government has for some time provided pensions for its own aged servants who become superannuated, and this emphasizes the injustice of the situation for ordinary workmen. Several attempts have been made to provide for old age by voluntary organizations of workmen and of employers, but without results of any general importance. Zacher gives the draft of a bill prepared by the government for compulsory insurance which shows the influence of the German law.

In respect to accident insurance Holland has made much progress, in spite of the *laissez-faire* policy so long followed. Under the older law a workman might indeed recover damages from his employer if he could prove that his injury was due to some fault of the employer or his agents. This was mockery, for a workman could not afford costly litigation and fault of an employer is impossible, in most cases, to prove. In case of sailors and railway employes the law was more favorable. The first step of the government was to make it the duty of employers to insure their employes in a company, but this half-way measure left most of the wage-earners still without protection. After many and prolonged discussions in the National Legislature a compromise bill was enacted January 25, 1901, providing for the legal insurance of workmen in case of injury in certain occupations. And

thus Holland takes its place among the nations which give solid guarantees to the capable and industrious citizens, against the misery which is an inevitable incident of industry; and it gives promise of further developments in the same field.

CHAPTER VI

SWEDEN AND NORWAY

BY C. R. HENDERSON

Historical Introduction.—Previous to the political organization of society the members of households, clans and tribes were dependent on each other for assistance in time of need. In Scandinavian countries at this stage of social evolution dependent persons were aided by relatives (in Sweden, Aett, Sippe, Clan). The ancient laws of Iceland were based on communal care of the poor, and even after the introduction of the Christian Church they retained a prevailing secular character. In Norway the evidences of such communal relief are scant. Indigent persons who had no relatives bound to support them, were to be cared for by the peasants by boarding them around in turn. From about the beginning of the thirteenth century one-fourth of the tithe was devoted to the poor, and the system of relief was fairly well developed. This arrangement, after the loss of independence and the introduction of the Reformation, was broken down. In the first half of the seventeenth century the tithe, which had gradually been neglected, failed entirely in the country districts. Even in the cities the poor not cared for in institutions were assisted by gifts and fines. Deacons administered the relief. By royal ordinance of 1741 the principle of compulsory contributions was introduced; idlers and beggars were sent to workhouses; innocent dependents were boarded around and given material relief.

The Mediaeval period saw the rise of the state; but, as in other parts of Europe, it was the church which administered poor-relief, through parish and monastic machinery. Tithes were paid the clergy for their own support and for the relief of the poor, two-ninths of this source of income being devoted to the poor. The Reformation led to the suppression of monas-

teries and to the loss of many customary revenues. Parallel with the movement in Great Britain we can trace the different stages of secularization of poor-relief. Tribe and church no longer perform the function; yet during the transition the church sought to meet the need by appeals to voluntary contributions. A church order of 1571 commanded the various parishes to show compassion to their own indigent members. As the roving and resident multitude of beggars waxed greater, ordinances were issued to direct assistance, as in 1642; and in 1686 all residents of a church parish were required to make a contribution for the purpose. As these doles, none too systematically collected, failed to supply all needs, and as sturdy beggars made police measures necessary, the machinery of the state was gradually called into requisition in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Mendicants were ordered to stay in the bounds of their own native parishes, where they were known and had relatives, and workhouses for compulsory labor were erected.

In 1788 each parish was authorized to refuse settlement to a person unable to support himself by work, and this law was valid until 1847. A residence of three years would confer the right to settlement and relief.

A. Legislation.—The present poor law of Sweden was enacted June 4, 1871, and has been amended at intervals since, and is based essentially on the principles of earlier legislation.

The present law of Norway was enacted in 1863, which modified the law of 1845, especially in the direction of discouraging the belief that the poor had a legal claim to relief which had increased the burden so greatly as to excite deep concern.

Right of Settlement (in Sweden and Norway,—the points in common in the two countries being stated together).—In both Sweden and Norway the obligation to give relief rests on the communes. The principle of freedom of travel for all citizens has been recognized in Norway for centuries; in Sweden the poor law of 1847 conferred this right. It follows that the communes have no means of protecting themselves against the burden of immigrant paupers or of feeble persons liable to become dependent.

The citizen may enjoy an original settlement as an inheritance from his parents; or, after his 15th year of age, may acquire a

settlement and rights to poor-relief in need. In Sweden settlement may be acquired by registration in the place of residence, with liability to taxation. If, by a residence of five years outside of the commune, a citizen loses his right to relief, the commune which gives help may upon proof receive a subsidy from the state to reimburse its expenditure. If a new resident becomes dependent within a year, or has received aid during the year before he migrated, he retains his right to relief in the commune of earlier residence.

In Norway the rule is different; for there the right to relief is acquired only by two years of uninterrupted residence in a commune. The law of July 27, 1896, prevents an alien from acquiring the right to settlement and relief. In Norway a citizen loses his former settlement, not by mere absence from home for a period, but by actually acquiring a new settlement. After a certain age (in Sweden 60, in Norway 62 years) the place of settlement cannot be lost and a new one acquired. The humane provision of modern poor laws is embodied in these Scandinavian regulations, that the destitute person shall be relieved by the community where he becomes disabled, helpless, or for any reason dependent. If this commune is not the one on which he has a claim he may be sent to the place of his legal settlement which must bear the cost of transportation. The national administration is called upon to repay a commune for relief given to a foreigner, and alien paupers may be returned to their own country.

Disputes Between Poor-Relief Officials.—In Norway these may be settled by the ecclesiastical ministry or by resort to courts. Sweden provides a superior board of administration and has a chamber of justice where such differences may be adjusted.

Relatives.—In the administration of relief the general principle is observed that the nearest relative must support as far as possible. Parents, children, husband and wife (in Sweden, the husband) are bound to relieve. Also in Sweden the master of a household must aid indigent servants, workmen and their wives, and the minor children living in the house,—a relic of patriarchal times. In Norway the master of a house is required only to care for his servants during sickness of brief duration.

In Sweden the Jews are required to aid their co-religionists.

Seamen and their families are aided by the "shipping boards," whose funds are furnished from ship taxes levied for the purpose.

In Norway the miners are required to establish their own poor districts; and other large industrial establishments are permitted to do the same. The duty of the public to relieve extends, in Sweden, to dependent children, aged invalids or persons otherwise unable to labor. In Norway orphans and homeless children, the insane, the aged, the defective and the sick when the board thinks it necessary are to have aid. A right to relief cannot be maintained by suit in the courts.

State Subsidies to Relief.—In the case of indigent soldiers or foreigners, or when the legal settlement is unknown, the burden of relief is taken from the commune and borne by the state treasury. By the law of June 27, 1891, in Norway, in rural districts the cost of caring for the insane who are indigent is borne, four-tenths by the state and six-tenths by the province.

Areas of Administration.—In Sweden the communes are the relief districts, while in Norway the communes may be divided into several districts, each one corresponding to a church parish. In both countries, however, for purposes of assigning the burden of taxes, the poor district may be divided into smaller areas. Each commune is responsible for all who gain settlement within its borders and cannot transfer the burden to another.

Organs of Administration.—In Sweden the communal board, which is the seat of authority, may establish a poor commission of at least three members. In cities the various communes form relief boards of at least five members. The parish pastor or his representative has a voice.

In Norway each district has its poor commission, which consists of the local pastor and persons chosen by the council of the commune, and this body chooses its own president. In the cities a magistrate usually acts as president. The council of the commune rules the budget, but the poor commission administers the relief and carries out the regulations of the commune. In order to secure direct and individual treatment a commissioner is often appointed for each of several sub-districts, so that he may be in neighborly contact with the families to be assisted. Attempts to introduce the German municipal ("Elberfeld") system have thus far not been very successful; but one feature of

that system is accepted,—any citizen may be required to act as a relieving officer without pay. The communal officer may also appoint paid officers.

Taxation and Funds for Relief.—First of all the income of ancient endowments is drawn upon; and there are revenues from fines and gifts. When these sources are exhausted both Norway and Sweden resort to taxation.

In Sweden there is a head tax, and a part of the communal tax is added if necessary.

In Norway (regulation of 1882), in case the commune is itself a poor district, no special poor rate is levied, and the general fund is used. The relief may be given by citizens in goods or in boarding the dependent, and the value of such relief is deducted from their taxes; if the value is more than their tax the difference is repaid.

One source of income is the repayment of the expenditures for aid. When the indigent person becomes able to return to the commune what he has received he is required to do so,—in Norway after the 15th year of his age. In Norway the commune becomes a legal heir to the property of inmates of poorhouses and hospitals, when there are no intestate or testamentary heirs, and this even before the state. In Sweden the poor administration has paternal power over dependents and the boards are authorized to require the able-bodied to work. In Norway only supervisory power is given the boards, and guardians may be appointed on request of the board.

Methods of Poor-Relief.—In both countries the communes are generally left free to fix their own methods.

The Boarding-out of Paupers.—This system comes from former ages and is particularly well adapted to the social conditions of the rural regions of Norway, although it is not unknown in other Scandinavian countries. In Norway, where the population is homogeneous and scattered, and the erection and maintenance of institutions would be a heavy burden, the quartering of dependents on families is accepted as a duty. Sick, defective and aged paupers may be sent to board with a farmer for a whole year or more. A modified method is to send the pauper around in a circuit of farms for a shorter period, but care is taken that no more moving is required than is necessary. The commis-

sioners of the poor exercise supervision over the arrangement, and if the indigent person is not properly treated he may be relieved at cost of the responsible farmer. Not only small children but also invalids, and the insane who cannot wait on themselves, are placed in charge of selected families who will give to them suitable attention and sympathetic care.

As the modern economic methods displace patriarchal traditions, and payments in money are substituted for barter and exchange of commodities and services, the boarding system will be superseded. It is actually diminishing in extent of application. In 1866, 10,114 persons were thus relieved; in 1885, 4,496, and in 1894, only 2,610; or 6 per 1,000 population in 1866 (or 7.1 per cent. of population in the country, where alone the custom continues); 1885, 2.3 (and 2.9) per 1,000; and 1894, 1.2 (1.7) per 1,000. In comparison with the number of paupers in the whole kingdom the boarders in 1866 were 14.8 per cent. (18.8 in the country); 1885, 6.7 per cent (9.7); and in 1894, 3.2 per cent. (4.9).

Indoor Relief.—Indoor relief in poorhouses is more general in Sweden than in Norway. In 1895 Sweden had 5,397 institutions for this purpose (1,586 poorhouses, 214 poor farmers, 38 workhouses, 16 places for children, and 3,543 small "poor rooms"); and at that date 44,404 persons, or 17.3 per cent. of all assisted persons were cared for (of whom 9,862, or 3.8 per cent., were in the small "poor rooms," and 34,542, or 13.5 per cent., were in other establishments). In hospitals were 6,477 persons, or 2.5 per cent. of those assisted.

In Norway in 1894 the paupers in poorhouses were only 2,390, or 3 per cent. of those assisted. Paupers can be sent to institutions only in exceptional cases.

Poor farms are owned by the communes in both Sweden and Norway and there is a tendency to enlarge the scope of assistance by means of agricultural labor. Sweden, in 1895, had 214 poor farms, while the number in Norway was much smaller.

In Norway idleness and neglect to support a family is punished by imprisonment and labor in a workhouse.

Statistics of Poor-Relief.—The number of paupers is relatively large. Under "direct charges" neither the wives of pauper men nor minor children are included.

Sweden (1895)

Direct charges

In the rural districts	110,885	(2.8%	of population)
In the cities	46,804	(4.8%	" ")
In the kingdom, total	157,689	(3.2%	" ")

All paupers

In rural districts	170,148	(4.3%	" ")
In cities	86,447	(8.7%	" ")
In the kingdom, total	256,595	(5.2%	" ")

Norway

Direct charges

In the rural districts	(1894) 53,365	(3.5%	of population)
	(1890) 110,809	(7.2%	" ")
In cities	(1894) 27,384	(5.4%	" ")
	(1890) 54,807	(11.7%	" ")
In kingdom	(1894) 80,749	(3.9%	" ")
	(1890) 165,538	(8.3%	" ")

So far as we can trust the older statistics it appears that the paupers per hundred in the last 30 years have diminished in Norway and increased in Sweden.

The entire expenditure of local poor-relief in *Sweden* in 1895 was 12,169,000 and the average expense for each pauper 47.73 kr. (including all direct charges and others): in rural districts 44.39 kr. and in cities 54.25 kr. The average has risen: in 1881 it was 37.5 kr. (31.1 kr. in rural districts and 58.7 kr. in cities).

The cost for each *direct charge* in 1895 was about 77 kr. per person.

The poor-relief burden in comparison with the population was:

To each inhabitant	1886	1895
Of the kingdom	1.96 kr.	2.47 kr.
Of the rural districts	1.44 "	2.16 "
Of the city	4.42 "	5.31 "

which indicate considerable increase.

In Norway:

The entire cost of local relief and the average cost for each pauper:

1873	4,632,208 kr.	34.0 kr.
1878	5,601,870 "	43.0 "
1885	5,813,438 "	38.7 "
1890	6,163,508 "	37.2 "

In 1890 the average cost in the rural district was 32.7 kr. and in the cities 47.6 kr. For each direct charge, 1890, 84 kr. and 1894, 85 kr.

The cost per inhabitant in Norway:

	1885	1894
Of the kingdom	3.0 kr.	3.4 kr.
Of rural districts	2.2 "	2.4 "
Of cities	5.7 "	5.9 "

Norway—Statistics of 1899:[1]

Rural communes: Number of heads of families (or single persons) aided, 50,867, to be repaid 3,363. Persons assisted outside of comune, 3,682. At charge of commune, 51,186.

Number of persons assisted directly:

(*a*) Not having received other aid than gratuitous support at home or hospital, 6,187.

(*b*) Assisted for the first time, 5,830.

Total expenditures, 4,086,335 kr.; per head of family (or single person) assisted, 80 kr.

Urban communes: Number of heads of families or single persons aided, 29,863.

To be repaid	4,821
Aided out of commune	2,195
At charge of commune	27,237

Number assisted directly:

(*a*) Not having received other than aid at home or in hospital, 3,790.

(*b*) Aided first time, 5,152.

Financial:

Cash	Poor-relief in proper sense	2,392,127 kr.
	Sick-relief	1,255,943 "
	Other costs	920,145 "
Total		4,568,215 kr.

[1] Statistisk Aarbog for Kongeriget Norge, 1902, pp. 106-107.

Total net expenditures, 3,577,444 kr.; per head of family (or single person), 131 kr.

For Kingdom of Norway, 1899:

Number assisted	80,730
To repay	4,821
Aided out of commune	2,195
At charge of commune	27,237
Directly aided:	
(*a*) At home or hospital	9,977
(*b*) First aid	10,982

Financial:

Cash	Poor-relief in proper sense	5,270,482 kr.
	Sick-relief	2,327,404 "
	Other costs	1,656,873 "
Total		9,254,759 kr.
In goods		170,701 "

Total net expenditures, 7,663,779 kr.; average per head of family (or single person) aided, 98 kr.

G. Vagrants, Etc.—In Sweden, and to some extent in Norway, the poor farms help wandering dependents by furnishing shelter and food in return for labor, under control of the authorities.

H. Medical Relief.—In Norway about 60 per cent. of cases of dependence are due to illness of the breadwinner or the family; 10 to 11 per cent. to old age; 1.5 per cent. to drink. From 40 to 45 per cent. of aid is given in medical care and nursing, and about 30 per cent. in cash. These figures show the relative importance of this form of help.

The prevalence of leprosy gave occasion for the establishment of four hospitals for those afflicted with this disease. In the year 1866, 795 lepers were treated, but in 1895 the number had fallen to 360, and one of the hospitals, at Reknes, was made a sanatorium for tuberculous patients. Another hospital for consumptives has been planted in Lyster in Sogn, in a well-wooded district, 1,600 feet above sea level.

In Kristiania is a general hospital belonging to the state, with medical and surgical, and special wards. The daily average of patients in 1895 was 376. The state also supports two lying-in

hospitals, in connection with which instruction in obstetrics is given. The number of births in the institution at Kristiania was 969 in 1895, and at Bergen 112.

Two seaside hospitals for scrofulous children (at Fredriksvern and Bergen) enjoy state subsidies.

Most of the countries support infirmaries, some of which are open only in the fishing season. The cities support their own hospitals, in which persons suffering from epidemic diseases are treated. In Kristiania is a special hospital, with 200 beds, for treatment of patients suffering from communicable disease. There are also hospitals on charitable foundations, as St. Jergen's Hospital for Lepers in Bergen, Oslo Lunatic Asylum, Our Lady's Hospital, the Deacons' and Deaconesses' Houses in Kristiania.

There are several sanitoria for convalescents and neurasthenics, bathing rooms and medical spring baths are made accessible to the indigent sick in some instances.

Nurses, men and women, are trained at the Deacons' and Deaconesses' Houses in Kristiania, and by several associations, as the Red Cross and the Norwegian Women's Hygienic Union.

Under the Department of Justice in Norway is a civil medical board with a director. In districts and towns medical officers are appointed to attend the sick poor and dependent insane. Boards of health are charged with the duty of safeguarding public health by enforcing sanitary regulations, quarantine, etc.

J. Defectives.—The cost of maintenance of pauper lunatics in Norway is borne partially or wholly by the state exchequer.

There are three state hospitals for the insane with capacity for 820 patients. Another is projected for the northern part of the country, and the Trondhjem prison has an asylum for 30 insane convicts. Occasionally insane persons are found in the county infirmaries, and in Kristiania, Kristiansand, Bergen and Trondhjem there are municipal establishments for lunatics. There are two private institutions for the insane.

In Norway deaf, blind and imbecile children are educated, under the provisions of the law of 1881 and under the direction of the Ecclesiastical and Educational Department. The law makes such attendance obligatory. Elementary institutions and practical training for industry are furnished by these schools. The course is ordinarily 8 years. Deaf children are received at

7, blind children at 9, and imbeciles at 14 or 15 years of age. The first school for the deaf was opened at Drontheim in 1824. Instruction is at cost of the state, but expenses of support are borne by the municipalities. The government has five schools for deaf children and the lip reading method is used. There are three state institutions for feeble-minded children. In 1898-99 there were 420 pupils, with 67 masters and governesses. The state has two schools for the blind and maintains an institution under private care for blind adults. In 1898-99 there were 130 blind pupils and 20 teachers. An industrial school at Kristiania in 1898 had 44 pupils. There are several societies to aid adult deaf mutes. The number of the deaf in Norway, January 1, 1891, was 2,139. June 1, 1900, there were 309 pupils in all schools.

Sweden.—By a law of May 31, 1899, the school attendance of deaf children for 8 years from the 7th to 9th year was made obligatory. There are 8 institutions, for the most part boarding schools, with 100 to 170 pupils; also 2 private schools and 3 institutions for persons beyond the school age. In 1898 there were 860 pupils of school age and 78 over this age in institutions for the deaf.

There is a school and home for the blind and deaf, with 6 pupils, and also 8 feeble-minded, hearing blind children are cared for.[1]

K. Children.—In Sweden public relief is extended to dependent children under the 15th year. In Norway orphans and friendless children are also wards of public charity.

In Sweden it is expressly provided by law that dependent children shall enjoy Christian education.

In Norway, under the boarding system of relief dependent children are under the protection of special regulations. Small children may not be quartered on families but may be placed in families who volunteer to care for them. Older children are kept for several years in the same home, in order that they may enjoy the advantage of continuous educational influences.

In Norway destitute and neglected children in danger of growing up criminals, are now protected and cared for under a law passed in 1896,[2] in such a way that no child under 14 years

[1] Zeitschrift f. d. Armenwesen, 1903, p. 169.

[2] Schriften d. Deutschen Vereins f. A. u. W. Heft 64, p. 6.

of age shall be considered responsible for crime, but shall be placed under careful educational influences. In each municipality a Board of Guardians, on which a pastor, a magistrate, a physician, and one or two women are appointed, decides what shall be done with morally imperilled children. This board may remove a child from the parents, place it in a home or school, or safeguard it in its parental home, as they think most beneficial to the child. The schools are carefully graded to prevent the mingling of the better children with those already depraved. This work for children is under the direction of the Ecclesiastical and Educational Department, and the cost is divided between the central and local governments.

Technical schools of all grades are supplied in Norway with the purposes of fitting the young people to make their own way in life. In 1897-8 there were 13 technical night schools, with 2,443 pupils and 239 teachers. The school fees are 2 to 5 kr. a year. In some towns public drawing schools are maintained by the local government with the aid of a state subsidy.

Employment bureaus are provided in the larger municipalities, where there are the greatest movements of working men.

M. Workingmen's Dwellings.—In Norway the industries are largely in the country (54 per cent. of the factories and 48 per cent. of the labor counted in days).

In Kristiania land is dear. Private companies have done something to meet the need for houses. The city itself has built a few blocks of artisan dwellings, provided sanitary inspection and regulated the condition of cellars. The government has created funds to be lent for the purchase of houses.

Norway (Protection and Insurance of Workingmen).—The agitation for state regulation and help began about 1878. Factory inspection and protection of laborers in mines, handicrafts and manufactories have been provided. The work of children is restricted, education insured, and conditions of health required. Children under 14 years of age may not be employed in factories; youths (14 to 18 years) may not be employed over 10 hours a day. Women may not be employed in mines, nor at work with machinery, nor during six weeks after confinement. Adult men may not labor after 6 P. M., before Sunday or a holiday, nor until 10 P. M. on Sunday or a holiday.

Norway (Accident Insurance).—By the law of July 23, 1894, working people, domestics, miners, quarrymen, wharf laborers, etc., are assured an indemnity in case of accident. Other persons are permitted to insure themselves in the state office. Laborers in agriculture, shipping and fishing were not included in this law. About 80,000 persons in about 10,000 occupations were included. The indemnity is: Expenses of medical treatment from the fourth week after the accident. For the first four weeks the sick benefit clubs are supposed to bear the expenses. Sixty per cent. of the wages of the injured person is paid in case of complete disablement, and a lower rate in case of partial incapacity to labor. If accident results in death the funeral expenses (50 kr.) and an annuity to the bereaved family (not more than 50 per cent. of the wage rate) are paid. If the man is to blame for the accident there is no indemnity. The premiums are paid by employers, according to wages up to 1,200 kr. per year. The premium may not be charged to employe. A law for insurance against disablement by sickness has also been under consideration for several years.

There are private sick clubs, burial clubs and pension funds in Norway; but, like all voluntary arrangements, they meet the wants of only a part of the working people, and least of all, those who are in greatest need of such protection.

CHAPTER VII

DENMARK

BY PROFESSOR J. M. GILLETTE, PH. D.

A. Legislation.—The fundamental law of 1849 enacts that "whoever is unable to support himself or those dependent on him has a right to assistance from the community, if his support is not incumbent on others; but he is subject to the liabilities which the law in this respect imposes."

This recognition of the right of the indigent to aid was held in view both in law and practice long before this. The scope was enlarged in 1708 so as to include the able-bodied indigent as well as children, the sick and decrepit. In the early part of the sixteenth century poor-relief organization was attempted and laws enacted therefor, but it remained practically undeveloped. A specific poor rate was first levied on landowners in 1762. An ordinance of 1792 declared for poor aid through organized charity. A commission worked out the plan embodied in the poor laws of 1799, which served as the basis of poor-relief in Copenhagen up to 1891 and which is even now dominant. In the same manner the fundamental law of 1803 for the provincial cities and rural regions prevailed until the same date and was not fundamentally changed. The chief changes in the codes of 1799 and 1803 took place in 1849, when the period of settlement was extended from three to five years; in 1857 for Copenhagen; and in 1867-8 for the other cities and country when the system of administration was municipalized throughout the kingdom; in 1873 when relief officers in Copenhagen were placed on a salary instead of voluntary basis; and in 1891 when old age relief provisions were made. The principle of state aid to indigent able-bodied persons involved the imposition of such severe conditions that only those who were driven or forced to be idle would apply, and hence the transition

of assistance through private charity organizations to public relief chiefly in workhouses.

Although poor-relief in Denmark divides itself into three parts, Copenhagen distinct from the rest, the so-called "provincial cities" or "cities," and the country, and although administratively they are different each from the other, yet the same general laws prevail in all. By remembering that the cities are divided into districts and the country into communes, each of which constitutes a poor district, confusion will be avoided.

Qualifications of Right to Aid.—Certain conditions modify the right to assistance. Parents must maintain legitimate or stepchildren up to the 18th year. This period may be extended for the feeble-minded. Separated parents who are financially able must maintain the children. This applies to adopted children and to mothers of illegitimate children. A man must contribute to the support of his illegitimate children. Parents of disordered minds are sustained by their children. Wife and husband are responsible for each other's support. In default of any on whom his support is incumbent the pauper's right to relief is not impaired.

Liabilities Consequent on Aid.—The pauper must remain in the district relieving him; be subject to superintendence, to needed discipline and punishment, *e. g.*, placing in workhouse with hard labor and confinement, or even to imprisonment in jail; prohibition to marry and removal of his children from his house or control.[1] Loss of general electoral rights, *e. g.*, to vote for members of the Folkthing ensues upon application for and acceptance of public aid. To prevent pawning of property, one receiving continuous support is registered by the relief officers. The state has certain rights of inheritance against the heirs of a pauper, especially if he receives hospital relief. In some instances the state may claim repayment of aid given. In Copenhagen a restored pauper is primarily liable for such assistance given. In the cities and country such liability ensues only upon his death. The last four consequences ensue to anyone who fails in his duties of maintenance of those dependent on him.

Settlement.—The working principle in Denmark is that tem-

[1] This does not affect those who repay the aid granted nor those aided from the "poor fund" who are not yet on the public poor list.

porary relief is to be given by the district in which the pauper applies, permanent relief by that in which he has settlement. Settlement is established by five years' free, continuous residence. Continuity is interpreted to be retention of domicile or service in a district. Married men contributing to the support of their family, though separate from the latter, retain residence and settlement thereby. Voluntary residence does not apply to the movements of minors, idiots, soldiers, prisoners, and others detained by force. In default of five years' residence, relief is obligatory on the indigent's birthplace. In case neither residence nor birthplace can be established, the place of longest residence during the last five years is bound to give relief, provided the residence was over one year; under that, local relief is granted. Up to the 18th year children's residence goes with the parents' home district, and illegitimate children have the residence of the mother. If the parents have no home commune, relief of the child depends on the commune granting aid to parents. The domicile of wives (not divorced) is that of the husband, and this holds good for widows.

Temporary Relief.—Indigents are entitled to local relief and also to[1] sick benefits for not over six weeks, if they have a residence in the place for three months. Such aid does not include lodging and rent. Three-fourths indemnification from the pauper's residence commune may be obtained. However, this repayment does not generally include expense of medical attention, midwife and burial. Either district concerned may insist on the transfer of a dependent.

It is illegal to expel any one from a commune, on the supposition that he may become a public burden or to prevent his settlement on the same grounds, if he supports himself.

Law of Outdoor and Indoor Relief.—The law of 1891 provides for assistance in homes, private families and public institutions. Begging and giving to the poor of institutions are prohibited. Poor-relief, therefore, provides necessary maintenance—in sickness medical attention and care—and directs the mode of application for each person. Those not adapted to aid in the home are to be removed to the appropriate public institution. On advice

[1] The law of 1891 qualified this, as also for domestic servants.

of the physician a sick pauper is removed to a hospital or the infirmary of a charity institution.

B. Administration and Organization.—The administrative machinery of Denmark is three-fold: that for the country, that for the cities and that for Copenhagen. In 1867 the principle of self-government was applied to local affairs in Denmark and the country was divided into communes, each of which composed a parish or parishes and possessed an elective council of four or five members. This council has complete fiscal and administrative authority and has in charge all matters of poor-relief. In addition to this there is a kind of supervision of the prefectorial commune (or county), chiefly in regard to secondary financial matters. In rare cases appeals may go to the Minister of the Interior. For purposes of relief the parish constitutes the unit or district. Poor-relief may be administered by a member of the parochial council. Usually the chairman, who is also communal treasurer, administers it. He receives applicants, makes investigations, decides the kind and amount of relief and arranges for procuring the relief. The council meets at least once in two months and to this the chairman or deputed poor-relief officer makes a formal report. Poor-relief budgets originate here.

In 1868 the municipal affairs of Denmark were reformed. Town councils became elective. On them devolved matters of poor-relief and conduct of charitable institutions. Administration is by standing committees or by other chosen means. Unpaid overseers may be delegated to look after the needy. The conduct of relief work pertains properly to that municipal officer who is chairman of the section of the council having poor-relief business in charge. He may personally administer relief as the chairman of the parochial council cited above, or by unpaid overseers, who are appointed by the council for a definite time and are expected to make those investigations before assigning relief.

In respect to Copenhagen the administration of outdoor relief is divided into three circuits, the east, west and north. Each circuit consists of four districts. All poor matters are under the control of the third section of municipal administration, specifically under the second secretary. Here is lodged final authority for aid and decisions in cases of reference. Each cir-

cuit has an inspector. Besides having immediate direction of all matters touching the aged poor, the inspectors form a mediating agency between the section and the district. The inspector does not receive applicants for aid. He reports to the section all matters which must go before it, or later be referred to it, and also advises the district heads. For the latter purpose he meets them in a weekly conference in which circuit events are discussed. Out of these conferences come a uniform principle of relief and greater coöperative efficiency. At the head of the district stands the district overseer. He is the one who enters into close contact with the poor. All relief requests go to him and he conducts all investigations into the concrete individual needs and informs the section about the kind of assistance demanded. He himself may grant aid in kind of small value and in cash until further investigation. If needed, unpaid assistants are provided for the district overseer. Each poor district is divided into medical districts, in each of which resides a district physician, who is obliged to give aid to those sent to him by the district overseer. Consultation hours are daily from 9 to 11 and there are visits to the sick. In many districts nurses are salaried for care of the sick in their homes. Those opposed to such treatment are sent by the overseer to a parish society which undertakes the care of the sick. The bureau of the overseer is located near the center of the district. Its four parts are waiting room, physician's office and offices of the chief and assistant. It is open each day from 9 to 1, on Sundays and holidays from 8 to 9 A. M. After office hours the district chief makes his visits, investigations, etc., in the district. So far as he is able he adjusts the course of domestic and private relations of the poor and controls the life of the pauper.

Relief in Homes.—Copenhagen is a good example of poor-relief administered in the homes of the indigent. For this reason it is well to give the methods employed there in considerable detail, as outlined by A. Krieger, Denmark's representative at the International Congress of Public Relief and Private Charity, Paris.

Instructions to the district chief of the city require of them three principal tasks: (1) To decide if the applicant for aid is truly indigent; (2) as to how the indigence was caused, and (3)

in what manner it may best be remedied. There is large scope for individualization in the work of investigation of cases. In order to secure a full knowledge of the applicant, in addition to an audience with him, it is usual to address letters of inquiry to his employer or last employer as to kind of work, duration, rate of pay, cause of discharge, etc., all the information the employer is able to give. Often a personal visit to the employer follows a reply to the letter of inquiry for fuller knowledge. This with gleanings from neighbors, owner of his house, etc., enables the chief to make a fair estimate of the economic condition of an applicant, his moral worth and his ability to earn his own support. The principle is followed that relief should be given, not as a preventive of physical indigence, but as a betterment of economic conditions to make life less onerous and more dignified. Such results are left to private beneficence and the individual initiative of the poor. Thus relief is relief in and for itself. The bare necessaries of life are included. It is no easy task to estimate these. On one side is the minimum of the means of existence necessary to life and health; on the other is the income of the applicant. The difference between these is the basis of the amount of aid. In order to aid the overseers in deciding amounts of aid they are provided with a normal tariff containing a rate for one person without family and for each member of a family, estimated in cash. For single persons this is 12½ cents per day. For families, the head received 62½ cents per week; the wife, 50 cents; children 10 to 18, 50 cents; children 5 to 10, 37½ cents; children less than 5, 25 cents per week. To this is added the rent paid and 25 cents per week for fuel in winter. This fixes the minimum. The overseers are not bound to it rigidly.

There are two groups of public relief, aid in sickness and subsistence. Relief for maintenance is in kind and in money. The former is regarded as more efficient and less liable to abuse. In a large district it is impracticable to give relief in kind to all. Those having the right of domicile outside of Copenhagen are commonly so assisted. Aid in kind is given as bread, food, coal, clothing, bedding and tools. Normal tariffs for the first three items afford a basis for decisions. Clothing is provided mostly for children in school or on taking their first communion, etc., and

to adults only when absolutely necessary. Bedding is given in homes with the understanding that it must not be disposed of. It remains with the poor so long as they are under poor-relief and it may be presented them at the end. Tools are not regarded as public relief but may be given if it seems they will assist to final independence. A public relief depot is maintained by the section containing the last three items. Money aid is distinguished as temporary, fixed, and that for children. Temporary aid is intended for emergency cases, such as for rental when the renter will otherwise be turned out, and for lodging when a month's advance will procure it for those without. In amount temporary aid is fixed by scale according to the number of persons in a family and by the current rental rates of the district. For a single person it is $1.75 per month; for a family of two, $2.00; for three, $2.25; for four, $2.50; for five, six, $2.75; for seven, eight, $3.00; for nine or more, $3.25. Children under 18 are counted in the family when they live at home. The scale may be exceeded in certain cases of sickness, where a part of the apartment is used for shop or counter, where rent has uniformly risen, etc. Aid is never given to pay debts. It is never paid to the pauper, but always to the proprietor and upon his signature. So as not to discourage payment of rent aid is given to the same person only a few months at a time, generally in winter. Constant rent may be granted to the honest, diligent, and in exceptional cases. Only temporary aid is granted those domiciled outside the city. Permanent relief is limited to residents of Copenhagen or those who should be supported in the city. It is accorded for one or two years at a time, but may run longer, and even be made for life, if it is evident that the person will always need aid. It is given to families no longer than the first communion of one of their children. It may cease on betterment of conditions. As in preceding cases a normal rate is furnished for adjusting this relief. For this purpose the first class receives four couronnes ($14.00) per month, and includes married or unmarried women and widows with two to three children, and families (man and wife) with four children. The second class receives 6 couronnes ($21.00) per month and includes women and widows with four or more children, and families (man and wife) with four or more children. Fixed relief to single persons in

regard to age grants $10.50 per month to those 60 to 64 years of age; $14.00 to those 65 to 69; $17.50 to those over 70. Without regard to age upon certificate of the physician and advice of district overseer persons who cannot earn a livelihood but do not require special care are granted up to $24.50 per month. Imbeciles, blind, epileptics, paralytics, apoplectics and similar persons may receive $35.00 per month. Childless couples receive the same aid as single persons. Bread may be added to the aid of those receiving under $21.00 per month, or the equivalent in cash. Supplemental aid in kind, clothing, literature, etc., may be added. Supplemental aid to the feeble, to the aged poor without family, or to those couples who are not able to work and are without homes with children, or others who have a right to be placed in a general hospital, may be granted, making the total fixed relief as much as $35.00 to $42.00 per month for single persons and $60.00 to $70.00 per month for couples. Defectives under exceptional cases may receive further aid.

All who receive public aid are under the control and surveillance of the district chief, who aids and advises kindly and firmly for better domestic, economic and moral conditions.

Extent.—The extent of public relief can be given in terms of numbers. Since reports indicate that the poor are well cared for the numbers will also indicate approximately the extent of need. In 1890 those given fixed relief in their homes were 5,904; temporary relief in homes, 1,697 for Copenhagen alone. In 1898 the total number relieved in Copenhagen by public aid was 5,548, of which 3,078 were for fixed relief, 1,877 for temporary and 592 sick in homes. The total number aided in Copenhagen has decreased in proportion to the population since 1890, although the actual decrease is partly accounted for by the assignment of relief of aged to another agency. No data occur for relief in homes outside Copenhagen. It must necessarily be a small part of relief work, however, since the total city population outside of Denmark is much less than that of Copenhagen alone and rural relief is mostly of the indoor sort.

C. Private Charity.—It is difficult to speak of private charitable organizations since compulsory state aid has rendered them largely functionless.[1] Still there are numerous charitable estab-

[1] In 1870 Strochy notes that only one or two charity organizations existed

lishments founded by private citizens or supported by voluntary contributions; infant asylums, public refectories for the poor, hospitals for the aged and infirm, pious foundations of all kinds for persons in need of them, family foundations and canonicates for noble ladies. Among workingmen's associations are numerous societies for mutual aid, sickness and burial funds, aid and relief funds, etc. To numerically measure this branch of relief work in Denmark is impossible, since no system of reporting such data is organized. In Copenhagen in 1900 there were 56 charitable institutions with 1,771 free inmates and about 1,200 low pay inmates; a few legacy-supported institutions with income exceeding 1,000,000 kroner ($250,000); and a multitude of benefit societies expending about the same amount.[1]

E. Co-operation and Co-ordination of Public and Private Aids.—The great extension of public aid diminishes the need of private organized charity. Coöperation and coördination of public and private aid, therefore, occurs chiefly between public service and mere individual societies and establishments. When indigents first apply to the district chief in Copenhagen for aid, he seeks to find means of lessening public aid. Ordinarily he first sends to the benefit societies which are located near, especially to the "Aid Society of Copenhagen." Public aid frequently assists the societies and furnishes them the facts necessary to enable them to determine the condition of the poor. Individuals without work are sent to the Salvation Army Bureau of Employment and to the Asylum of Employment of Copenhagen. Particularly in assistance of sick cases, the applicants without means of help are sent gratuitously to Frederick Hospital, Copenhagen, upon certificate of the district physician and overseer.

F. Indoor Relief.—Indoor relief in Denmark is granted in poorhouses, almshouses and workhouses and elsewhere. Aged

outside of Copenhagen. In the suburb Fredericksberg, there was one which divided that city into 10 districts, investigated and relieved cases and carried on its work by private subscriptions. In Copenhagen at that time nine private societies operated, by districts, granting small loans, cash, bread, soup and other food, tickets, clothing, etc., besides furnishing medical help. Their joint incomes was about $25,000.

[1] The Revue Philanthropique, tome XIV, pp. 161 and 325, gives a list and description of the benevolent societies and trusts of Denmark.

and infirm persons would properly be sent to the poorhouse, able-bodied single poor to the workhouse, bad characters to the correctional workhouse. The law of 1683 prescribed a poorhouse for each parish. The latest obtainable figures (1879) gave the county communes 1,631 of such establishments with ca. 10,400 inmates. Strochy, who investigated charity work in Denmark in 1870, reported that these establishments were generally defective in arrangement. Workhouses or workyards exist in all communes and there are many larger joint establishments built by two or more communes. Of this latter sort there were 270 in 1879, chiefly of recent establishment with room for 10,400 inmates, but containing only about 5,000 to 6,000 transients. Correctional workhouses are county establishments, but not all counties have them. Paupers guilty of misdemeanors are sent thither, except men with families. The families of the latter would then come on the public for aid. The labor is according to a code. Parishes not having sufficient workhouse room may gain permit to use the county house. Oakum picking, weaving, mat and broom making indoors, and stone breaking, etc., out of doors are carried on. Paupers follow their trades if possible. In Copenhagen exists the great Workhouse of Ladegood. As far back as 1870 it contained in the correctional department over 4,000 persons, more than three-fourths of whom were males. The department for the homeless had 133 persons. Families may live together there two weeks; then they are separated. Profits from the industrial work amounted to over $25,000. In 1890 in Copenhagen statistics of public relief give the number as aided in all institutions of the city at 1,809 permanently assisted and 1,221 who received temporary aid. Besides the correctional institution above cited there are three ordinary workhouses which contained 382 persons at the end of 1870.

G. Vagrants, Etc.—The general law makes beggars liable to imprisonment for 15 days with bread and water. Vagrants are punishable by 30 days' imprisonment with the same fare. Children under 15 cannot be legally punished, but conniving parents may be. Vagrants with no means of livelihood may be sent to their residence parish. Copenhagen enforces these rules very strictly, but much tolerance of local beggars exists in smaller places. Foreigners in Denmark conform to the five years rule

for settlement. Without settlement they receive local relief. Paupers from other lands are chargeable to their country's consuls for local support given through the legitimate channels.

H. Medical Relief.—Medical aid and that of the midwife are not considered poor law relief. It is first sought then (in Copenhagen) to procure such relief through establishments of private charity. When aid to the sick is granted it is given both in homes and hospitals. In homes it consists in medicine, nourishment and other dietetical remedies, broths, objects necessary for the sick, such as bandages, glasses, crutches, etc., further supplementary food, if the physician deems it necessary to reach the cause of the disease, and attendance of the sick given by a nurse engaged by the public relief for such purpose. The communal physician has charge of sick relief along with the district chief. Certain pharmacists coöperate by arrangement. The physician may prescribe wine and white bread. Baths are provided in St. John's Hospital. The monthly card system is used for the temporary sick, presented by the patient and renewed at the end of each month. Chronic cases may extend one year. The cards contain exact information as to name and residence. On each visit to the doctor the card is presented. It is usually received by the applicant after right of domicile is established. The card is good for but three days in case of urgency aid granted by the chief or doctor. The sick domiciled in Copenhagen receive black and others red cards. All ordinances and rules touching the sick are printed on paper of corresponding colors. The doctor receives the card upon visits to patients in their homes and turns it in when the case is disposed of in any way. Upon the doctor's prescription as urgent the district chief accords aid at once. Otherwise it is given by the section.

J. Defectives.—Various institutions for the education of defectives exist. They are either national or subsidized and under the control of the minister of instruction. For the blind a school exists at Copenhagen large enough for the whole nation. It is coëducational and contains about 100 children from 8 to 18, who are boarded and lodged. Roman and Braille letters, common branches, physical sciences, geometry, drawing, singing, instrumental music and manual training are taught. Gymnastics and natation are emphasized. Instruction is furnished in skilled

handwork suitable to the sexes. Congenital deaf-mutes are sent to the Royal Institute at Frederica. Others who are familiar with methods of speech are taught at State or communal expense in the Keller institution, Copenhagen. Those capable of instruction by the sign method go to a third institution. The school at Frederica is thoroughly modern. The method of articulation is used. All students eventually become day students, living in city families for experience and social contact. The common branches, gymnastics and manual training are chiefly taught. It is coëducational. The other schools resemble it in program and method. The Keller institution, formerly philanthropically founded by Keller, now subsidized by the government and furnished scholarships, receives the feeble-minded. In 1887, the Keller institutions (asylum, hospitals and educational) received 170 deaf-mutes and 459 feeble-minded. Two hundred and thirty-one of them are being educated or tested,—154 boarders, 77 day pupils. The preparatory school tests them. If not educatable they are sent among the incurables. If educatable they go to the practice school and later, if capable of higher useful education, to that of theory. The basic principle is to teach only what is within the capacity of the pupil. Save for gymnastics, manual training, etc., the theory school is about equivalent to the American 8th grade. The Keller school is coëducational. It has the full confidence of citizens of Denmark. Two-thirds of the children sent there are reclaimed to a useful life.

As the department of instruction does not extend its aid to children under 7, institutions have been provided by the society for the establishment of asylums. There are a number of such asylums for children, several of which are at Odense. The latter at any rate are supervised by municipal authorities. Each building is provided with suitably equipped school rooms, play rooms, courtyards for recreation and kitchen. Singing, skilled handiwork such as knitting, folding cloth, weaving, reading and writing for the larger children, singing Psalms, and object lessons constitute the instruction given by lady members of the society. A directress presides over individual asylums.

K. Children.—In Copenhagen the district chief is charged by the law with the supervision of children. He is to take care that they are not neglected, treated badly, nor habituated to

mendicancy. In such cases, after remonstrance with parents, he shall report to the section that it may take necessary measures. Children may be placed out with foster-parents, in the house of reception of the St. John institution, or aided in homes. In these cases where aid is given normal schedules are provided. Great care is preserved in selecting the foster-parents. In case of temporary separation of parents from children in the home a woman may be engaged to care for them there. Permanent aid is given when their parents are dead, have left the country, or are unbalanced physically or morally. Ordinarily children are placed in the country with particular persons instead of in the care of asylum wards. This is accomplished through the benevolent assistance of pastors, teachers, physicians, etc., who become responsible for the control of the children. Beyond this the third section conducts regular inspections. Those charging themselves with the control of children numbered 461 in 1898. These also tried to locate young persons in service or apprenticeship outside the city. In 1898 the number of dependent children charged to Copenhagen were 38, to the country 655. All poor children have the privilege of attending free schools in city and country. These schools are reported to be especially good in Copenhagen. In 1895 about 24,000 attended them as against 11,300 in commune pay schools. In institutions where there are children as well as worthy aged and infirm, the incompatible, lazy, intemperate and other disorderly indigent are excluded

There is one richly endowed institution for helpless and deserted girls. It was founded in 1874 by the Countess Danne. The poorer classes are especially eligible. About 400 children attend. They are admitted from 2 to 4 years of age, receive board and education and are trained especially for domestic service.

M. Preventive Work.—Preventive work in Denmark is indirect and direct. The indirect comes in the fostering of such educational agencies as awaken enterprise, independence and moral will. Ordinary schools are provided and the law enforces attendance from 7 to 14. Religious instruction is an important element in the schools. The state gives direct aid to indigent pupils; also to teachers for aid and improvement. It subsidizes peasants' and people's high schools. These, founded by Bishop

Grundtvig, have of late developed remarkably. Into these are gathered mature men from all ranks in winter and women in summer. Tuition and living is made cheap and frequently aid given. The teaching is oral, and its matter is mostly historic and whatever will enliven and awaken. Patriotic songs are sung. Love of country is fostered. The best minds from these schools saved the country from industrial stagnation and poverty twice since 1870 by making the needed adjustments. At the end of the eighteenth century Denmark was one of the poorest countries of Europe. It is now one of the richest and the intellectual leader of the Scandinavian countries. It is essentially an agricultural nation. Leading agriculturists explain the high organizing and coöperative ability of farmers as due to two causes: (1) the education of the peasantry as already explained, and, (2) the forced distribution of land among small farmers, since the law prevents consolidation of farms and encourages division. In addition to the schools mentioned manual and industrial schools are liberally provided. Direct prevention is chiefly embodied in relief of the aged poor, workingmen's insurance, state railway pensions and teachers' pensions.

The Aged Poor-Relief Law was passed in 1891. By it aid to the aged poor is not considered poor-relief. The recipient must be free from certain criminal convictions, from debt or involving others in it, must be 60 years old and have lived in Denmark during the past 10 years, and not have received poor-relief. Aid consists of necessaries in health and illness and may be given in kind, cash or in institutions (not in poorhouses), ceases on criminality or marriage, and the amount is decided by the residence commune with right to appeal. The residence community is obligated for the amount of relief to three-fourths compensation from the commune in which the indigent is entitled to relief. The state levies a fund for the purpose from which the commune may receive one-half of its expenditure for the aged. In case of shortage each commune shares the rate.

This law has been variously estimated. Geoffrey Drage, in the Fortnightly Review (London, October, 1899), writes that his information, gained from "the best known statistician of Denmark," supports the view that it is bad in results, because guardians never withdraw the support when once given, since the state

pays one-half of this while the commune would pay the whole of poor-relief; that employes' benefit funds are broken up, friendly societies plunged into difficulties, and money in savings banks is withdrawn because of certain aid in old age. Further the poor refuse to make provision for old age, children who are able refuse to support their parents and ties between them as between employer and employe are strained. On the other hand, C. H. D'E. Leppington (Charity Organization Review, May, 1897) holds that it is generally upheld by poor law administrators. It succeeds in reducing pauperism since receipt of poor-relief disqualifies for old age pension. Schooling, writing in 1901, pronounces it a success. The self-help principle is chiefly applied in Denmark. A large number of institutions have been established. One thousand sick benefit associations existed in 1885 with 164,000 members. Up to 1893 the government had done little besides appointing savings bank inspectors, although an investigating committee in 1888 indicated that private associations tended to insure the strong instead of the weak. Suggestions were made for legalizing qualified compulsory insurance. Denmark has the Workmen's Compensation Law, enacted since 1898, in line with the general principles of the laws adopted by the great nations of Europe, such as Germany.

Teachers' Pensions.—Every appointed teacher after ten years of service receives a pension upon disability to work equal to half his salary. After twenty years, equal to two-thirds of it. Teachers' widows receive but one-eighth the amount of the salary, but the government requires some insurance provision to have been made. In secondary schools one-tenth of the salary may be used after two years' service, and the maximum pension of two-thirds the salary at the 70th year of age.

Railway Pensions.—The state owns 75 per cent. of the railways and employs 7,103 persons. Salaries are increased every five years, according to class. After ten years' continuous service those retired on account of age, poor health, etc., may have a pension. Of the three classes, 5 per cent. is deducted in the first, 2½ per cent. in the second, and nothing in the lowest paid class from wages to form a pension fund. The percentage is based on salaries and all perquisites. On accident which causes discharge the employe receives two-thirds, one-half or one-third

part of salary for pension, according to class. He may demand a pension at 70 after ten years' of continuous service. The widow receives one-third of husband's salary, children under 18 eventually not more than one-half of the widow's pension. Orphans eventually receive one-third of the father's wage as pension. A widow receives no pension if her husband was over 60 at marriage or married him on his deathbed, or if divorced before his death. It ceases upon her marriage.

Strikes are unknown. Employes seem satisfied. Applicants for positions are examined. Most conductors are soldiers discharged upon expiration of the required term with good characters.

Workingmen's Building Society.—Such a society was founded in Copenhagen in 1865 with 200 members. In 1895 there were about 17,000 members. Up to 1891, 831 houses had been built at a cost of $1,659,625.11. The total population housed is 7,000. Shares may be subscribed for and paid for in weekly payments. After six months' membership and payment in dues of $5.36 members may draw houses by lot. Purchasers pay 6½ per cent. yearly installments and 4 per cent. interest. Deeds are given at the end of ten years. Annual profits to the society equal 4 per cent. All above a 10 per cent. reserve fund is divided among members of six months' standing. It carries a relief fund from extraordinary receipts and donations for loans to house owners, especially widows. The houses are mostly two-story, five-room, brick.

An association of Denmark, at Copenhagen, seeks to build cheap and healthful dwellings for the poorer classes. In 1891 it housed 2,505. In has 360 one-room, 324 two-room, and 48 three-room tenements. Rent is low. It has no commercial object.

Housing of Aged Poor.—Large cities provide well equipped houses for the aged poor, such as the new one organized under the direction of Herr Jacobi, chief of the poor department, Copenhagen. The small ones are even more attractive, as the one at Fredericksburg, the joint property of three villages. These are provided apart from the paupers. Some communes prefer to have their own houses for the purpose.

The total extent of poor-relief in Denmark may be summarized. In Copenhagen in 1890 the total number receiving public

relief was 10,631 or 3.39 per cent. of the population. There was expended 1,357,000 kroner (ca. $340,000). The total expenditures for the cities outside Copenhagen in the same year was 1,023,000 kroner (ca. $256,000). That for the country was 5,034,000 kroner (ca. $1,257,000). Total for the kingdam, 7,464,000 kroner (ca. $1,866,000). In the same year there were 1,822 in prisons, 3,753 defectives, 39,014 public paupers and 57,999 pensioners in the kingdom. For the last item about $868,000 was expended. The total public and private expenditure in Copenhagen in 1901 was estimated at about one and one-half million dollars. Income for public relief is almost wholly raised as all other public funds. There are some specific poor rate items or form of taxes in Copenhagen.

Experiments, Criticisms, Reforms.—Two chief results which have been worked out as the result of long testing are: (1) salaried system of public poor-relief. All officers are paid except certain district assistants of the overseer. The voluntary or rather unsalaried appointive system proved deficient in that thorough investigations would not be made for various apparent reasons; and not only was there a relative decrease of relief officers to the population but an actual decrease of almost one-half. The government commission of 1867 criticised this severely; (2) old age relief. The consensus of opinion seems to be that this latter is a success. Financially it has worked well. Copenhagen saves about 150,000 kroner yearly, the other cities 100,000 kroner, and in the country there is no gain or loss. Another item the commission of 1867 severely criticised was the lack of systematic coördination and coöperation between public and private relief agencies and among private forces. The results were then considered demoralizing. A central clearing house was proposed with the same field officers. The government did little more than codify existing laws up to 1891. While there is a tacit coöperation of agencies, there is evidently no legal basis for it.

CHAPTER VIII

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Contributions to this chapter:

Causes and conditions of social need, Professor C. J. Bushnell, Ph. D
Extent and conditions of public relief, *Ibid.*
Laws and methods of public relief, *Ibid.*
Charity work of women, Florence Ashcraft, A. B.
Care of Children, *Ibid.*
Salvation Army and Volunteers of America, F. G. Cressey, Ph. D.
The remainder by C. R. Henderson.

Introduction.

Publicity is the first law of social life. The best corrective of social evils is not official coercion nor even private liberality, but first a fair public knowledge of social conditions. Few persons have any adequate idea of the magnitude of the poor-relief problem in such modern countries as the United States. The well-to-do and intelligent too often tend to bury themselves in their own private affairs and to think of the world at large as mainly composed of those similarly favored. The poor and unenlightened are even more limited in their outlook and in their understanding of the burdens of the world.

Causes and Conditions of Social Need.

1. *Wages and Cost of Living.*—Any careful study of wages and of the cost of living among manual laborers in this country, although such conditions compare favorably with similar ones elsewhere, is not wholly reassuring. Professor Mayo-Smith in his work on "Statistics and Economics" shows that in 1890 an income of $520 a year was necessary to sustain the average working class family unless such important articles as beef and milk were dropped from the diet. A comparison of the average percentage of increase of money wages of skilled workmen[1] with the

[1] This is shown by the United States Labor Bulletin of July 1, 1900, and other

cost of living of typical laboring communities[1]—particularly in Chicago—would indicate that real wages of unskilled workmen in the United States in recent years have indeed maintained a very precarious standing. Official reports in recent years show that in many parts of the country incomes of working class families have been very considerably below $520 a year,—being for miners $285[2] and even $232[3], for slaughter-house employes from an average of $347.36 for unskilled labor to an average of $512.47 for skilled labor[4], and for skilled mill hands $350, for unskilled $180.[5] The report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of Ohio for 1898 says: "The average daily wages during one hundred and fifty days' work was $1.27. The average yearly wages amounted to $192, as against $221.56 in 1896." And it should be remembered in this connection that the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics in its report for 1896 showed that the average Massachusetts workingman was unable to support the average workingman's family.[6]

Standard of Living of a Dependent Family in Chicago, 1904.—"According to nationality and other complicating causes the estimates generally ran from 75 cents to $1.25 per week per person in an ordinary family, exclusive of rent, the lower range being for those nationalities which were the most economical in the matter of food." If the earned income is less than $1 a week per person the family must suffer hunger and enfeeblement or receive charitable relief.[7]

reports to have been, between the years 1895 and 1900, for a large number of important industries 6.8 per cent.

[1] As estimated upon the basis of the Seventh Annual Report of the Department of Labor, page 864, and Bulletin No. 55, United States Dept. of Agriculture, Office of Experimental Stations, this increase appears to have been 10.66 per cent. for articles constituting 76.5 per cent. of a laboring family's total expenses between the years 1897 and 1900.

[2] C. B. Spahr, "Outlook," Sept. 29, 1900.

[3] Illinois State Bureau of Labor Report for 1900, with deduction for days unemployed according to the statement of the miners' union.

[4] C. J. Bushnell, American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 7, No. 4, page 458.

[5] The Twelfth Annual Report of North Carolina Dept. of Labor.

[6] See details in Special Report, 12th Census of United States, Employees and Wages, 1903.

[7] Co-operation, March 26, 1904, p. 97. Cf. P. Roberts, Anthracite Coal Com-

2. *Lack of Employment.*—One of the most serious causes of this poverty is the involuntary idleness into which many thousands of honest and capable workmen are annually forced, owing to the present widespread unconsciousness of the conditions of demand and supply and to the frequently unintelligent, hostile organization of industry. In 1885 the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics showed that in that year 26.6 per cent. of all the persons engaged in gainful occupations in the State were unemployed at their principal occupation 4.11 months. According to the United States Census of 1890 the total number of persons who were unemployed at their principal occupations during any portion of the census year was 15.3 per cent., or 3,523,730 of the total number engaged in gainful occupations in 1890. In 1893 and 1894 Bradstreet's Commercial Agency estimated the number of unemployed in thirty-eight leading cities of the United States at 581,950. The New York Labor Bulletins show by quarterly reports that unemployment among the trades unions of that State (and therefore among the more skilled workmen) ranged from 1897 to 1900 usually at not less than 10 per cent., and sometimes at nearly 30 per cent. of the membership of the unions reporting.

3. *Employment of Women and Children in Industry.*—Another serious cause of poverty, at once a sign of progress and an attendant of social evils, is the increasing employment of women and perhaps of children in public occupations, resulting in reduction of the scales of wages in those industries.[1] For every woman clerk employed in the United States in 1870 there were in 1890 170. The United States census report of the employment of women and children seems to be defective,[2] but correcting the figures given, in accordance with Pennsylvania and Massachusetts factory inspectors' reports it would seem that in 1870 13.19 per cent. of all children in the United States ten to sixteen

munities, wages of miners in Pennsylvania. On pp. 264-265 the distress arising from accidents.

[1] Saleswomen in our large department stores earn as a rule less than $5 a week, which they are expected to supplement as best, or as worst, they can. Cf. Miss A. M. MacLean, American Journal of Sociology, 1899, May, page 721 following.

[2] Cf. H. L. Bliss, American Journal of Sociology, 1897, page 366.

years of age were at work. In 1880, 16.82 per cent., and in 1890, 21.62 per cent. ten to seventeen years of age were at work. The Illinois Bureau of Labor Statistics report for 1899 shows that the number of children under sixteen at work increased in one year from 11,845 to 13,646,—a more rapid increase than that of the adults employed. The percentage of women to the total number of employes also increased in one year from 18.2 per cent. to 18.3 per cent.

4. *Sanitary and Social Conditions of Labor in Communities.*— One of the greatest if not the greatest cause of all poverty, crime and dependence is the condition of home and neighborhood surroundings in which we find large numbers of the laboring population, especially in the great cities. The sickening squalor, ill health, and degradation of these slum districts of the cities are often due to the brutal cupidity of landlords who keep their tenements crowded to suffocation by ignorant and infected humanity who pay the most remunerative rent returns for their miserable accommodations.[1] In Baltimore the slums contained in a recent year 18,048 individuals living in 15,195 rooms, an average of 1.19 persons to a room, and of 3.7 rooms to a family. Chicago shows an average of 1.35 persons to a room in similar districts, New York 1.38 persons, Philadelphia 1.47[2] persons. The Eleventh Census of the United States indicates that the number of persons to a room in the slums of the large cities is usually almost double the number for the city as a whole. Chicago had 15.51 persons to a dwelling in the slums, and New York 36.79 persons. Rates of rent for these miserable quarters are, in New York slums, for families occupying five rooms, an average monthly rental of $21.39, four rooms $15.38, three rooms $11.12, two rooms $7.86, one room $5.04 per month. Although the rates are lower in some Western cities they are frightfully severe, requiring, as we have noticed, as high as one-third of the income of the tenants. Nor is the element of expense the worst evil connected with this condition, for as the Tenement Commission says, "It results in keep-

[1] It is not very uncommon in the larger cities for these slum tenements to return an annual rental of from twenty to twenty-five per cent of the total valuation of the property, at the expense of frequently one-third of the tenant's income.

[2] Cf. The National Bureau of Labor Reports on the slums of great cities, and the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Report for 1892 on the tenements of Boston.

ing children up and out of doors until midnight in warm weather because the rooms are almost unendurable; making cleanliness of house and street difficult; filling the air with unwholesome emanations and foul odors of every kind; producing a condition of nervous tension; interfering with separateness and sacredness of home life; leading to promiscuous mixing of all ages and sexes in a single room; thus breaking down the barriers of modesty, and conducive to the corruption of the young and occasionally to revolting crimes." The result is a frightful death rate and an altogether inhuman life.

5. *Relation of Factory Industry to Poverty.*—Why, it may be asked, do people persist in living in such districts? The answer is, chiefly because they have to live near their work in the factories. A careful study of these districts in any of our great cities will show an intimate relation between them and the local factories. Not that the factories are primarily or chiefly to blame for these conditions, but the rapid, unregulated, and intensely competitive development of modern industry has certainly neglected if it has not aggravated the evils of the average workingman's home and neighborhood surroundings. A recent study of the stockyard district of Chicago in comparison with the adjoining wealthy district of Hyde Park shows a striking contrast between the conditions of life in the factory district and those in the well-to-do resident district.[1] Regarding mortality conditions, the study shows that the average death rates for the two districts during the seven years from 1894 to 1900 are for all deaths per thousand of the population in the Hyde Park district 10.65, in the stockyard districts 14.21, and for children under five, per thousand children of the population under six, in the Hyde Park district 25.7 and in the stockyard district 38.7. This situation is typical for conditions in a large number of American cities. The ratio of the population in these two districts is as about one to two; the number of families in economic distress, however, registered in the Bureau of Associated Charities during 1897, was for Hyde Park 98, for the Stockyards 1,726. In 1900 the figures were 106 to 1,433. The figures for the average monthly rent per family in 1900 would be about $25 for Hyde Park, as against $10 for the Stockyards, while the probable average income per

[1] American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 7, No. 3, page 289, ff.

family for the same year would be $2,500 in Hyde Park, as against $500 at the Yards. In the former district 12½ per cent. of primary and grammar grade pupils of the public schools in 1900 were in the first grade, and 8.3 per cent. were in the eighth grade, whereas in the Stockyard district 17.9 per cent. were in the first grade and only 3.6 per cent. in the eighth grade, showing the large proportion in the latter district who leave school through lack of ambition and the necessity of beginning the struggle for a livelihood at an early age. The total number of arrests registered in the police stations in Hyde Park was in 1890, 1,440, and in 1900, 845, while in the Stockyard district the numbers for corresponding years were respectively 6,160 and 5,084. The number of saloons in 1900 in Hyde Park was 20, in the Stockyard district 500, while the proportion of the total population in the churches in 1900 was for the Hyde Park district 23.9 per cent., and for the Stockyard district 14.35 per cent., the Catholics being much stronger in the latter, the Protestants in the former.

The more individual and personal causes of poverty, namely, ignorance, shiftlessness, intemperance, premature marriages, the habits of gambling and borrowing are to be found not alone in any one class of the community, but infect the whole social body, deadening that spirit of devotion to social tasks by which alone men become strong.

Extent and Conditions of Public Relief

Such are some of the facts which indicate the conditions of social need. And how have we struggled to relieve this need? Fairly accurate reports from seven or eight of the chief States of the Union indicate a burden of public need and of public expense for charitable relief and correction which few persons uninformed of the facts realize or dream. The States of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, and California, have been selected, both because they may be considered representative of the public relief of the nation as a whole, and because the charity and correction reports of the great majority of the States, and even of the National Government itself are exceedingly fragmentary and inadequate.

The twenty-fourth annual report of the State Board of Charities of Massachusetts for 1902, together with the report of the Board of Prison Commissioners for the same year,

and of the State Board of Insanity for 1901 show that in that State there were in one year, in all public relief and correctional institutions[1] and under agencies for dealing with vagrants and other public dependents, 112,779 persons, and that there were in 1902 in 365 out of a total of 443 private charitable institutions in the State, 302,951 persons wholly or partly supported by charity (235,180 were relieved and maintained free of charge), making a total of 415,730 dependents, delinquents and defectives in the State for one year.[2] The public expense of maintenance was $5,094,651.86. The private expense for the 365 private institutions reported was $6,611,314.17, making a total expense of maintenance of $12,121,696.03. At 5 per cent. interest this would involve a capital of $242,433,920.60. (The total value of investments reported by the private institutions alone was $22,392,937.95.) The total value of the property involved as reported by the private institutions was $16,161,-965.57, and of property, as estimated, for the public institutions was about $30,000,000, making a total of property in the State involved in the care of the delinquent, dependent, and defective classes of $46,161,965.57. Interest upon this property invested at 5 per cent. would be $2,308,097.27, or a total burden, including expense of maintenance and interest upon property, of $14,429,793.30 annually—an average of $23.51 for every family in the State. These figures may mean more to us when we consider them in connection with the figures of the United States census of 1900 respecting expenses and values of property in other departments of life. Comparing in this way we find that the total expenses of the charitable and correctional work of the State exceeds every year by nearly a million dollars the total current expenses for all the public schools of all the cities of more than 8,000 inhabitants in the State. We find that one-seventh of the population is abnormally dependent upon the support of producers, and that the capital involved is more than one-

[1] Correctional institutions usually contain perhaps 1-6 to 1-4 of all State abnormal dependents.

[2] As some of these may be and doubtless are repeaters applying to and reported from more than one institution more than once, the actual number of different dependents may be considerably less, and is so estimated for other States below.

third that invested in all the manufacturing establishments of this famous manufacturing State, and five times the value of all property used for all the city schools of the State. The aggregate public relief expense for the cities and towns alone for the last twenty years has been $44,140,636.00. The yearly average number of cases of dependence has been 27,314. The *net* aggregate expense to the cities and towns has been in the same period $40,411,248, an average annual cost of $2,020,562. The average annual number of cases of vagrancy for this period was more than 170,000, at an aggregate expense of more than $638,000—nearly $32,000 annually. In the one year ending September 30, 1902, there was a total of more than 25,000 prisoners committed under sentence, and nearly 96,000 arrests—58,000 of which were for drunkenness alone.

From the reports of the Board of Charities of Connecticut for 1901 and 1902 and a special report from the secretary of the board it appears that there were in the State in that year 69,932 dependents, delinquents, and defectives aided or maintained at a public expense of $2,006,537. Judging from the Massachusetts and other reports one may safely place the private dependents at 30,000, making a total for the State of nearly 100,000[1] at a total cost of about $4,000,000, which would be equivalent to a total burden of more than $5,000,000, or nearly $28 per family annually. This means that more capital is involved in the support of these abnormally dependent classes in the State than the total value of all the farm property in the State, at more than twice the annual current expense of the public schools of all the cities of the State, and that at nearly one-ninth the population of the State is thus abnormally dependent.

From a special report and the Annual Report of the State Board of Charities of the State of New York for 1902 it is officially stated that there were in that State during the year 110,000 persons under public relief and correction at a public expense of $16,000,000. The number reported in the private institutions of relief alone was about 10,000, exclusive of tramps and vagrants, which if included with unreported work of churches and similar organizations would probably swell the total to 160,000, at a total annual expense of $25,000,000, involving upon a 5 per cent. basis

[1] Including 22,089 vagrants reported.

a capital of $500,000,000. The value of public and private property reported as invested in these institutions of relief and correction was $100,000,000, making a total capital involved of $600,000,000, and a total annual burden of expense to the State of $30,000,000, or $18 per year for each family. These are large figures, especially when we consider that the current expense for these purposes is more than $4,000,000 greater than that for all the city schools in the State; and that the capital involved is nearly three times the value of all the farm products of the State, and more than one-third of all the capital invested in manufactures in the State.

In Pennsylvania, according to the report of the Board of Public Charities and Commission on Lunacy for the year ending September 30, 1901, there were in the State in that year in receipt of public relief and under correction, exclusive of vagrants, 90,401, at a public cost to the State of $15,398,630.61. This would mean probably a total number in public and private support of at least 110,000 at a total expense of about $26,000,000 and involving a capital of more than $500,000,000, or more than half of the value of all the farming property of the State, one-third of all manufacturing capital, and fifteen times the value of the public property invested in the public schools. The cost per family for the State would be in the neighborhood of $20 a year, or three times that expended for the schools of all the cities.

The twenty-sixth annual report of the Ohio State Board of Charities for the year ending November 15, 1901, gives a total of 169,560 public charges for the year at a public expense of $5,034,886. This would indicate, as estimated in the same manner as for the above State, a total of abnormal dependents in the State of about one-twentieth of the population, and the use of a capital equal to that of the value of all the farm products of the State and to one-third the value of all the capital employed in manufacturing in the State—an annual burden per family of about $12, more than twice that expended for all city public schools.

In the State of Michigan the reports of the Superintendents of Poor for 1901 and of the State institutions for 1902 indicate that approximately 68,000 persons are dependent for public relief and maintenance on the State. For these in 1901 the Board of

Charities approved an expenditure (for 2 years) of $1,698,250.39 (omitting the expense for jails, hospitals, vagrants, and other such items). This would in all probability place the total number of abnormal dependents in the State at near 100,000.

The fifth biennial report of the State Board of Control of Wisconsin for the year ending September 30,1900, seems to indicate a more cheerful condition of affairs for that State. This may, indeed, be due partly to an incomplete development of charitable and correctional organizations in the State, partly to an incompleteness of records and reports, and partly, perhaps, to the smallness of public want and criminality in the State due to efficiency of administration and methods of relief and to favorable conditions of age and economic position in a young State far from the ports where defective immigrants are crowded together. The figures are: 9,285 persons receiving public relief and correction in the State, at an expense for the year of $598,566.24. This would mean probably 14,000 to 15,000 abnormal dependents at an annual expense of over a million dollars, and a burden per family of, perhaps, $3 or $4 annually.

In the State of California the only available source of information was the report of the State Comptroller for 1899 and 1900, which gives the total public expense of the State institutions of charity and correction for the year as $2,667,057.41, which would be equivalent in all probability to a total burden for abnormal dependents in the State of at least $10 per family annually, twice what is contributed to the current expenses of all the public schools of the cities of the State.

The total reported public expenses for the maintenance of the dependent, delinquent, and defective classes (chiefly in State institutions) in these eight States alone as discussed above was thus, for one year $48,135,392.51. For seven of these States (excluding California) the total number of abnormal public dependents was 609,895, or one forty-second of the total population of these States. The population of these States was about one-third of the country as a whole. If the same proportion of public dependents were maintained for the other States of the Union, the total number in the country would be more than 1,800,000, in receipt of public relief. But in all probability the proportion of dependents is not high in other States. Judging from this

showing, however, the total number of public and private abnormal dependents in the United States must be not far from 3,000,000, or one twenty-fifth of the total population of the country, at an annual expense of nearly $200,000,000, or one-tenth of the total wage income of all the manufacturing establishments of the country. These estimates are not given as having final value, but as indications of the gravity of the national problem of cost and burden.

Cost of Crime in the United States.—The cost to the public of all forms of dependency must include that of crime, because pauperism and crime arise from the same social causes and flow into each other as phenomena of a common tendency.

Mr. Warren F. Spalding estimated (1900) the direct cost of crime to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts as $4,795,174 annually.

Mr. Eugene Smith estimates that there are in the United States about 250,000 who make their living, at least in some degree, by the practice of crime. Their annual income, he thinks, is $1,600 each, or an aggregate income of $400,000,000 annually. Taxation caused by crime is set at $200,000,000. These figures do not include the value of property destroyed by criminals, of the money value of time, life, and labor lost and the amount of private expense entailed by these crimes; nor the expenditures caused by the existence of crime, as for locks and bars and bolts, steel safes, safe-deposit vaults, burglar alarms, involving the outlay of many million dollars. Beyond all the material losses are the miseries and moral degradation which go with crime in all its phases.[1]

A. Legal Aspects of Public Relief in the United States.—*History and Principles of Public Poor Relief.*—To say that there is in the United States no characteristic system of public poor-relief would be both true and misleading: true, because there is no single national poor law or general system of poor-relief throughout the whole country; and misleading, because there are certain characteristically American methods and laws on the subject, enacted and enforced in the various States. American poor law is based upon English poor law. Briefly, the general

[1] Proceedings of National Prison Association, 1900. House Document No. 491, 56th Congress, 2d session.

purpose of the public poor law is to provide for the local care of such persons as are unable to support themselves and have not relatives bound to support them. Such public support is placed under the supervision of officers of the community where the recipient resides, with restrictions intended to prevent vagrancy and imposture, and to forbid the removal of the burden of support of any pauper from the locality where he properly belongs to some other not properly responsible for him.

In the United States we find that both poor law and administration exhibit two main types (both transplanted from England) which may be called respectively the Virginia type and the New England type, or the county type and the township type, corresponding to the two general forms of local government respectively established in America by these two localities.

With migrations these two types of government were propagated westward according as the character of the country and the traditions of the people demanded the extended and more autocratic county form adapted to sparsely settled territory, or the more concentrated democratic form of township government. In time, of course, the two types have modified each other, producing, as in Pennsylvania and New York, more composite systems.

Of the development of the township form the city of Boston is an interesting example. Here as early as 1691 poor supervisors were chosen at the town meeting. Their duties were limited and defined by statute in 1793. Each township was made responsible for its own poor, and the supervisors were to see that sustenance and work were provided for deserving and needy persons. As the town grew the number of supervisors of the poor was increased (there being twelve in 1895), all of them serving without pay. At present the system in Boston has been organized under a commissioner of public institutions—a paid officer of the city—supervising institutions for the insane, the poor, delinquents, and children. Whereas at first the poor were cared for in a more or less unsystematic and incidental way, to-day there are organized in the city two reform schools, one truant school, an insane hospital, a children's home, and three poorhouses, all under careful and expert public supervision,—besides numerous private charities. This example illustrates the devlopment of

the important principle of division of labor and expert specialization which is being rapidly introduced into modern poor-relief.

According to the United States Constitution the legislation and the administration of poor-relief in America are controlled wholly by the State legislatures. The only exceptions to this are the District of Columbia, the Territories, and a few institutions, such as those for disabled soldiers and sailors, which are controlled by the national government.

The Law of Responsibility in Public Poor-Relief.—As indicated above, the public is under obligation to relieve and support all indigent residents of the community who are unable to support themselves and who have no relatives upon whom this legal obligation rests. This general principle is elaborated in various ways in the different States. Frequently between the parent and the child, whether minor or adult, the duty of support may be said to be reciprocal,—where either has become indigent.[1] Sometimes the obligation includes grandchildren and grandparents as well.[2] In some states brothers and sisters are made reciprocally responsible.[3]

Such obligations can not be enforced against those living in another state, nor (frequently) in favor of the vicious or the drunken.[4]

The enforcement of the obligations on behalf of an indigent applicant must be attended to by the relieving officer through the agencies of the county or other local courts. The county system is prevalent in all of the States west of the Mississippi save Minnesota, in Pennsylvania, and in all south of Mason and Dixon's line.[5] In the New England and the Middle Atlantic states the town (or township) officials are in general responsible

[1] In N. Y., N. J., Ga., Mich., Wis., N. Dak., S. Dak. (Cf. Millis, American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 3, page 379.) Much valuable material upon poor laws and administration used herewith was derived from Professor Millis' articles in the Journal, reference to which hereafter will be indicated by the abbreviation M. (Some changes in laws have been made since these articles were written.)

[2] Mass., N. H., Ver., Maine, R. I., Conn., Pa., Del., Ala., Miss., Iowa. (M., III, page 374.)

[3] Ill., Minn., Nebr., Mont., Colo., Nev., Wash. (M., III, page 479.)

[4] Ill., Minn., Nebr. (M., III, page 380.)

[5] Although some of these States have a more or less mixed system. (M., III, page 381.)

for the enforcement of the poor law. For the care of certain institutions and general relief agencies the State governments themselves are sometimes directly responsible.[1] Special and usually distinct poor jurisdiction is given by the legislatures to the cities.

Wife Desertion.—The new law which went into effect in Illinois July 1, 1903, may be taken as a typical illustration of the present tendency in the United States to compel men to support their families in case of neglect. The statute of 1891 had contained penal provisions which are retained in the new law, and important new factors have been added. In case a fine is imposed, it can be paid to the wife or minor children, instead of to the State as heretofore. Before the trial (with the consent of the defendant) or after conviction, instead of the imposition of a fine or imprisonment, the court, in its discretion, shall have the power to make an order directing the defendant to pay a certain sum weekly for one year, to the wife, guardian or custodian of the minor child or children, and having so ordered, to release the defendant on probation. When released in this manner the defendant must give his promise, or give bond if the court so requires, that he will faithfully obey the order. If during the year included in this order the defendant violates the agreement, the court may forthwith proceed with the trial under the original indictment, or sentence him under the original conviction, as the case may be. As the real object of this statute is to obtain support and to punish as a last resort only, the defendant is given an opportunity at all stages of the prosecution to stay proceedings by making provision for the support of his family as the court thinks proper.[2]

The Law of Settlement.—The question arises how the responsibility of a community for poor-relief is to be decided in the case of persons who move from one locality to another. All but ten of the States have laws of settlement to determine this question. The only condition found in twenty of the forty-eight common-

[1] Except as in the case of Pa. as above, of Maine and N. H., where the county cares for those having no town settlement, and in N. J. and Del., where the county is responsible for outdoor relief.

[2] W. H. Troyer, attorney for the Bureau of Justice, Chicago, in "Co-operation," March 5, 1904, p. 73.

wealths is that the person shall have resided in the town or in the county for a given time. In the Western States having such a requirement the time is shorter than in the Northern and Eastern States.[1] Several States have, in addition, property or self-maintenance qualifications for a settlement. As a rule a settlement is retained until a new one is gained.

At this point the question of poor-relief is complicated by the problem of immigration and inter-state migration. Modern students and charity officers are agreed that if it be possible an inter-state migration board on the basis of a Federal law to decide points of doubt arising out of conflicts of settlement laws, would be of great value.[2] Several States have provisions that if a person is likely to become dependent it is the duty of the poor authorities to report him to the justice of the peace, and, upon the decision of the court, to remove him to his former locality before he secures a settlement.[3] "The laws directed against the migration of paupers are of three kinds, according as they are directed: (1) against bringing a pauper into the county or town in which he has no settlement, or, (2) against the poor authorities removing him in order to avoid supporting him, or, (3) particularly against inter-state migration. However, they all have the one purpose of checking the tendency of communities to shift the responsibility for the support of their poor." Sixteen of the States have the provision that the non-resident applicant shall be given temporary relief, and notice of his indigence be sent to the authorities of his place of settlement, they upon receipt of the notice to remove the indigent and pay all costs of his temporary relief.[4] Other States give the relieving officer the option of having the non-resident indigent cared for or removed

[1] In the following 12 States the residence required is from one to six months: Nebr., 1 mo.; Mont. and Colo., 2 mos.; Okla., N. Dak., S. Dak., Wyo. and Oregon, 3 mos.; Miss., Kans., Nev. and Washington, 6 mos. (M., III, page 633.)

[2] This is one of the cases growing more and more numerous with the increasing integration and complexity of the country where desirable national legislation on inter-state questions may be at present unconstitutional.

[3] N. J., R. I., Pa., W. Va., Va., Del. and Ind.—the provision is not usually enforced (M., III, page 635.)

[4] Mass., Conn., Ver., Me., N. H., R. I., N. Y., Mich., Ohio, Ill., Wis., Nebr., Iowa, Nev., Colo., S. Car. (M., III, page 640.)

to this settlement.[1] Protested questions of settlement are decided by the court or other local authorities.

Settlement Laws.—A writer of long experience, Mr. F. B. Sanborn,[2] expresses the judgment that strict laws of settlement, such as those of Massachusetts, have an advantage over laxer laws like those in many other States; and the reason he gives deserves consideration: "It may be asked how it is that strict settlement laws, making the support of a pauper in any town depend on circumstances of birth, taxation, marriage, etc., can facilitate relief for good cases, and the denial of aid to impostors? The answer is that they compel careful inquiry and the following up of cases, the registry of evidence, things that of themselves bring the true situation of any poor family thus investigated to the knowledge of the overseer of the poor." Mr. Sanborn also suggests that it is desirable not only to secure fairness and courtesy between the counties and towns of a State, but also between States. In the absence of any Federal umpire between States he recommends referees who will act as expert arbitrators and determine what political division is chargeable with the support of paupers in cases of disputed settlement.

Another class of non-residents, the vagrants or tramps, presents a serious problem in public poor-relief. In this problem we have, perhaps, not so much to do exactly with relief, as with the repression of frauds and the punishment of parasitism. The term tramp is usually defined by the laws as an able-bodied person roaming from place to place and asking or subsisting upon charity.[3] In most States tramping is considered a misdemeanor and as such is punishable.[4] The usual method of punishment provided in the statutes is to commit the convicted tramp to jail, where he is confined on a determinate sentence. With a few exceptions, every State west of the Mississippi having a statute upon the subject employs this method; and it is noticeable

[1] N. J., W. Va., Va., Okla., Ind., N. Dak., S. Dak., Kans., Wash., Mont. (M., III, page 641.)

[2] Charities, April 30, 1904.

[3] The term vagrant is usually made to include petty gamblers and swindlers. Classes excluded from the term tramp are minors, females, and economically incapacitated adult males.

[4] Cities and towns are usually given power to punish tramps, and especially street beggars.

that the length and usually the hardness of the sentence are greater in the Northern and Eastern States and become less severe as we move toward the Southern and Western States. Although a sentence to prison without hard labor is not very deterrent to the tramp, and although the failure to repress vagrancy and imposture seriously cripples poor-relief, yet many of the States regularly require no severe labor of imprisoned tramps, and when the sentence has expired release the misdemeanant without any assurance of future good behavior.

Immigration of Defectives.—Congress has exercised the power of territorial sovereignty in the law of March 3, 1903,[1] restricting immigration. The social principle on which this law rests, as distinguished from the merely juristic principle, is the protection of the vitality and culture of the people from the influence of an infusion of degenerate stock. This legislation aims to exclude idiots and insane, paupers or persons likely to become public charges, persons suffering from a loathsome or dangerous contagious disease, persons convicted of crimes, and polygamists. "Cases involving the exclusion of persons coming from other States have not come before the Supreme Court, but it has been intimated that a State may protect itself from an influx of paupers, criminals, or persons affected with contagious diseases."[2]

Classes of Indigents Who Have Claim for Public Relief.—Persons who have a legal claim to public relief must, in the first place, as stated above under the law of responsibility, have no relatives or friends who are legally obliged to support them. Further, they may be divided into three classes: (1) indigent defectives, (2) neglected and abused children, (3) mentally and physically able adults in extreme indigence.

The first class may be subdivided into the following groups, for which, in most States, public and often State institutions have been provided, namely: (*a*) for deaf mutes, (*b*) for the blind, (*c*) for the insane, (*d*) for the idiotic and feeble-minded, (*e*) for epileptics, (*f*) for inebriates, and (*g*) for consumptives.

The provisions made for deaf mutes and for the blind in the United States are in general similar. The blind as a class can

[1] 32 Stat. at Large, p. 1213.

[2] E. Freund, Police Power, sec. 71, quotes Hannibal, etc., R. R. Co. vs. Husen, 95 U. S., 465.—Cf. Freund, p. 101, sec. 101, p. 259.

usually, with extreme difficulty, become self-supporting. Many are thus necessarily supported at public expense. Almost all of our commonwealths have made provisions for educational institutions for the blind, supplying as a rule maintenance and tuition for all inmates free of charge. In some sixteen States, however, those able to pay their expenses are compelled to do so.[1] In several States efforts have been made to provide means whereby the blind may be enabled to earn their own support after leaving the schools.[2]

Historically the insane have been treated, first, as possessed, then as vagrants, and finally as diseased. In 1744 all the insane of England were considered subject to confinement as a dangerous class of vagrants. All of the commonwealths except Oklahoma have provided one or more hospitals for the care of the acutely insane. Provision for this class, however, is in many States very inadequate, many being still confined in the almshouses or even in jails. Four methods of dealing with the insane are in vogue in the various States: (1) They are arraigned in the county or justice's court, and committed to the hospital without medical examination or the testimony of a medical authority.[3] (2) They are tried in the county or justice's court and committed, an examination and certificate of insanity by one or more physicians being required.[4] (3) They are examined by, and committed upon the certificate of one or more physicians, the function of the court being reduced to registering their findings.[5] (4) They are arraigned and an investigation is made by a regularly constituted commission.[6] Six States have established asylums for the care of chronic insane.[7] In Wisconsin somewhat of an innovation in this matter has been inaugurated by authorizing the counties to establish, with the consent of the State Board of Control, county insane asylums, which are then subsidized by the

[1] N. H., Ver., Md., N. J., Pa., Va., S. Car., Fla., Miss., Ala., Ky., Idaho, Nev. Ariz., N. Mex., Oregon. (M., IV, pp. 52-53.)

[2] Ohio, Cal., Iowa, Md., N. Y. (M., IV, pp. 53-54.)

[3] Colo., La., Md., N. Mex., Texas, Va., Wyo.

[4] Ariz., Ark., Idaho, Mo., Nev., N. J., Ohio, Ore., Cal., Conn., Mass., Mich., Minn., Mont., S. Car., Utah, Wash.

[5] Del., Miss., N. H., Pa., Vt. and the District of Columbia.

[6] Ia., Me., Nebr., N. Dak., S. Dak.

[7] Cal., Ill., Mass., Nebr., N. Y., Pa. (M., IV, pp. 54 and 59.)

State[1] and are subject to central inspection. The idiotic and feeble-minded require special institutions for education and treatment. Twenty-three States now provide facilities for their care,—but as a rule inadequately. But in those States where no provision has been made large numbers of the idiotic and feeble-minded are to be found in the almshouses. Admissions to the public institutions for them are usually limited to children of school age.

Little has yet been done to remove the epileptics from association with the insane and the feeble-minded. Only the three States of Ohio, New York and Massachusetts care for the epileptics in separate institutions. The laws which relate to the commitment and support of the insane apply also to the commitment and support of the epileptic.

Inebriates are now generally looked upon rather as diseased persons than as criminals. A few States have accordingly made public provisions for their treatment, either in special institutions, as in Massachusetts and California, or in hospitals, as in Vermont and Pennsylvania, or in private asylums at public expense if indigent, as in Michigan, Wisconsin, Louisiana, and Minnesota.

As for the treatment of consumptives, Massachusetts has led in providing a special State hospital for their care. The laws relating to the insane apply to inebriates and consumptives as well as to epileptics.

Regarding the second class, neglected and abused children, we find in the history of their treatment an instructive sidelight upon the development of the spirit and methods of charity. At the beginning of the eighteenth century it was considered by public officials a progressive measure to care for neglected children in the almshouses. Before this they had remained utterly destitute. Indeed, societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals existed in America before the organization of public efforts to protect children. It was not until 1871 that dependent children began to receive public care in the United States separately from dependent adults. Before that year dependent minors were cared for with the adults in the almshouses or with their parents by outdoor relief. This system of keeping children in the

[1] N. J., Mo. and Kans. have adopted similar plans. (M., IV, pp. 60-61.)

almshouses was seen to have terrible results, and in the above year Michigan established a State public school, excluding children from the almshouses and providing means for their special maintenance and education. In 1875 New York made a similar enactment, and from that time the policy has been gradually adopted in other States. But this policy of carefully discriminating between different classes of dependents has by no means been carried far enough, and as a consequence many merely destitute and homeless children are committed to the industrial schools and reformatories and even to the jails, along with young criminals, and sometimes even with old and hardened ones. In 1880 almost eight thousand and in 1890 almost five thousand children were still to be found in poorhouses, but many of these were defective in body and mind. It is only a question of time when their removal will be complete.[1] At present eleven States prohibit the retention in the almshouses of those classes of children fit for family care, while others have made such legal provision that their retention, although not prohibited, is unnecessary.[2]

Four distinct public methods of dealing with dependent children are legally authorized in the United States: (1) the institutional method,—the care of children in great orphanages and State schools; (2) the home method,—the care of the children in smaller houses under a domestic system; (3) the boarding and placing system,—family care by special contract; and (4) the Michigan system,—a union of the two latter systems by the reception of the children at a central place and their subsequent transference to family care.

Of the first method, as we have seen, the retention of children in the almshouses is now rapidly falling into disrepute, and they are being referred more and more to special orphanages, public schools, and other forms of public care.

The home method is a modification of the institutional method, and is gaining in public favor,—but historically it is more recent than the boarding and placing system.

In nearly all of the commonwealths the poor authorities are

[1] Münsterberg, Poor Relief in the United States, American Journal of Sociology, Vol. VII, p. 660.

[2] M., American Journal of Sociology, Vol. III, p. 782.

made the special guardians of dependent and neglected children, and are explicitly authorized to secure their adoption or binding out. As a rule the power of these authorities to bind out such children without the consent of the parent or guardian is discretionary.

Twenty-nine of the forty-eight commonwealths (for the most part Southern and Western) have made no further provisions.[1] The discretionary authority to bind out dependent children is often not exercised, and they are cared for in the almshouses supported with the parents in the home, or treated as young vagrants. About nineteen States have thus far provided well organized systems of public child saving, usually employing the placing-out method. A modification of this method, adopted in several of the States, consists in subsidizing private institutions for the care of publicly dependent children. When a child is placed with a family the law usually provides that a written contract shall be signed by the agents of the institution placing the child and the head of the family receiving it, providing for its treatment as a member of the family with respect to schooling and other privileges.

The Michigan method, so called because first employed in Michigan, is now being applied in the six States of Michigan Rhode Island, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Kansas, and Colorado. According to this method a State public school is provided, in which all dependent minors of sound mind and body are to find a temporary home and school, and from which they are to be placed out, their guardianship being vested in the Board of Control of the State institutions.

In dealing with the third class of dependents, namely, able-bodied sane adults in extreme indigence, two public methods are chiefly employed in the United States; outdoor relief and poorhouse relief.

Law of Outdoor and Indoor Relief.—By outdoor relief is meant relief from the public treasury, given and consumed in the home of the indigent family, without further public surveillance. Such relief is almost universally provided for. In twenty-four

[1] Ver., Me., W. Va., Va., Del., S. Car., Ga., Fla., Ala., Tenn., Ky., Miss., La., Texas, Ark., Okla., Ill., N. Dak., S. Dak., Ia., Nebr., Mo., Wyo., Idaho, Utah, Ariz., Nev., Wash., Ore. (M., III, p. 778.)

States the relieving officers are explicitly authorized to give outdoor relief.[1] In several States, mainly in the West, the relieving officers seem to be permitted to give or refuse such relief at their discretion.[2]

The fundamental principle usually embodied in the law of relief in homes is that it shall be temporary or furnish only partial support.[3] Some States limit the amount to be given.[4] Some also provide for such relief in the form of annual allowances.[5] Measures to discourage the importunity for relief on the part of "frauds" are usually provisions for written applications, or better yet, for a "work test".[6] In Wisconsin by an act of 1895 all counties containing cities of the first class (that is of more than 150,000 inhabitants) are compelled to erect and maintain either stoneyards or woodyards, with shelters in connection, to which all persons not incapacitated for labor, applying for relief, shall be sent (except in great emergency) to work for any relief received.

Most of the States of the Union provide for some kind of medical attendance upon the indigent sick, either through hospitals, almshouses, special homes,[7] or public physicians.

The almshouse has been rightly called "the fundamental institution in American poor-relief." In contrast to outdoor relief that of the almshouse is designed to be more or less permanent and complete. Every American commonwealth has made provision for this kind of relief. Admission is gained through a certificate from one of the various relieving officers, or through the superintendent of the institution. It is open to all indigents except those classes definitely and specially excluded by law. As we have seen, in only eleven States are dependent minors excluded from the almshouse, or their detention limited to only a

[1] Conn., N. Y., Va., W. Va., Del., N. J., Pa., Miss., Ga., Ind., Ohio, Ill., Minn., N. Dak., S. Dak., Iowa, Nebr., Kans., Idaho, Tenn., Okla., Mich., Wash., Nev. (M., III, p. 383.)

[2] N. H., Me., N. Car., S. Car., Fla., Ala., Ky., La., Tex., Ark., Mo., Mont., Wyo., Utah, Colo., Ariz., Ore., Cal. (M., *ibid.*)

[3] An exception to this rule is sometimes made in the case of indigent soldiers and sailors and their families.

[4] Pa., Tenn., Okla., N. Y., Mich., Iowa, Minn. (M., III, p. 384.)

[5] Okla., Tenn., Kans., N. Dak., S. Dak., Iowa. (M., III, p. 384.)

[6] Nev., Idaho, Ariz., Ohio, Mass., Wis. (M., III, p. 385.)

[7] *E. g.* Va., W. Va., Pa., S. Car., Minn., Nebr., Ohio. (M., III, p. 386.)

short period. A scant beginning has been made with laws excluding the insane from the almshouse, and many of that class in other States are regularly found in the institution. Not only are few classes excluded from the almshouse, but, except in the case of vagrants in a few States, there is absolutely no provision for the detention of the inmates beyond the time of their voluntary departure nor for their control "further than for the separation of the sexes, and for the employment of the inmates in a few cases."[1]

In former years two other methods of dealing with common indigents were in vogue: (1) farming and binding out, and (2) boarding out. These are obsolete alternative methods for care in the poorhouse.

Burial of the poor is regarded in the same light as legal maintenance.

Upon becoming a public charge a person's civic relations are not greatly altered. Usually one loses no right and frequently indeed one is relieved from working the roads or paying taxes. However, in eight States paupers are explicitly disfranchised.[2]

B. Administrative Aspects of Public Relief in the United States.—*The Organization of Public Poor-Relief.*—As we have already seen, public poor-relief, as at present administered, falls into four general systems, namely, those of the town, of the city, of the county, and of the State.

In the town the fundamental institution is, of course, the almshouse,—although outdoor relief as well as indoor is administered by town officials. Towns also may, and sometimes do, have minor institutions for the care of children and defectives. The choice of the town officials of poor-relief is directly in the hands of the town meeting, consisting legally of all of the local voters.

In cities the superintendent of charities and heads of municipal philanthropies are usually appointed by the mayor. Many

[1] In the following States the inmates are to be employed at suitable labor: Mass., Vt., N. J., W. Va., S. Car., Miss., Ga., Tenn., Ky., Mich., Wis., Iowa, Mo. The need of legislation upon this point has been felt. (M., III, p. 481.)

[2] Mass., N. H., Me., N. J., W. Va., Del., S. Car., Texas. Thus in a few States tax-paying is a requisite for voting. The provision, through the care of the politicians, does not, however, usually disfranchise many paupers.

American cities have as yet no well organized and scientifically administered charity department, although most cities have municipal hospitals and other philanthropic institutions, including sometimes in recent years municipal lodging houses and woodyards. All of these institutions are responsible either to the mayor or to the city council.

In the county system the chief executive power, including responsibility for poor-relief, is vested in a commissioners' court or board, composed usually of two commissioners-at-large and the county judge, all chosen by the voters of the county. In the county the almshouse is also usually the fundamental institution for the relief of the poor. But outdoor relief is also extensively employed.

The State, through its Legislature, is, directly or indirectly, the regulator of all charity administration. There are certain philanthropic institutions, however, directly under the control of State officers. These institutions are, as we have seen, usually asylums for defective classes, including hospitals, institutions for the blind, deaf and dumb, etc. The boards of directors of these institutions are usually appointed by the governor with the advice and consent of the Senate[1] and are unsalaried.[2] Continuous boards have become the rule,[3] the aim being to keep the selection of the boards free from corrupting political influence. Usually the States have a distinct board for each institution. Seven or eight States, however, for the sake of more efficient service and supervision, have centralized all the State institutions for defectives in the hands of a single State board of control.[4] Other States have established central boards with only advisory and supervisory powers.

[1] In Nebraska the boards are elected by the General Assembly.

[2] In Georgia trustees for the asylum for the insane receive $300 per year, in Colorado those for the schools for the blind and deaf and dumb $150 per year, and those for the hospital for the insane $600 a year. The following States pay boards for the time spent in performance of duties at a rate of from $2 to $10 a day: Cal., Ariz., Iowa, Mich., Nebr., N. Dak., Vt., Me., Tex., Wash., Idaho. (M., IV, p. 67.)

[3] Ariz., Conn., Cal., Col., Ill., Ind., Ky., La., Md., Mass., Mich., N. H., N. J., N. Mex., N. Y., N. Car., N. Dak., Ohio, Pa., Tenn., Tex., Utah, Vt., Va., Wash., W. Va.

[4] Kans., R. I., Ark., S. Dak., Wyo., Iowa, Wis. (M., IV, p. 68.)

Titles and Duties of Officials.—In the towns the selectmen are empowered to arrange for the establishment and maintenance of the poorhouse and other local institutions of relief, as well as to administer assistance in the home. The superintendent of the almshouse, usually elected at the town meeting, is, as a rule, given authority to make all minor rules and regulations of the institution in his charge.

It is the duty of the county commissioners to appoint relieving agents, both for institutional and for home relief, and with the county judge to decide cases of residence and other legal relief claims brought before them by the agents.

Boards of directors of relief institutions are commonly given large discretionary powers in the organization and management of their respective institutions, making regular reports to the public and to the governor. The existence of a general State board, with an expert secretary and a uniform system of accounts, tends to economize expenses, and prevent abuses,—especially where partisanship is not allowed to interfere in the choice of the best men.[1] The special office of these boards is to determine methods of supervision for local institutions, to decide questions relating to the residential claims of charity applicants, to investigate and set forth the most recent and most effective principles of poor-relief, and in general to criticise and direct the efforts of the superintendents. In several States the board has the power to inspect private institutions of charity; and in New York new institutions for children may not be erected without their sanction.

The fundamental principle in deciding the kind of relief to be administered in a given case, is, that the case should be referred to public poor-relief where careful control of personal conduct is necessary, and to private charity where it is desirable to admit as much free activity as possible. The tendency in all charity work, both public and private, is to make an individual study of individual cases and to treat them accordingly. It is

[1] The influence of the American political watchword now beginning to fall into disfavor, "To the victors belong the spoils," has wrought havoc among the public relief institutions of many of the States. In some States, however, as in Minnesota, the principle of the merit system and of expert service is being earnestly and successfully applied.

to this growing conception, namely, that persons are individuals, that we are indebted for the increasing specialization and skill, for the removal of children to proper institutions, for the removal of the sick and defectives from the poorhouses, and for the better classification of those who remain in these institutions.

From all these confusing details it is to be seen: (1) that officers administering relief generally serve for short terms; (2) that in the great majority of the commonwealths relief is administered by officers as one, and a minor one, of their many duties; (3) that relief is administered by councilmen, selectmen, township trustees, county commissioners, justices of the peace, and county judges, who are not elected especially for that purpose. "....Records are to be kept and accounts rendered to the town, to the court, to the county commissioners, or to the county auditors as other accounts are kept and rendered. Where the relief system has been placed under the supervision of the State boards of charities . . . . reports of the outdoor relief as well as of the almshouses must be made."[1]

The duties of the superintendents of almshouses, as in general of all public relief institutions, consist in seeing that commitments are made in accordance with the law, in supervising the physical maintenance, health, morality, and education of the inmates, and frequently in selecting the assistants, heads of departments, and other subordinates. The ideal administrative method is to select for superintendents thoroughly capable men, free from political influence, give them as much liberty as possible in the formation and execution of their plans, and then hold them strictly responsible.

The superintendents of outdoor relief, appointed usually by the county commissioners are responsible for the detection of imposture, and the economical and wise distribution of the public supplies. Usually the aim is to give only widows, defectives, critically indigent, and aged this kind of relief. When an indigent applies at the relieving office a visiting agent first makes a personal inspection of the residence and economic condition of the applicant, files a statement of the same in regular form in the relieving office, and presents therewith to the superintendent a written recommendation regarding the case. This system well

[1] M., III, p. 390.

administered is very effective. To secure capable and honest officers for the work, however, is difficult; and in some cases, as the recent experience of Indiana seems to indicate,[1] public poor-relief is better administered without much assistance of the poor in their homes.

The conditions of the poor in the South require separate consideration. According to the statistics of the census of 1890 it appears that there is a smaller percentage of people in the almshouses of the South than in those of other portions of the Union; but that the ratio of children retained in the poorhouses is higher. The private institutions of charity, as hospitals, orphanages, homes for the aged and for children are fewer. It must be remembered that before the Civil War few immigrants went to the South, because of slavery. Manufactures have sprung up as by magic, but only in recent years. The population is scattered over a wide area and families are isolated. The war left the white people poor and it destroyed many public institutions and arrested development of philanthropy. The public mind was devoted to politics and theological controversies, and only recently has turned toward social amelioration. There were no large cities to force attention to the working class and their needs.

There is very much distress among the poor whites, and in the new industrial towns the miseries of child labor have appeared. There are few occupations open to poor women and the wages are low.

If we turn to the poorest class of all, the negroes, we must remember that they are excluded from many trades, although they are sought for as farm laborers. Race feeling, fortified by the sentiments and habits of caste, has separated the whites from the blacks. Negroes generally assist each other so long as they have anything, and in the warmer regions their standard of life is very low, so that their poverty is not felt as wretchedness.

After making all allowance for these explanations it must be conceded that both public and private philanthropy in the South

[1] In 1899 Indiana passed a law which greatly restricts outdoor relief, with the result that, while in 1895 the expenses for outdoor relief were $630,189, the expenditures in 1900, including medical relief, were only $209,956, with a parallel decrease of the population of poorhouses. Cf. Münsterberg, American Journal Sociology, Vol. 7, No. 4, p. 523.

needs yet to be brought into living touch with the methods of modern science. A generous and kindly people, once brought back into contact with modern life, freed from slavery, busy with international commerce, will rapidly develop measures and institutions which are in accordance with the lessons of experience in civilized nations.

Porto Rico.—The new colonial policy of the United States in relation to charitable relief is illustrated in the system adopted for Porto Rico which came under our control in 1899 in consequence of the Spanish-American War.[1] There are now on the island an insane asylum which, June 30, 1903, provided for 194 patients; a Girls' Charity School, with 160 pupils; a Boys' Charity School, with 259 pupils; a leper colony, caring for 19 patients. The annual outlay is $108,000. All public agencies are under the office of Public Health, Charities, and Correction, with a director who is a native of Porto Rico, appointed by the governor and removable by him. The institutions have been thoroughly equipped and brought under enlightened regulation. An asylum for the blind, and a school for deaf mute children are provided. The municipalities have a few unimportant hospitals. The Superior Board of Health has introduced sanitary improvements. The cause of the dreadful disease anemia has been discovered and a remedy found by American medical officers. Some outdoor relief is given, but in the mild climate not much is required. Both Catholics and Protestants are building up hospitals and schools for the poor. Industries are increasing and the economic conditions of the people are improving.

State Boards of Charities and Correction.—The first central board of charities in the United States was the Massachusetts Board of State Charities, established in 1863 and reorganized several times in later years. There are two forms of central supervision known in this country and a long controversy, not yet concluded, has been waged over their relative advantages. All that space permits here is a description of both methods and a brief summary of the arguments used.[2]

[1] S. M. Lindsay, The Public Charities of Porto Rico, in Annals Am. Acad., May, 1904, p. 98.

[2] The following paragraphs devoted to State boards are written by the editor of the volume. One of the most recent and valuable studies of the State boards is

Dr. F. H. Wines has thus defined the difference between boards of supervision and boards of control, and, at the same time described the chief types of organization. "A board of control is an executive board, or board of trust, in charge of an institution or of a group of institutions. Boards of managers of State institutions are in some States called boards of control. When the different institutions are governed by separate boards, it is usual to speak of them as local boards of control. A State board of control, on the other hand, is entrusted with the management of the affairs of a group of institutions, embracing, in most of the States where they exist, all of the State institutions, except those of a purely educational nature and purpose.

"A board of charities, or of charities and correction, has no executive control over the affairs of any institution. Its powers are merely those of visitation, inspection, investigation, report and recommendation. It is a supervisory board; and the primary aim of such executive powers as may be confided to it, is the protection of individuals of the various classes for which the State makes provisions in institutions, not the management of the institutions themselves.

"A board of control is formally or virtually a public corporation, with power to sue and be sued, to plead and be impleaded; it makes appointments, purchases, contracts; it holds the title to property; it makes conveyances. A supervisory board has no such power; its power for good resides in its moral influence.

"The members of a State board of control are ordinarily required to give their whole time to the duties of their office, and are paid a salary for service rendered. (Rhode Island is the conspicuous exception to this rule.) The members of a State supervisory board in every State except New York serve without compensation (and there it is nominal). Their work is a labor of love, undertaken by them from purely patriotic and humanitarian motives.

"It is customary to extend the supervision exercised by a board of charities over State institutions to county and municipal

the report of Dr. F. H. Wines in the 18th Annual Report of the State Charities Aid Association of New Jersey, 1903. Cf. Report to National Prison Association, 1903, and my article in Annals of American Academy, May, 1903, and in the American Journal of Sociology, Nov., 1903.

institutions as well; and in a number of States to private charities, especially to such as receive State aid. State boards of control sometimes have, but more frequently have not, jurisdiction over county or municipal institutions."

The problem of central control and administration may be considered quite apart from that of State supervision. The most vital factor in administration is the expert superintendent, who is often forgotten in this debate. He is the person who does the work if it is done; and if he is incompetent, negligent or otherwise unfit, the wards of the State suffer. For the care and treatment of each class, insane, epileptic, deaf, blind, prisoners, a trained professional director is essential; and it is possible for a competent man to conduct an institution under any form of State control which will secure him a place and freedom without interference from partisan politics. It is not absolutely necessary that he should have any board over him, and if he is the right man for his place he will know his business better than laymen can instruct him. Indeed, all boards derive their information from the director and act largely on his advice.

Yet a board of managers, control or direction, or a single commissioner representing the administrative department of the State for a group of institutions has been found advisable and desirable. There are two aspects of institutional life, the professional and the economic or business side; and for both these, especially the latter, consultation with men trained in business is helpful. The capable director is not only conscious that he is doing his duty, but he also is certain that representatives of the public have constant proof of his fidelity and efficiency in his office. Many directors also affirm that it is a relief to them if they are not required to attend to purchases of supplies, accounts, building and repairs, and other matters which are purely economic and material. A very able teacher of the blind, or physician to the insane, may have no business experience. Thus the separation of functions and the specialization of faculty may be promoted by providing for the business side of the institution through a commissioner or a board of control; and the board of control may be either local or central.

As a matter of fact only nine States have adopted the policy of the central board of control, and the usual method is to appoint

a board of managers for each institution. The general tendency in Europe and America is to secure State central administrative control of all local institutions. Thus the ministry of the interior in Italy and in certain German states, and the Home Secretary in Great Britain have been charged with the duty of directing local institutions so far as the general interest required, and many important reforms and improvements have been effected by this method, without injury to local interest and activity.

But a board of control or a commissioner armed with power to direct and regulate can never take the place of a board of unsalaried agents of popular supervision and intelligence. The two functions are not identical; they are contradictory, and both are necessary.

The most vital point at issue, in the judgment of the writer, is whether the State shall be without a supervisory agency, and be content simply with a board of control, as for example, in Iowa, Wisconsin and Minnesota. Without hoping to present all the considerations a few of the arguments may be briefly mentioned, arguments which have been convincing to a majority of those who have studied the subject and presented it before the National Conference of Charities and Correction.

The arguments in favor of a central board of control are that it is compact, efficient and businesslike; that it can purchase supplies to the best advantage; that it can correct abuses in institutions by administrative orders or regulations; that it can systematize and unify the charities of the commonwealth. Let this argument be granted and the plea accepted, it does not prove nor tend to prove that a supervisory board is unnecessary. Many of these advantages claimed for a central board of control have been obtained, however, under the advice of boards of supervision.

The board of control in a State without an independent and unsalaried board of supervision exposes the charitable and correctional institutions to serious dangers. A board which inspects, audits and passes on its own deeds, without check, soon comes to feel that it is infallible and omniscient; or, if it escape this foible, it is more than human. One who is never contradicted may be excused if he rapidly acquires profound confidence in his own judgment.

Secrecy, the cloud which hides all perils and abuses, is unavoidable with a board of control without a legal method of supervision independent of it. Reports on forms provided by statute are deceptive; there is no substitute for the inspection of living persons.

Under our representative government, strongly democratic in spirit, the people need to have information from a source independent of the managers. A democracy is competent to judge of policies and results, if it has means of information; and it will not long tolerate gross evils if they are simply brought to light.

If we consider the reasons for providing a legal means of educating and expressing public sentiment about policies and results they may be summarized in the form of maxims of experience. Helpless invalids, insane patients, paupers in remote poorhouses, feeble-minded persons, cannot defend themselves, cannot reach the organs of influence, cannot plead for themselves in courts of justice. A humane society will provide for a hearing in the forum of publicity. History teaches us that when abuses are possible they will occur; that professional officers are not to be trusted to inspect and report on their own conduct in office and be permitted to exercise irresponsible power. When officials in a bureaucracy resent interference "from outside" the alarm should be sounded from every home. A democracy cannot dictate a system of medical practice, but it can judge of a policy when its fruits are made known in comparative tables of sickness and mortality. The great public is awkward enough, and sometimes foolish, but it has no private bias, no mean personal interest in abuses, and it is competent to see the difference between bad and good management of an institution by comparing the use made of severity and violence to secure order, and in the increase or decrease of disease due to filth or neglect.

It is probable that a board of control or a commissioner for each great group of public institutions, penal, sanitary, educational, charitable, agricultural, etc., may prove to be a wise measure, and experiments are already on trial to test this hypothesis. But the intelligent friends of the poor, the helpless and the prisoner must hold together in making the demand that the voluntary service of benevolent and devoted representatives

of the public shall also be legally recognized; and boards of control, as they desire to retain public confidence, should be the first to insist on this principle, just as an upright treasurer of funds demands that his accounts be audited.

There is always in a community a large number of people who may become helpful to public charities, whose study, thought and labor may be utilized to public advantage, and whose enlightened sympathy may aid those in trouble. The board with only supervisory powers is much more apt to enlist such persons than a central board of control. Up to the present time the supervisory boards have done immensely more for awakening and educating public opinion than bodies of the other type. It is singular how quickly those qualities of formalism and mechanical routine, which Germans complain of in their bureaucracy, take root even in American soil when the conditions are favorable.

The functions of a board of supervision, according to experience in the United States, may be summarized as follows:[1] The governor appoints the members. These members receive only actual expenses of service, and their secretary and inspectors are paid. It is made the duty of the board to inspect all the charitable and correctional institutions in the commonwealth, both general and local, which receive public money. The board is to ascertain whether the laws governing the institutions are complied with; whether the objects of those institutions are accomplished; whether their methods are best adapted to the needs of the inmates; whether any persons are improperly confined; and, generally, whether the officers are efficient and reliable. The board is empowered to require the managers to correct abuses, evils or defects. The governor may require the board to make special investigations and lay the results before him. The board is empowered to collect statistics relating to dependents and delinquents and their care, and to prescribe forms of registration and reports. It may request similar information from private establishments. Plans of buildings used for charitable and correctional purposes must be approved by this board in advance of their adoption. The legislature may require statements from

[1] These powers are recited in the draft of a bill defeated in the legislature of New Jersey in 1904, but a bill so vital and wise that its acceptance is only a matter of time.

the supervisory body relating to the appropriations for the support of institutions.

C. Voluntary Charity.[1]—Mr. George J. Hagar has estimated the individual gifts and bequests from individuals for philanthropic uses in the United States, excluding all items of less than $5,000, all National, State and municipal appropriations, and all ordinary contributions to regular church organizations and missionary societies. The amount set down for 1893 was over $29,000,000, for 1903 over $95,000,000; the highest sum, 1901, was $101,360,000; the aggregate for eleven years, $610,410,000.[2]

The Finances of Voluntary Associations of Charity.—Dr. Lee K. Frankel, commenting on the deficits of the charitable hospitals of New York City, touches a serious matter when he says: "It may almost be said that the larger the institution or the society the larger is the annual shortage. As a result, the thought and the ingenuity of the directors are directed largely toward obtaining necessary financial aid, when they could be better employed in improving the work for which the societies were organized." When men of affairs become identified with the management of a society or institution their first and most essential duty is to provide funds to maintain it, unless there is an adequate endowment or it has a contract with the Government. Hence the time of meetings of boards and executive committees is largely spent in discussing means of preventing or paying the deficit in income. The gifts of the public are irregular, spasmodic, uncertain; while the demands are regular and usually growing heavier with growth of population and rise of prices. Sometimes managers become embittered and irritated or resign in despair to escape responsibility, and the temptation to beg a subsidy from a public treasury is constant and serious.

But positive advantages grow out of this difficult situation of charitable agencies dependent on annual gifts for the continuation of their work. A large part of benevolent service depends on the education of the community. For example, indiscriminate almsgiving will be generally recognized as a large cause of mendicancy only when citizens are systematically and perpetually reminded of the social consequences of doling out relief to chance beggars. The conflict with tuberculosis and other dis-

[1] By C. R. Henderson. [2] American Review of Reviews, April, 1904.

eases is carried on largely by means of information given to the public. The care of neglected and morally imperilled children and the improvement of their physical and moral surroundings can be promoted only after long and general instruction of the people. So of the philanthropical service of settlements, missions, dispensaries, crêches and of many others. Now there is no way so sure and impressive to fix attention on a subject as that of asking for money. No rational person will give his means to objects which he has not studied. Hence, the directors must become intelligent in regard to the need, scope, methods and value of the charity which they represent, and they must become teachers of benevolent people in the field of their activity. This labor is not wasted, though it is often very irksome, disagreeable and exhausting.

As soon as an institution of charity has a sufficient endowment or is supported by a public treasury its educational function for the community either ceases or is greatly restricted. The very necessities, anxieties and annoyances of private charity are, therefore, not without important compensations; and the immense aggregate of gifts and legacies annually contributed by individual citizens proves in a very striking way that these methods of appeal to imagination, sympathy, conscience and reason bring substantial results. Public charities themselves are often kept from stagnation and perversion by partial dependence on private initiative or liberality at some point, as in the provision for probation officers of juvenile courts and agents of help for discharged prisoners, and child-saving societies which become sponsors for neglected youth.

Endowed Charities.—It is very rarely that the commonwealth or a municipal corporation is made trustee of an endowed charity. Usually a board of trustees is named by the founder and legal provisions are made for incorporation and perpetuation of this board.

The city of Boston is one of the exceptions to the rule. There the Overseers of the Poor, in their report for 1902, give account of 15 funds held by them in trust as the patrimony of the poor, the oldest of which dates from the year 1701, while the total income of all the funds for the year was $776,353. Philadelphia[1]

[1] Charities, May 21, 1904.

has 36 trust funds originating from various bequests, and usually termed city trusts, which make up the most extensive series of benefactions from wills on the American continent. They are in charge of a board of directors. The earliest bequest now under their management was that of William Carter, who, in 1739, left a sum of money now grown to $1,274 "to and for ye use and service of ye almshouses of Philadelphia...and for ye relief of ye poor people in the same forever." To this have been added funds for hospitals, the house of correction, schools, medals, loans, fuel and food. Girard College is one of these trusts; it is an orphanage which in 1903 was educating 1,519 boys. Usually rich men like to have a distinct place for their gifts and they do not have confidence in the partisan administrators of city governments. It has been estimated that the gifts of private persons to public objects in 1901 was at least $123,888,732; of which $68,850,-961 went to educational institutions, $15,388,700 to libraries, $6,298,489 to churches, $22,217,470 to charity.

The famous Dartmouth College decision of the Supreme Court was to the effect that the terms of an endowment could not be changed by the legislature of a commonwealth, and that the charter of an institution is a contract which the State may not change after the death of the donor. The State may of course intervene to prevent a perversion of the original purposes of the donor by trustees. The difficulty of amending charters is now avoided in some States by reserving in the constitution the right to amend any charter granted by the State; and recent legal decisions and discussions tend to approve action which will secure the application of funds to different though similar purposes when the original use is found to be detrimental or wasteful.

Societies of Women[1]

Naturally, a great part of the world of philanthropy, education and reform belongs to women. As home-makers they are interested in everything that leads to the betterment of the social condition. For its advancement they have labored for a good government, a higher standard of living, more efficient education, better home-making and a more intelligent care and development of children. Their organized efforts have been expressed

[1] By Miss Florence Ashcraft, A. B.

through their clubs, church organizations and miscellaneous societies.

Federated Clubs.—The work that is done by the Federated Clubs is shown by a recent report:

"The first and most general activity of the clubs has been very properly directed toward coöperation with the established agencies of education. There has been an effort to extend the conditions, aims and methods of the schools, to further every commendable work that is being done, and also to supplement by labor and with money interests that the schools have been unable to initiate or support. These undertakings include examination of physical conditions as to hygienic aspects of buildings and grounds with respect to ventilation, lighting, cleanliness, overcrowding, toilet rooms, etc."

They call attention to noticeable tendencies to neglect in important lines of training, such as culture of the speaking voice, use of good language, accuracy in spelling and computation; they supply, or supplement, teaching in music and art. They have been instrumental in securing public kindergartens and departments of manual training and domestic science. They have sought to establish a better understanding and better coöperation between parents and teachers. Through their efforts vacation schools have been supported; books, clothing and luncheons provided for indigent children; libraries and gymnasium apparatus have been supplied to the schools; rest rooms provided for teachers, and scholarships maintained for the aid of young women in schools and colleges.

State Federation.—In addition to what is done by the general federation each State has work selected along lines determined by its own conditions. The Committee on Philanthropy of the Illinois Federation has urged upon its clubs the consideration of the following subjects:

State care for the incurable insane pauper, that the almshouses of the State may not be filled with both sane and insane paupers; adequate support and care for feeble-minded persons, and epileptics; State homes for dependent and delinquent children that they may not be housed with criminals; the coördination of public and private charities; the appointment of probation officers from club membership, or the maintenance of a

salaried officer; enforcement of child labor and compulsory education laws; the establishment and maintenance of manual training schools and cooking and sewing classes; the support of vacation schools; the loaning of small sums of money without interest to those wishing temporary relief; the establishment of social settlements.

A special plea has been made for free baths, night and sewing schools, respectable lodgings for girls out of employment, and evening social and literary clubs for young women employed through the day.

Each individual club also has its work. The Chicago Woman's Club coöperates in the work of the Protective Agency. It has its representative in the Juvenile Court and pays a salary to one probation officer. It is interested in the university and other social settlements. It has befriended the vacation schools, raising one thousand dollars annually toward their support. A committee of two works for the associated charities. The School Children's Aid Society has its share of attention.

Miscellaneous Activities of the Clubs.

(*a*) *Model Lodging House Association.*—The miscellaneous activities of the women's clubs cover extensive fields of philanthropic and educational work. In several of the large cities a Woman's Lodging House Association has been formed by the clubs of the city. Under the auspices of this association a lodging house is maintained for women and children in need. Lodgings are furnished usually at the rate of 15c for the first night and 10c for subsequent nights. Single rooms may be rented for $1.00 per week. Five cents purchase the breakfast and ten cents the dinner. When found necessary, food and lodgings are furnished free of charge until the applicant can care for herself or be otherwise provided for. The sick are sent to hospitals, and all who are overtaken by misfortune are helped out of their difficulties.

(*b*) *Working Girls' Clubs.*—The club women have taken an active interest in establishing and fostering clubs for working girls and business women. For the former they have furnished rooms, supported vacation homes, created libraries, opened night schools, provided social and literary occupation for evening entertainment and instruction. To the young business women they

have given encouragement and assistance in the maintenance of clubs organized and directed by their own efforts. The value of such a club is shown by the Chicago Business Woman's Club. The foundation of this organization was mutual benefit, with a sick benefit for the members as a central idea. The club has its own home equipped with bed-rooms, parlors, library, dining-room and kitchen. A part of its work is devoted to an employment bureau, the object of which is to furnish positions for conscientious business women. For recreation and instruction the club has established classes in languages, painting and gymnasium.

(*c*) *Boys' Clubs.*—It has always been a part of the women's work to provide places for boys and young men to spend their evenings. For this purpose clubs have been established which contain a gymnasium, library, reading-room and educational class rooms.

(*d*) *Working Women.*—Provident Laundries have been conducted by several clubs to provide a channel of work for able-bodied women out of employment and desirous of becoming self-supporting. In connection with the laundry is a training school where superior work is taught, and the employment bureau where permanent positions are secured for those desiring them. The attention given to these working women is not yet as great as it should be. This is one avenue just being opened to a broad field of useful work.

(*e*) *Traveling Libraries.*—The traveling library and picture loan departments have made the educational influence of the clubs' work extend to rural and crowded city districts, where books and pictures are rare. The management of these departments is simple. Stations are selected in the needy districts. To these stations the city clubs send boxes of books or pictures. After the books have remained two or three weeks they are replaced and shipped on to the next station. Library and reading clubs are often formed under the direction of the station agent.

Southern Clubs.—The work of the Southern club woman is directed toward the protection of child labor and to the establishment of industrial schools. The conditions of the rural schools and the need of libraries have also claimed her attention. The relief work she has done among the poor whites and freedmen

has been done amidst dire poverty, the most pitiful ignorance and prejudice; but her efforts are being richly crowned and the influence of her work is rapidly extending.

Church Women.—The work of the women of the churches may be treated generally. Their organizations are usually designated as the Minister's Aid, Ladies' Aid, Sewing Circles, Charitable Unions, Friendly Societies and Guilds. Their first care is for the aged ministers of their denominations, and the minister's widow and children. The poor of the parish are their wards. They take an active interest in the charitable work of the city and community, and are usually active coöperators with the various charitable institutions and organizations about them. In many cases they have assisted in the founding and support of a social settlement, or they have conducted sewing and cooking classes, girls' and boys' clubs among the poor children of their neighborhood. They have aided in their support of foreign and home missionaries, and have given liberal donations to children's homes and hospitals.

Sisterhoods.—The Sisters of the Roman Catholic Church should be mentioned for the noble work they are doing among their own people, and especially their poor. They enter the poverty-stricken homes, alleviating suffering and ministering unto the sick. They have special regard for the children, caring for their education and training, providing homes for the orphan and friendless and hospitals for the sick and crippled.

Deaconesses.—The charitable work done by the Deaconesses of the Lutheran and Methodist Episcopal churches is well known. The women who form these orders receive no salary. Their board and clothing are furnished by the management of the home. They serve as evangelists, and visit persons and hospitals, but the greater part of their service is rendered among the poor. In one city the order has established a social settlement which includes in its work the kindergarten, girls' and boys' clubs, mothers' meetings, sewing and cooking classes and day nursery. They also maintain schools for the training of home and foreign missionaries.

Miscellaneous Societies.—Besides the societies of women connected with the church and clubs there are numerous private organizations which work in coöperation with the charitable

institutions. Among these are the associations whose objects are to endow beds in the hospitals, or make annual donations to them. There are also the sewing societies which send contributions of clothing to the Orphans' Home, and kindred institutions. Private organizations of women have also maintained hospitals and homes for women and children, and established training schools for nurses.

The Protective Agency.—The importance of the work of the Protective Agency is sufficiently indicated by the purposes of the society, which are to guard the rights of women and children, to enforce the payment of wages unjustly withheld from working women, or services to prevent exorbitant rates of interest on loans and the violation of contract, to find homes for foundlings, to take children from unworthy parents and to procure a divorce for the wife who is maltreated, and to uphold a mother's right to her children.

The Women's Educational Association.—The Women's Educational Association devotes its time to the promotion of better education for women. It has aided many teachers and young women to obtain a college training, it has established teachers' clubs and rest rooms, it has assisted in introducing manual training, domestic science and kindergartens in the public schools and encouraged the establishment of school libraries.

The Civic League is interested in the improvement of the city. It has exerted its influence against corrupt city politics. It has worked for the cleaning of streets, offices and municipal buildings. It is doing its utmost to find a solution of the housing condition in the crowded quarters of the city.

The Recreation League is a promoter of public recreations for the poor mothers and children. The recreation piers are due to its efforts. The play grounds, small parks, roof gardens, sanitariums and day nurseries are recipients of its support.

The Health Protective Agency guards the health of the tenement dwellers. It also has to meet the problem of the tenement house. It keeps the city Health Department active and sees that the streets and alleys are properly cleaned and the garbage removed. It is also interested in the establishments of parks and play grounds.

The Needlework Guild of America.—The object of the Needle-

work Guild is to collect and distribute new clothing suitable for the needs of homes, hospitals and other charitable institutions. There are at present throughout the country thirty-one branches of the Guild. The plan of organization is simple, each branch having sections and each section president being responsible for the annual donation of 110 garments. Anyone may become a member of the Guild by contributing two new articles of wearing apparel a year. Besides garments, household linen is also supplied. In cases of national disaster the Guild is in readiness to send supplies of clothing.

Visiting Nurses Association.—The object of the Visiting Nurses Association is to furnish skilled attendants to the sick poor, to promote cleanliness and to teach the proper care of the sick. Their work is not confined to nursing, but advice and help are given in many ways. When in destitute circumstances patients are given emergency relief, food, medicine or clothing, or are referred to a relief society.

The Woman's Relief Corps is an auxiliary of the Grand Army of the Republic. Its purpose is to assist such Union veterans as need help and protection, to find them homes and employment and to extend needful aid to their wives and orphans. The ladies of the Grand Army of the Republic look after the Soldiers' and Orphans' Homes and see that the children who leave the Home are provided with proper situations.

The Young Women's Christian Association.—The work of this organization is well known. Their services are rendered chiefly among women who are dependent upon their own exertions for support. Part of their work consists in organizing homes and securing employment for self-supporting girls. The doors of their homes are open to girls and women who are strangers in the city.

The Charitabe Work of the Social Settlements.[1]

In spite of their protestations the social settlements are charitable institutions. They do not dole out charity in the form of food, money or discarded clothing, but with sympathy, love and patience they give and share with their unfortunate neighbors those things which lift life from a mere existence to a noble pur-

[1] The paragraphs on Settlements were prepared by Miss Florence Ashcraft, A. B. Cf. Charities, Feb. 20, 1904, pp. 195 ff.

pose. Their aim is to put within the reach of all the opportunity to get what is best out of life, and by mutual help to stimulate ambition and self-regard in those who have no interest in life and no appreciation of it. They have found that the opportunities these people most needed were those for health, increased intelligence and greater happiness, and in their endeavor to supply these they have gained for society that which is lovely and heroic from the midst of poverty which seems so uncouth and intolerable.

Health.—Endeavors to provide opportunities for securing better health have not ended in theories. Much practical work has been accomplished. In New York and Chicago, especially, the all-important problem of the tenement house is depending largely upon the social settlements for solution. Already legislation has been secured regulating the construction of such buildings, requiring better lighted apartments, greater regard for sanitary conditions and ventilation, fire escapes, fire-proof stairways and halls, and limiting the number of stories and number of apartments on a given area. But legislation cannot do all. The settlement workers have entered these over-crowded apartments and are impressing upon the minds of the tenants the evils which accompany this manner of living. They are making cleanliness attractive and revealing it as a necessity. They are instructing in the care of the sick and the prevention of the spread of contagious diseases. Several of the settlements offer to the women of their neighborhoods instruction in cooking for the sick and other practical suggestions for the sick room. In all the settlements the gymnasium is made an important branch of the work. The public baths in the tenement districts have proved most valuable. In the summer when the patronage is naturally the heaviest, one of the settlements has estimated that the number of baths given reaches 11,000 per month, and from seven to eight hundred on the warmest days.

In addition to these activities for the protection of the health of their neighbors the settlements have spent much time in keeping the city Health Departments active, in insisting upon the removal of garbage and the cleaning of streets and alleys. All this is done, not with a feeling of disgust because these people live as they do, but in recognition of the truths that the conditions

under which they live are due as much to lax city officials and avaricious landlords as to the people themselves, and with the conviction that could the homes be lifted from such surroundings, where health is a stranger, morbid feelings, lack of ambition, low aims and the sordid and unhappy aspect of life would disappear.

More Intelligence.—The most valuable work of the settlements is based upon the principle that it is knowledge which most broadens the view of life and makes things seem worth while. But to administer instruction to those whose intellectual faculties are untrained and disused, requires dexterity and tact; social atmosphere is needed for its diffusion. The methods which have proved most practicable are easily discernible in a study of the different clubs of the several settlements.

(*a*) *Boys' Clubs.*—The University Settlement of New York has forty active clubs in operation. Upon the theory that what the members do for themselves gains more than what is done for them, dues have been fixed at the rate of 3c weekly for afternoon clubs, 5c for evening clubs, with ½c weekly turned over to the house for rent. The boys' clubs are most active. Among these organizations it is interesting to note that the Civic Club, whose principal object is the study of civic conditions and affairs, takes the lead.

The G. H. Smith Club has a suggestive program. On the first meeting night of the month there is a lecture by some prominent man, on the second a debate, on the third an impromptu talk by club members, on the fourth night there are held social meetings, to which the various other clubs of the settlement are invited.

The Economic Club follows the program used generally by the settlement in its consideration of economical and sociological subjects. Such topics have been treated as socialism, trade unionism, factory legislation, housing conditions, single tax and child labor.

The Endeavor Club devotes its time to debating, essay-writing, talks by members and frequent talks by prominent men.

The City History Club, by its study of the history of the State of New York, is training fifteen boys into useful and loyal citizens.

The Writers' Club appeals to young men who are interested in English composition and journalism.

The Boys' Athletic Clubs in all the settlements have proved their worth. The Garrett Athletic Club of Lawrence House, Boston, deserves special mention. It has become a club of trained athletes who find time for other interests. They are proud of their orderly business meetings and their study classes. Last winter the boys themselves hired a dancing teacher and went at dancing energetically and enthusiastically. A little later Shakespeare was suggested, and the boys undertook the study of Hamlet as enthusiastically as they had undertaken dancing, and in the spring gave a very creditable presentation of the first act.

The Boys' Clubs of the Chicago Commons have been very successful. During the past year 325 boys have been enrolled. The basis of the work is mainly social, and is directed along the lines of education, recreation, industrial and moral discipline. Club membership is required to admit the boys to the privileges of the gymnasium and manual training departments. Three large rooms are devoted to their club; one of them is furnished as their parlor, another as a game room and the third for assembly purposes. Their experiment of the Commons Democracy was an interesting one. The object was to maintain a mimic city government, each club forming a ward and sending its aldermen to represent it in the monthly meeting of the city council. The duty of the commissioners of the several municipal departments was to familiarize themselves with the work of the various branches of the city government.

The Hull House Boys' Club gives two evenings a week to purely recreative meetings, when games and books are used. On the other nights the members are expected to attend at least one of the classes in carpentry, metal work, clay modeling, pottery, or one of the groups studying American history, current events or singing.

In addition to these clubs some of the younger boys, six to twelve years, have formed clubs of a scientific nature. One club is interested in the planting of flowers, another is studying birds. The Lend-a-Hand Club of Lincoln House, Boston, carries flowers to the sick and fruit and toys to the crippled children.

(*b*) *Girls' Clubs.*—The girls' clubs follow much the general plan of the boys' clubs, although their programs are not so varied. The greater part of the time is devoted to sewing, cooking, basket

weaving and crocheting. For recreation they have their gymnasium classes and social gatherings. Their study clubs devote their time to general reading, study of the drama, the modern novel, famous women and history. Other clubs are interested in nature studies, and one club is editing a club journal.

Several of the young women's clubs are doing unique work. The Progressive Club of Chicago Commons, in addition to its educational and social functions, has for several years maintained a country cottage on the lake shore or in some suburb, where they have spent their vacations and shared their privileges with many of the younger girls.

The Jane Club of Hull House maintains a club house for young women upon the coöperative plan. The weekly dues, including board and room, amount to $3.00. The club has also its educational and social features.

(*c*) *Women's Clubs.*—In every settlement every possible effort is made to appeal to the mothers through the women's clubs. The Women's Columbian Club of the Northwestern settlement has proved to be a useful one. The membership is about forty. A small fee is paid by each member. In addition to the regular business of its meetings the club has taken an active interest in bettering the conditions for women and children in the neighborhood and in securing the location of a small park near their settlement. A linen chest has been maintained for the use of the visiting nurse. The club has also maintained a summer house at Bluff Lake for the use of the members and their friends.

The Hull House Women's Club has also been successful. Its annual picnics and excursions for the mothers and children of the neighborhood are two of its attractive features.

The Kindergarten Clubs, composed of the mothers of the kindergarten children have always been popular. The kindergarten games are taught, and as a result the mothers become more interested in the work of their little ones. Because these women are weighted down with the burden of housework and children, it has been found best that the programs of their clubs should be made as light and pleasurable as possible. They love to play kindergarten games, but most of all they enjoy their cup of tea and the social time that goes with it. Of course these clubs

have their more serious occupations along educational lines, the care of the home and child, cooking, sewing, etc.

(*d*) *Men's Clubs.*—It has been very difficult to reach the older men through the clubs. They enjoy particularly the use of the library and are interested in the debating clubs. Chicago Commons has reached many of them through its free-floor discussions, where under the lead of widely representative men and women, about two hundred manual laborers engage in the discussion of industrial and economical issues. The rule, "free speech, all sides and no favor" has always prevailed, and on no occasion have the meetings departed from their original character of a free and informal conference.

The Men's Community Club of the Commons is an active organization. Its membership numbers about one hundred. Its object is to further social fellowship, the betterment of municipal conditions, non-partisan political education and the promotion of civic patriotism.

The Music Clubs.—The report of the music department of the New York settlement might give encouragement and suggestions to those who are endeavoring to give this branch the important place to which it rightfully belongs. The department has a daily attendance of ninety. There is a corps of 25 teachers who give instruction on piano, violin, singing, harmony and ensemble playing. The fees are computed at the rate of 50c an hour but 10c lessons are given. Practicing is charged for at the rate of 4c per half hour. In connection with the department Sunday evening concerts are given. A class is held in sight reading; another class is studying the choral works of Mendelsshon, Beethoven, Schumann, Schubert, and other of the classical composers. The enrollment of seventy-five in their young people's singing club and children's glee club bespeaks the success of this work.

Dramatic Clubs.—The dramatic clubs of the various settlements are busy with their studies and presentations of Shakespeare, Ben Jonson and other writers. Their value as social and educational factors is apparent.

Classes.—Closely allied to the clubs are the classes. These are formed for those who desire educational, more than social life. The work of the class room varies from the elementary studies of arithmetic, spelling, geography, reading and writing of Eng-

lish, to chemistry, physics and history of art. The following program of the Hull House is a fair example of what is done along this line in most of the settlements. There are classes in grammar, rhetoric, reading, beginners' English, intermediate and advanced English, poetry, history, history of art, German, French, Spanish, Italian, and hygiene. One settlement devotes most of its class work to tutoring backward children of the grade schools. Other settlements hold night schools where the regular programs of the grammar and high schools are followed. That these night classes are welcomed and appreciated by the young people is apparent to one who has seen anything of their work. It is pitiful to witness the eagerness with which these young men and women labor over the multiplication table and first reader.

The Domestic Science and Manual Training Classes.—The work of any settlement is incomplete without its classes in domestic science and manual training. The programs of these classes throughout the settlements are much the same. In domestic science there are classes in cooking, in the chemistry of cooking, cooking for invalids, the value of foods, and general classes and lectures on the care of the kitchen and kitchen utensils. There are also classes in sewing, dressmaking, millinery, embroidery, basket-weaving and lectures on the care of the home.

The Manual Training Department has its classes in carpentry, sloyd, wood-carving, mechanical drawing and designing, metal work and pottery. The art class adds to this, clay modeling, drawing, painting, sketching and architectural sculpture.

The settlements which have introduced courses under the University Extension lectures have found them very valuable. That they are appreciated is evinced by the number of young people who have attended every one that has been offered. In all of the class work a small fee is usually charged to defray expenses and to maintain the self-respect of the students.

Greater Happiness.—All of the departments of the social settlements are intended to secure greater happiness to the neighbors. They endeavor to do this by bettering every phase of their lives. They do not overlook the importance of the work among the children. Their day nurseries care for the tiny ones whose mothers are obliged to work during the day; the

kindergarten is made an attractive place for the children between three and six; to the kindergarten graduates the boys' and girls' clubs open their welcome doors; with school children the gymnasium is especially popular; the play grounds and summer outings are delightful to the children of the neighborhood.

Relief and Aid Work.—While the settlement does not place much emphasis upon the relief work, it is necessarily an important department of its activity. In cases of extreme poverty and destitution material help must be given. Where possible, this branch of the work is carried on by coöperation with the Associated Charities, or some similar organization.

The Legal Aid Society aids people who are in need of the services of a lawyer but are unable to pay the charges. The majority of the applicants are victims of mortgage sharks, or else foreigners who have not been in this country long enough to learn its customs and laws, and who, on account of their ignorance, become a prey to anyone caring to take advantage of them. During last year one of the settlements reported that it had 3,850 applicants; 2,000 of these applications were made to collect unpaid wages. Justice is attained in other cases, including the law of the landlord and tenant, domestic relations, questions of administrators, personal accident cases and bankruptcy proceedings.

The Penny Provident and Savings Banks have been the means of saving many of the pennies and nickels of the children. The bank is also used by the mothers who save their money for the things which they have been accustomed to buy on the installment plan. As a rule, the bank is opened for deposit and drawings two days of the week. One report shows that the attendance on one of these days averaged from 400 to 800 children, of which number about 90 per cent. were depositors. The amount deposited ranges from 1c to $5.00, and the amounts withdrawn from 50c up.

The Provident Loan Society, as operated by the New York settlement, aids people in temporary distress by loaning money at a reasonable rate of interest on jewelry, the rate being uniformly 1 per cent. a month, save in the case of large loans for long periods, when it is less. It is in all details a model pawn shop.

The Library, with its reference and reading rooms and distributing department, is usually found in the settlements.

Dispensaries have been successfully operated by several of the settlements. At the New York dispensary during last year 809 cases were treated, 376 professional visits were made. A great deal of work can be done by this department.

The Trade Unions have always found a place of meeting at the settlements. As many as ten or twelve different unions meet at the same house, and although the members of the union for the most part are not engaged in any other of the activities of the settlements, yet it is essential that the settlement workers should show a friendly spirit to every branch of labor interest.

The Picture Loan work is in itself a charity. It has spread happiness and cheer in many dark and unhappy homes. Its plan of management is simple. It secures a collection of pictures and puts them on exhibit in one of the settlement rooms. It also lends photographs or prints in groups at a time in the homes of the poor. After the group has remained in one home for a few months it is exchanged for another, and this continual exchange goes on until the whole collection has passed through all of the homes.

The Coffee Houses, as successfully operated by Hull House and Northwestern University settlements, partake of the nature of the well-managed public restaurant. Orders are taken for catering, and food is furnished, with services, to any part of the city. Special dinners and luncheons are served in the Coffee House by the various clubs of the settlement.

The Visiting Kindergarten is a unique departure found in Hull House. Children who are chronically ill, or those too crippled to attend schools, are visited in their homes by trained kindergartners. Manual training lessons are given to those too advanced for kindergarten work. The older children are also given instruction in the common school branches.

The Labor Museum is one of the most successful departments at Hull House. As stated by the bulletin, its object is to show the development in methods of production from the earliest times to the present, and as nearly as possible to illustrate the different forms of production used by the various nations. Actual work is going on in metal work, wood work, pottery, cooking,

spinning, weaving, book binding and clay modeling. The trades are further illustrated by collections of charts and pictures which are open for study and inspection.

Home Libraries.[1]—The home library work was first developed on a large scale by Mr. Charles W. Birtwell, superintendent of the Children's Aid Society of Boston. It has been introduced into Chicago by the Bureau of Charities and the Library Club, and affords an admirable introduction to friendly visiting, since the visitor has a definite and agreeable introduction in the neighborhood of poor people by means of the library. The plan is simple and inexpensive. A small box of attractive books is taken to a home, children gather to hear them read or to listen to stories, and the books are lent to the children in turn. From this beginning the visitor becomes acquainted, acquires influence, learns conditions and is able to assist her new friends with sympathy and counsel.

D. *Ecclesiastical Charities.*[2] *Protestant.*—It is a general custom for the churches to take collections for their poor members in connection with the celebration of the Lord's Supper or at other times, and the amounts thus contributed must be considerable, although it is impossible to secure reliable statistics. Generally speaking there are comparatively few destitute members of Protestant churches; one of the first effects of a reduced income is frequently retirement from active membership in a church. Few are the churches in cities, however, which have not some dependents, even favored pets of their bounty. The teachers of Sunday schools, especially of missions in the poorer quarters, visit the pupils in their homes, provide clothing and assist the families in various ways. Many hospitals, homes for aged people, orphanages, and lodging houses for wanderers are assisted or supported by members of churches. Sometimes the institution bears the name of a particular denomination, and this is especially true of the Episcopalian, Lutheran and Presbyterian bodies, and in a less degree of Methodists, Baptists and Congregationalists.

Generally there are benevolent societies and institutions supported by the gifts of many churches contributing to a common fund for the assistance of needy families, dependent children,

[1] By C. R. Henderson. [2] *Ibid.*

waifs' missions, industrial schools and hospitals. On the governing boards of such institutions will be found representatives selected from the contributing churches of the community. These beneficent works would not appear in the statistics of any denomination, and for this reason the charitable activities of the churches in America are likely to be underestimated both at home and abroad.

The Charity Organization Society finds, with diminishing hostility and misunderstanding, many of its most liberal and intelligent allies among the pastors and the members of churches. In the city of Buffalo coöperation with the churches has taken a unique form; for there the entire city is divided into districts, and each district is assigned to some particular church for oversight. It is claimed by the managers of the C. O. S. in Buffalo that the experiment has been successful.

The congregations of the religious bodies are generally ready to hear the interests of scientific charity explained and urged.

The Deaconess movement has now a firm place in the ecclesiastical life of America, the original stimulus having come, with many other good importations of persons and ideas, from Germany. Rev. W. A. Passavant, a Lutheran clergyman of Pennsylvania, visited Theodore Fliedner in Kaiserswerth, and, in June, 1849, brought some deaconesses to Pittsburg to minister in a hospital. For many years the movement to train and send out deaconesses met with much opposition, but it finally overcame hostility and gained support. In 1896 the Lutheran mother houses established a conference of German, English, Swedish and Norwegian institutions. They have 218 deaconesses. The Baptists, German and English, have made a beginning. The Methodists have entered upon the undertaking with zeal and energy, and in 1888 their highest legislative body recognized it as having an official position in their ecclesiastical system. Their organization aids institutions in all parts of the world in connection with city, home and foreign missions. They possess a property of about $2,000,000, have 685 deaconesses and 738 probationers. The Protestant Episcopal church has also given an official position to deaconesses and provided regulations in the canons for their selection and government. Some of the deaconesses are trained in hospitals to act as nurses; others are visitors

among the poor, or assist in Sunday school and other parish work.

Roman Catholic Charity.—This ancient church has brought to America its sacred traditions of benevolence and its splendid organizing ability. In the Catholic Directory of 1903 one finds that the entire Catholic population in the Union is estimated at 11,289,710; priests, 12,268; churches, 10,878; parishes with schools, 3,978; orphanages, 257; orphans under care, 37,108; benevolent institutions, 923. Under the guidance of "religious" persons there are various orders, with their several duties. There are: (1) those who wait on the sick in their homes (Sisters of the Assumption, Helpers of the Holy Souls, Sisters of Bon Secours, etc.); (2) those who visit the poor in their homes and give consolation (Sisters of Mercy, Sisters of Charity, Italian Sisters, etc.); (3) homes for the aged (Sisters of the Poor, etc.); (4) hospitals of all kinds; societies for the care of destitute and neglected children.[1] There are 115 different orders for "religious" women.

Under the direction of lay societies are: (1) the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, with its branches in many city parishes; (2) the Queen's Daughters, with the principal office in St. Louis and branches in all parts of the country. They aid in all forms of benevolent activity.

The Catholic church societies have begun to draw together in federations in the great centers. Thus in Greater New York there is the "Association of Catholic Charities" which holds periodical meetings and publishes the reports of affiliated institutions and societies. Similar arrangements are found in Philadelphia and elsewhere.

The societies which labor for the welfare of needy Catholic immigrants are important. Other societies, as the Guild of the Infant Savior, care for foundlings.

Jewish Charities.—Since we have devoted a special article to this subject it is merely mentioned in this place, with the remark that Jewish charities are generous, sensible and well organized; and

[1] It is not uncommon for such institutions to receive considerable sums as subsidies or payments for services from the citizens and poor authorities. This is also true of some Protestant institutions and societies. This policy has been seriously challenged.

that, in all parts of our country, an appeal for others than Jews, and for any cause of public concern, is heard by the Hebrew communities with kindness and responded to with liberality. While the immense immigration of indigent Jews has laid upon their co-religionists in America enormous burdens, which are bravely and wisely borne, Jewish charity does not mean merely charity to Jews.[1]

The Salvation Army.[2]

To most people the Salvation Army is best known by its familiar evening drum-beat and hallelujah meetings, and quite naturally since it is primarily an evangelistic agency. But there is another side to its work, as the Christmas dinner kettles on the streets attest at each annual approach of the holiday season. Organized for the purpose of giving the Bread of Life to the spiritually destitute multitudes of London's East End, it was soon found wise to minister also to those who were in need of "the bread which perisheth," and this twofold ministry is carried on wherever the army exists.

There is no other division of the Church Militant which has given so large a place in its warfare to feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, sheltering the homeless, and in every possible way providing for other than distinctly religious needs of mankind. It is with the philanthropic work only that this section deals. The manifold non-religious—this far from saying irreligious—work of the Salvation Army may be roughly classified in three divisions—simple charity, work for the workless, homes for the homeless.

Simple Charity.—It is with the "submerged tenth" that the Army has most to do. Here the pangs of poverty are most keenly felt, here wretchedness and woe abound, and here naturally is the greatest need for its generous ministrations.

Christmas Dinners.—This is one of the best known features of its purely charitable work. In all places where it is established money and provisions are gathered for the purpose of bringing some bit of Christmas cheer into otherwise cheerless hearts. In many cities a great dinner is provided, especially for homeless persons, the tables spread in Madison Square Garden, New York,

[1] Article of C. R. Henderson, in Zeitschrift für das Armenwesen, 1904, p. 11.

[2] Prepared from documents furnished by the Army, by F. G. Cressey, Ph. D.

feeding four thousand. Admission is by ticket and care is exercised to keep out the unworthy, but the plan is liable to such abuses that in Chicago and elsewhere it has been abandoned. Moreover, it is sometimes so conducted as to become a public spectacle, blunting the finer sensibilities of both beneficiaries and beholders. In its stead—or, where still in operation, in addition to it—well filled baskets are sent to the homes of the poor, each family having been personally visited to ascertain its need and deserts. The total number of beneficiaries of this Christmas generosity, which usually includes special provision for the children, is 300,000 a year.

Outdoor Relief.—"Christmas comes but once a year," while "the poor ye have with you alway." There is, therefore, a constant demand that destitute homes be provided with the necessaries of life. It is a general rule that all beneficiaries shall render some equivalent in money or work, but in cases of helplessness due to infancy, infirmity, old age, or other disabling cause this is of necessity disregarded. Food, clothing, coal, ice, rent, and medical services are some of the items that help to make up a considerable share of the $800,000 expended annually upon the poor. Living for the most part among those who need their benefactions and so knowing them more or less intimately, the army workers are ordinarily able to escape imposition by professional mendicants. This intimate knowledge and daily experience help to offset the disadvantage of pursuing a practically independent course, so far as other charitable agencies are concerned.[1]

Besides manifold ministries in the homes of the poor, thousands of summer outings are provided for the children of the tenements and their over-taxed mothers.

Indoor Relief.—In yet another instance is it found necessary to transgress the "no work, no benefit" rule, the case of deserted and orphaned children. In day nurseries, rescue homes, orphanages—one such at the Fort Amity colony accommodates a hundred children—and other institutions an average of 650 are cared for daily.

Here, too, may be classified, even though not conducted on a

[1] This isolating policy is severely criticised by many managers of charitable societies.—C. R. H.

purely eleemosynary basis, twenty-one rescue homes for fallen girls, providing a haven and temporary home for two thousand young women a year, of whom 90 per cent. are restored to virtuous lives.

Work for the Workless.—As already noted, the Salvation Army follows wherever possible the apostolic principle, "If any will not work neither let him eat." It believes that the best way to help a man is to help him better his own condition, rather than weaken his manhood by impulsive-hearted but wrong-headed generosity. That "more harm is wrought by want of head than by want of heart" is one of its cardinal principles in philanthropy.

Employment Bureaus.—When city magistrates in New York affirm that, even in prosperous times, "there are hundreds of men of good habits, physically equipped for the hardest work, and willing to work without raising the question of compensation," and that "as a last resort many of them apply at the courts and are committed, often at their own request, to the county jail and even the penitentiary," there is evidently a need of organized effort to bring work and workers together.

That the unemployed are by no means wholly the inefficient appears from the returns of the labor unions of New York State in a recent year. These show that during a very prosperous quarter one-tenth of their members had been out of work.

In addition to what each corps does there are several bureaus especially for this purpose, the combined result being the finding of work for 50,000 men a year.

Salvage Warehouses and Stores provide work for many for whom no employment can be found. In these great quantities of waste material, such as paper, rags, clothing and furniture, are sorted and made fit for sale. Men so engaged are paid a very small sum, sufficient to provide the bare necessities of life, the purpose being that only emergencies be thus tided over and so no inducement is offered them to continue on so low an industrial plane. The sale of this "flotsam and jetsam" on the one hand nearly covers the cost of collection and sorting, and on the other enables the poor to secure many useful articles at an otherwise impossible price. The annual turnover is $300,000.

Industrial Homes.—These are usually established in connection

with the preceding and provide food and lodging at so low a price that the meagre amount earned in the salvage work, in woodyards which are commonly run in connection with them, or other similar work, will pay for them. The economic and moral value of this work-test commends it highly.

There are fifty-four of these homes with accommodation for 750 men. An effort is being made to further this work by the organization of the Salvation Army Industrial Homes Company, with an authorized capital of $500,000.

Homes for the Homeless.—In every city there are many single workers, both men and women, whose earnings are so small that they are able to provide neither homes nor fit boarding places. Until recently the low lodging house, too often the herding-place of loafers and criminals, has been almost or quite the only place of shelter open to the honest toiler of scanty means.

Hotels for Working Men and Women have accordingly been established as an integral part of the army's manifold work of ministering to the physical needs of humanity. There are eighty-five of these—four being for women—accommodating some 9,000 persons. Here one may have a bath, bed, light breakfast and laundry facilities for as low as ten cents a night, and be assured of moral surroundings, together with sympathy, religious comfort and such other help as may be possible.

This is considered "the next step in the ladder to restoration, after passing through the industrial home." The hotel in New York is a substantial new fireproof building ten stories high.

Farm Colonies.—Even the best hotel, however, is a poor substitute for a home. Practical recognition of this finds expression in the effort to bring together "the landless man," of whom there are so many among the poor, and the "manless land," of which our country has so much.

"The increasing difficulty among the married poor of finding permanent and remunerative employment, together with the demoralizing surroundings of families huddled together in unhealthy tenements, combined to give rise to the army's colonization plans."

There are three colonies, the first having been established in 1898 at Fort Amity, Colorado, 267 miles east of Denver on the Santa Fé Railway. Here, on some 2,000 acres, are three hun-

dred colonists, settled on allotments of from ten to twenty acres per family. At Fort Romie, California, near the Bay of Monterey, are seventy settlers on 500 acres, and at Fort Herrick, Ohio, twenty miles east of Cleveland, thirty-three on 288 acres.

The newcomer is provided with a cottage, the necessary farming implements, and some livestock, for all of which, including the land, he pays as soon as possible, ten years being the time required. If necessary he is given instruction in agriculture and horticulture by the cometent head of the colony. All the colonists are now self-supporting and have paid a considerable share of their indebtedness. The following instance shows the practicability of the plan:

"In April, 1902, the first colonist discharged his entire debt to the army. He had arrived at Fort Amity in March, 1899, his entire capital, the savings of ten or twelve years of married life in the city, being a team of horses and a few household goods. He now owns twenty acres with a neat stone cottage, horses, cattle, pigs, and poultry, all free of incumbrance. His indebtedness to the army was $900 and in three years he paid it off, besides supporting a wife and three children and building his house."

Despite many predictions that no persons could be found to go, or if so they would not stay, or even in that event they certainly would not pay, the plan has been highly successful. The work will be enlarged as fast as increased means make it possible to settle thousands of waiting families upon the hundreds of thousands of available acres.[1]

Concerning all the foregoing lines of work further information may be had from Commander Booth Tucker at the national headquarters, No. 122 West Fourteenth St., New York City.[2]

[1] The reports throw little light on the question how far incompetent persons can be helped by the colony plan.—C. R. H.

[2] To this general survey the following facts are added concerning the work in Chicago for the year ending September 25, 1903: The sum spent in relief work was $17,222.89, being nearly sixty per cent. of the general expense account. Twenty thousand persons were supplied with coal, either free or at a low price. Over two thousand mothers and children were given summer outings. In the industrial home a thousand tons of paper and other waste material were prepared for sale. In five salvage stores 150,000 articles of clothing and furniture were handled, the expense and income being respectively $20,344.93 and $21,034.15. Six

THE VOLUNTEERS OF AMERICA.

This is similar in purpose to the Salvation Army, of which it is an off-shoot. Although differing somewhat in principles and methods from the much larger organization its operations on the whole are practically parallel, so that an account of its charitable work, which is worthy and extensive, is unnecessary. One line of effort, however, deserves special mention, namely, the

Volunteer Prisoners' League.—Work for the uplifting of the inmates of the State prisons was started in 1896, at Sing Sing, N. Y., and now embraces most of such institutions. In over seven years about fifteen thousand members have been enrolled, pledging themselves to daily prayer and Bible reading, refraining from bad language, faithful observance of prison rules, and mutual helpfulness. Its appropriate motto is "Look up and hope." The wife of the President of the Volunteers, Mrs. Maud Ballington Booth, gives a large share of her time to visiting the prisons and conducting an extensive correspondence with the men, who affectionately call her "little mother."

Much attention is also given to helping discharged men by securing employment and otherwise enabling them to become worthy members of society. There are two "Hope Halls," in New York and Illinois, where they may find a temporary home and such other help as may be possible. In the latter State, where the indeterminate sentence (so-called) prevails, prisoners are often paroled to the officer in charge of the home, thus securing the release of many otherwise friendless men.

The work of the league is cordially endorsed by many prison officials and is becoming widely known through the lectures of Mrs. Booth and the circulation of her book, "After Prison—What?"

The headquarters of the Volunteers are at No. 38 Cooper Square, New York City.

hotels for men and one for women accommodated more than 250,000 guests, the expense and income being $31,525.76 and $25,831.52. Besides the foregoing the Salvation Army has in Chicago 12 English-speaking corps, 6 Swedish, 2 Norwegian and 1 German corps, 3 slum posts, 2 training schools, 1 home for fallen girls, 1 maternity hospital, 1 slum nursery and 1 bureau for tracing missing relatives and friends. The headquarters are at 399 State street, under the direction of Colonel Charles Sowton.

E. Co-operation.[1] *The Charity Organization Society.*—In the United States there is no system of unpaid almoners or visitors to assist the officials of outdoor public relief, as in German municipalities. In the cities partisan administration under the reigning "spoils system" has made the benevolent public and the poor regard the machinery of public relief with distrust and disfavor. In some of the largest cities, as New York and Philadelphia, public aid to needy families has been reduced to the lowest terms, and many of the friends of the C. O. S. advocate the total abolition of this form of charity in American cities. To the writer it does not seem probable that this view will prevail; because State relief is firmly established in our jurisprudence and national customs, and the duty of the State to assure a minimum livelihood is universally acknowledged. The C. O. S. seeks to prevent pauperization so far as possible, and then to reduce the evils of public charity by all practicable means. The C. O. S. was transplanted from Great Britain. In 1877 the Rev. S. H. Gurteen established the first association of this type in the city of Buffalo. There are now in the United States and Canada about 143 societies, and these are generally in correspondence with each other and are strongly influenced by the National Conference of Charities and Correction. It must not be supposed that the C. O. S. was an absolutely novel creation in England nor that all its features were new in America. It is true that the earlier benevolent societies grew up in response to special demands and without preconcerted plans in any city. Most of the principles for which the movement works had been organized by practical administrators previous to 1877. But the new organization certainly gave to American cities a powerful impulse to coöperative action, and revealed the central ideals of intelligent charity in a more brilliant light.

We seek here to indicate the spirit and tendency of the C. O. S. The dominant purpose of scientific charity is to bring all the agencies for mitigating suffering and ameliorating conditions under the sway of a conscious and prescient policy of the benevolent community; and that policy is nothing less than to further the life process of the nation, especially within the field of philanthropy. More specifically this purpose includes ma-

[1] By C. R. Henderson.

terial relief of the suffering and helpless, that they may not lose the chance at life; to apply the methods of selection and of education as required by the situation; to prevent needless waste and loss of the resources of the self-supporting members of society through aimless alms, fraud and imposition; and to provide against the degradation of those who are perilously near the margin of dependence.

This policy requires, first of all, a knowledge of conditions, of the situation of families and localities, as a basis for judgment and action. This knowledge is secured by making and keeping a record of every person or family who applies for assistance; and the form of this record is itself the product of long experience, trial, study and discussion. This study of individuals is extended to a minute and exhaustive investigation of all the influences which work toward the physical and moral deterioration of whole groups of people. In the latter effort philanthropy has found a most efficient ally in the residents of social settlements.

The society for organizing the charities of a town must also know the benevolent resources of the community, its institutions, its societies, and its educational and protective agencies. Therefore in the United States, as in Great Britain, the societies have collected in their central offices information relating to the purpose, scope, funds and methods of all the charitable societies and institutions upon which they may call in any special case of need.

In order to influence action this knowledge of the poor and of their helpers must be printed and placed at the disposal of the philanthropic public. The business men must be warned against impostors; the railroad companies must be protected against vagrants asking for free transportation; the church workers must be given transcripts of records of professional beggars. Illegitimate schemes for wheedling money out of impulsive and generous benefactors must be exposed and defeated and the money turned to better account. Sentimental incompetents, making a trade of charity at public expense, must be discouraged. The temptations, hardships and depressing surroundings of the poor must be held before the public imagination. The principles and methods of effective social service are taught by means of lectures, reports, bulletins, discussions, cir-

culars and articles in the daily newspapers and magazines. A digest of charities or a directory of institutions and societies of a city, as in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, places before a community in systematic form the information necessary to direct benefactors and to discover to the indigent the accessible sources of help.

But the acquisition and popularization of knowledge are means to an end,—rational action. Charity is not mere material relief, but it includes material relief. The C. O. S. associations in the United States have, indeed, sought to diminish the habit of resorting to charitable funds because that habit tends to degradation; and they have, in many instances, refused to regard themselves as relief-giving agencies. These facts have led many persons to suppose that they underestimate the importance of material relief. But, on the whole, the C. O. S. stands for the most speedy, humane, considerate and adequate help. If it does not possess a fund of its own its agents always know where they can find means of aid, and they consider it their duty to secure necessary resources without requiring the indigent person to beg from door to door. Usually emergency aid is given at once and a more thorough investigation and treatment follow.

In order to prevent thorough demoralization the C. O. S. seeks to call forth all the energy, courage, thought and will of the applicant for relief, according to the maxim that the best help is self-help. Hence the devices which have been invented and employed to test the willingness and sustain the self-respect of the applicants, so far as they are capable of labor: the employment agencies, woodyards, workrooms, salvage corps, stoneyards, soap factories, vegetable gardens, laundries. When the dependent person lacks industrial training he or she is directed to a place of instruction, and charitable societies are encouraged to multiply the agencies of this type.

In order to enable women to earn something they are relieved in part of the care of young children by means of day nurseries and kindergartens; or, if they can do best for their children by remaining at home, assistance is provided.

Since the spirit of independence is maintained by habits of thrift, the schemes for encouraging savings are made known to the poor and the pennies are collected until they amount to a

sum worth depositing in the bank or are large enough to purchase coal or clothing or furniture at the lowest cash price.

Not seldom organized charity must employ the power of the law and of the police to correct the vagrant, to enforce parental obligations and to chastise the cruel. The man who deserts his wife and children must be brought back or placed in a workhouse; the wife beater must face the judge; the truant must be brought under the firm hand of a probation officer and the wise direction and authority of the Juvenile Court. In such cases special societies, as the society for preventing cruelty or the bureau of justice, are invited to assist.

Personal influence is a vital element in the efficiency of charity organization. It has been found very difficult to secure a sufficient number of competent "friendly visitors" and to hold them together; but some societies, as that of Boston, have had remarkable success in this direction. Very often the agents of the society, a member of the committee, the visitor of a church, a pastor, a legal adviser, a rent collector, a penny savings collector, a teacher or probation officer, or the custodian of a home library becomes the confidential counsellor of a needy family. Family quarrels are calmed, wayward youth are brought home, medical wisdom is invoked, church ties are made firm, children are sent to school, employment is found, moral energy and spiritual aspiration are quickened. This personal factor is of increasing weight and power.

This personal acquaintance with needy and suffering people tends to awaken interest in larger schemes of social betterment. The visitor soon begins to realize that the causes of poverty are numerous and complicated; that personal defects, as drunkenness, vice and indolence, are not the only occasions of suffering. Out of this discovery, and especially in connection with settlement residents, the people are organized to protect their rights and perform their civic duties. Clubs are formed for the enforcement of ordinances, to see that the streets and alleys are cleaned by contractors and that the milkmen deliver pure and wholesome milk. The C. O. S. easily secures the coöperation of physicians, associations of district nurses, hospitals, dispensaries and boards of health in the effort to remove the causes of depressing and mortal diseases. Committees on tenement houses are set

to work investigating conditions, urging public officers to perform their duties as inspectors and regulators, and moving legislatures for amendments to laws or ordinances. Leaflets on the care of infants, on consumption and on other matters of hygiene and sanitation are circulated in the various languages used by our polyglot population. The municipal government, the boards of education and benevolent societies are induced to provide space for play, gymnasium, free baths, wash houses, and instruction in athletics. Daily newspapers and committees are persuaded to secure means to send children and weary mothers to seaside or lakeside, to country and mountain for fresh and invigorating air.

Churches and missions are enabled to see the necessity for enlarging the scope of their moral and uplifting activities. Abstinence societies are formed; industrial sewing schools for girls are gathered; young men are urged to form clubs of boys, bring them together for innocent recreation and save them from the contaminating influence of the street.

From these brief hints it may be seen that the C. O. S. is not so much a specialized form of charity as an inspirer, director and organizer of the philanthropic motives of the entire community. The illustrations just used are all drawn from actual achievements of existing and living societies, and they might easily be multiplied. The history of the C. O. S. movement in the United States is the history of the development of science, good sense, and a coöperative spirit applied to benevolent enterprises.

The machinery of organization is more complex as the city becomes larger and the situation demands higher specialization of function. In a small city a single office, with one salaried secretary, is all that is required; while in a large city there must be several offices and many salaried agents.

The parent association is usually composed of members who contribute an annual membership fee and are entitled to vote for a board of directors. The board of directors acts through a small executive committee. Or the association may be formed of delegates from all the charitable associations of the city empowered to act for all within prescribed limits. The funds are secured by solicitation through letters, public appeals and personal requests. The difficulty of raising money not rarely helps

the finance committee to sympathize with the poor who ever live on the margin of want. Perhaps this is one of the advantages of the voluntary system of charity.

The charity organization societies have very generally sought to give information to the benevolent public or to individual contributors relating to solicitations for gifts. Naturally the methods and resources of the charitable associations and institutions become known to the central bureau in the course of its work.

One of the most interesting attempts to protect the generous from deception is the Charities Endorsement Committee of San Francisco, organized in 1900 by the Merchants' Association and the Associated Charities. In order to form a judgment certain principles or standards were adopted and applied to the investigation of institutions which apply for endorsement of the committee. Thus the standard for the collection of funds includes the requirements: (1) That no endorsed charity shall lend its name to any charity promoter or benefit by any entertainment got up by such promoter. (2) That no such charity shall pay its solicitor a commission greater than 15 per cent. (3) That the endorsement card of every authorized solicitor shall state the purpose for which he is collecting and the sum needed, and that donors shall enter in a subscription book the amount contributed under their own signature.

Child-placing societies must furnish full details in regard to all children placed in homes so that they can be visited and the work of the society tested. Rules are also made for orphanages and similar institutions. Relief agencies must adopt a certain investigation blank, provide for investigation of all applicants, and register all cases with the Associated Charities. The results are said to be encouraging; impostors are driven away; methods of securing funds are improved; less money is wasted and more is available for legitimate charities.

Education and Professional Training of Charity Workers.[1]—In this field progress is now so rapid that any statement will be antiquated before it can be printed. Discussion and experiment seem to have brought charity leaders in the United States to

[1] See J. R. Brackett, Supervision and Education in Charity, 1903, with references there.

see clearly the essential factors in a course of study and training, although there is great diversity of devices. The curriculum must vary with the requirements of the person and the particular calling in view. In a general way the professional work of philanthropy calls for three classes or ranks of members: subordinate assistants, administrators and investigators, although there is no fixed barrier at any point and promotion is always in prospect for capable and vigorous persons. At present the requirement of education of assistants for entrance upon training is about equivalent to graduation from a high school, at the end of the course of secondary instruction. The methods of preparation now in use vary greatly. Most of the visitors and agents of the societies have been trained by the older and more experienced officers, and many of these have become very useful and efficient simply by careful observation, general reading, daily experience and attendance upon the State and National conferences. The C. O. S. of New York City has for several years conducted a summer school at which lectures are given by competent experts and visits are made to institutions. In the autumn of 1903 this society began to provide a two years' course of more systematic instruction and training. In several cities classes have been formed for the study of books on the general field of charity to widen the knowledge of those under training. Thus trained nurses have found that their direct technical preparation in hospitals requires to be supplemented by study of practical sociology, economics, civil government and law, in order that they may understand the conditions of life among the poor and the resources of help in the community.

Not without interest and value, even from the professional standpoint, are the studies of the women's clubs in the cities and towns of the United States. Almost always a committee on philanthropy and civic betterment organizes studies, directs discussion and instigates investigations which lead toward improved legislation and administration.

Many colleges, theological seminaries and universities have, since 1884, introduced lectures as regular courses, designed to awaken interest and educate social leaders in relation to the best methods of charity and social amelioration, and one result of this effort has been to attract to the profession of philanthropic

work many very capable graduates, and to furnish intelligent leaders in other callings.

Almost at the same time in several institutions of highest rank the problem of a special training school for charity administrators has been seriously considered, and at this writing various experiments are planned. The school may be a branch of university extension for those who are too busy for continuous academic discipline; or a special school in close connection with the university; or a college course in which historical and systematic instruction is given along with other studies and the student is trained in the actual office work by persons of experience. It is already apparent that there must be in this grade of education a close coöperation between teachers and trainers; for the class room cannot give technical practice, and the busy administrator has not time for giving scientific instruction.

The universities will prepare investigators who, either as teachers or administrators, will enlarge knowledge, suggest invention of new methods, and prepare the way for improved legislation or institutional practice. But here again there must be vital and friendly coöperation between the trained teachers and the trained experts in practice. Fortunately in the United States there is a cordiality of relations and a sincerity of purpose which promises well for the future of this movement.

The National Conference of Charities and Correction has been the most active and influential of all agencies for the popularization of advanced ideas of method. The proceedings will show that the discussions cover a wide range of topics and many degrees of proficiency in the science and practice of benevolent method. No resolutions are passed and no attempt is made to formulate conclusions reached. Therefore the debates have not even the appearance of seeking to win a majority of votes and and parties are not formed. There may be disadvantages in this form of organization, and a foreigner may at first have some difficulty in discovering the tendency of thought among the most competent. There is also much repetition of statement, and the absence of funds compels the committees to pursue their investigations at their own expense. In spite of all these limitations the volumes of papers and addresses constitute a precious record of serious study and costly experience. Sometimes the resources

of State governments have placed at the service of committees the results of official investigations and statistics. The secretaries and members of the State boards of charities have often been leaders and instructors of the Conference, and their contributions have enriched the records. But the humblest beginners are welcome and those who have any kind of personal experience are free to relate their story.

Dr. Brackett gives accounts of other national organizations which have exerted a direct and helpful influence on the practice of charity: the American Social Science Association founded in 1865, the National Prison Association (1870), the American Academy of Political and Social Science (1889). Other national societies which discuss some branch of relief and prevention are the American Association of Medical Superintendents of Institutions for the Insane (1844), the Association of Medical Officers of Institutions for the Feeble-Minded (1876), the Association for Study of Epilepsy (1901), the National Conference of Hebrew Charities (1900), and the Superior Council of the St. Vincent de Paul Society.

Expositions.—The charity agencies of the country were very inadequately noticed at the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia in 1876; while the exhibit at the World's Fair at Chicago, in 1893, though very much scattered, was suggestive and inspiring. One of the interesting features of the department of social economy at Paris in 1900 was the American exhibit. The activities of Charity and Correction are represented at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition at St. Louis (1904) in a systematic display arranged by the officers of the exposition who have called to their aid an advisory committee who, in some sense, represent the National Conference of Charities and Correction.

F. Indoor Relief.[1]—On June 1, 1890, there were in the almshouses of the United States 73,045 paupers (40,741 male and 32,304 female). This does not tell the total number received during the year, but only the inmates at a given date. The ratios to 1,000,000 of population were: in 1850, 2,171; 1860, 2,638; 1870, 1,990; 1880, 1,320; 1890, 1,166. These are diminishing ratios, and would indicate a relative decrease of pauperism. But during the years since 1850 a process of specialization has been going

[1] By C. R. Henderson.

forward and dependents who would formerly have gone to the poorhouse are sent to schools for the feeble-minded, to hospitals for the insane, to private asylums and homes, and children are placed in families. The facts for private institutions could not be ascertained, but it was known that their growth has been rapid, absolutely and relatively.[1] On June 1, 1890, there were in the benevolent institutions of the United States 111,910 beneficiaries (55,245 male and 56,665 female). Of these 65,651, or 58.67 per cent., were in institutions primarily intended for the care of children; 17,661, or 15.78 per cent., in institutions for adults; 22,473, or 20.08 per cent., in hospitals; 6,125, or 5.47 per cent., in miscellaneous institutions.

Missouri, being on the border between North and South, is an interesting field of study. We have a recent account of the conditions of ninety of the ninety-three county almshouses of that State. The total number of inmates is 3,348 (1,819 male, 1,529 female, 3,056 white, 292 colored). Of these, 1,262 are over 60 years of age, and 92 between 2 and 14 years; 1,177 are insane, 551 feeble-minded, 181 epileptic, 114 blind, 263 crippled, 98 paralytic. The cost per week per inmate is from 90 cents to $2.25. Religious services are held in 35 of the houses and are not held in 55 establishments. Of all the insane 884 (75 per cent.) are in the St. Louis City Poorhouse. There is a tendency to turn the county poorhouse into a local asylum for the insane, since it is cheaper for the county to support its chronic pauper insane at home than in the large State institutions.[2] "The inevitable result of such care everywhere is various degrees of inadequate and brutal treatment ranging downward to the sheerest cruelty. . . . Fifty-four out of the ninety almshouses reporting have cells for the incarceration of the violent insane. Some even have a cell-house which they go so far as to call a 'jail'." Mechanical restraint was used in thirty-seven houses out of forty-eight reporting. Superintendents and investigators report that the insane paupers are chained to the wall till they are quiet, put in cells, tied with ropes, confined with block and chain. One report declares the conditions to be filthy beyond description. The

[1] Crime, Pauperism and Benevolence, Eleventh Census.

[2] A Bulletin on the Condition of the County Almshouses of Missouri, by C. A. Ellwood, 1904.

presence of feeble-minded and epileptic persons in such establishments is the cause of disturbance and misery. Only two almshouses in the State have nurses for the care of the sick, and these are not trained nurses. Practically the only nursing is done by the paupers themselves, with some direction from the superintendent or matron. It seems probable that at least one-third of the county almshouses have cost to build them less than $1,500. Only five almshouses may be said to have fully modern arrangements for heating, lighting, ventilation, bathing facilities, closets and sewerage. There is generally so much land connected with the poorhouse that the superintendent must give more time to the farm than to the inmates, and few of the inmates are able to work. Most of the almshouses are leased to the lowest bidder who meets a minimum requirement for ability and character. Only in thirty-five counties is the almshouse superintendent paid a fixed salary. Naturally the superintendent is tempted to starve the paupers in order to make out of his contract all that is possible. Classification is generally very imperfect; only in three almshouses is there a classification according to sex, race, age and character. Only in sixteen houses is the work test applied; in seventy-four labor is optional. The discipline regulating admission is ill-defined and the management of discharge is still more lax. Only a single almshouse has a library; amusements and recreation for the inmates seem almost entirely lacking; and even work is not systematically provided for all who wish to work to pass away the time.

These conditions in a single State are given in some detail because they are only too typical of many other States where the modern ideals of relief have not been enforced through suitable legislation and central supervision and control. These evils which disgrace a splendid and generous people are the natural and inevitable products of a system which leaves the duty of the State to be performed by local administrators.

Missouri has recently made laudable progress in the right direction. An act of the legislature of 1903 requires the circuit judge to appoint a board of visitors upon the petition of fifteen citizens. It is the duty of this board to visit and inspect the county institutions and report to the State Board of Charities, the County Court and the circuit judge. The laws of New York,

Ohio, Illinois and other States have similar provisions. Mr. Ellwood recommends, as necessary means of improvement, visitation by local boards of visitors, inspection by expert State officials, and centralized legislative and executive control, and in this he represents the most enlightened opinion of the country.

Wherever the local almshouses have been brought under the State Boards of Charities, whose functions have already been discussed, improvement may be noted, and in the most advanced States the worst abuses are unknown. But the reports of such States as Illinois, Indiana, Michigan and Ohio reveal conditions which are unworthy of a civilized people, and this is sometimes true in spite of the fact that the abuses were made public in official documents in some cases many years ago. These facts prove that publicity is not a panacea, and that a central board must be armed with power to reform a local institution and not merely to report on it and give some good advice.

Statistics, descriptions and reports from many States prove that changes are rapidly going forward and, as a rule, in the right direction. Children are either not sent to the almshouse or are speedily removed to special institutions or placed in families; and gradually the States are enacting laws which forbid local authorities to send children to these places.

There is a tendency toward separating tramps, disorderly persons and other misdemeanants from the almshouse population and bringing them under the severe discipline and training of genuine workhouses.

The protest against retaining the chronic pauper insane in county almshouses is growing stronger and more influential. Some States are transferring all their insane to central hospitals or colonies (as Massachusetts) and others are placing county asylums for the pauper insane under State supervision (as Wisconsin). In a few years we may hope to see all the insane under some form of State control.

The movement to provide for epileptics in State colonies is gaining momentum, and we may hopefully look for the time to come when this disturbing and dangerous element of poorhouse population will be segregated and given more suitable and humane treatment. Feeble-minded persons will be provided for in special custodial colonies, and all will be trained to productive

industry as far as possible; as is already done in New York and in other States. Long ago the States have built schools for the deaf and the blind, but provision for dependent adults whose infirmities cripple them in competitive industry, is as yet entirely inadequate.

G. Vagrants.[1]—As already indicated, the vagrants are not properly admissible to the help of the poor law, but are punishable for criminal acts. "It seems that the criminality rests upon a combination of these circumstances: the absence of lawful means of support, the neglect to seek employment, and the offensive public exhibition of such condition."[2] The vagrant has been found and regarded for ages as a public enemy. The difficulty of dealing with him lies first of all in the fact that he pleads destitution and misfortune, and numbers himself among the dependents on charity or among the honest workmen who are temporarily unemployed. The methods of sifting out genuine vagrants from the other classes all turn on the "work test" applied to able-bodied persons, either by private or public agencies.

The most common method of the charitable society in America is a lodging house which provides some simple industry, frequently a woodyard, and gives shelter, meals and laundry in return for labor. These measures are fairly effective with really honest men who are seeking occupation, and they would help discourage indolent tramps were it not for the persistence of indiscriminate and unquestioning almsgiving on the street.

Experience seems to have shown that there must be systematic coöperation between the Central Relief Association or C. O. S. and the police, because so many street beggars are actually vagrants and should be corrected in a workhouse under severe discipline. In order to discover what persons require to be under the discipline of penal institutions the charitable associations of cities are obliged to appoint special investigators who are practically detectives and who follow up street beggars until their habits and character are thoroughly known and evidence for the magistrates is collected and presented, or the honest men put in a way of earning their own living. In some cities this special method of treatment has been introduced with encouraging results.

[1] By C. R. Henderson. [2] E. Freund, Police Power, p. 99.

The municipal lodging house is a necessity in large towns, and while it should be conducted in a fair and humane spirit, it should be in close touch with the police. The wandering man or woman is registered, cleansed in a bath, the clothing disinfected, a comfortable bed is furnished, wholesome food is provided, and the person is sent out to designated places to secure employment. If employment is not sought, or is refused when found, the person is summarily tried for vagrancy and sent to a workhouse. In this way the search for employment is used as the work test.

While the United States government has exercised its sovereign right to exclude persons liable to become a charge upon public charity, the several States cannot interfere with the liberty of citizens to travel where they will so long as they are not actually chargeable. When a person becomes dependent he may be sent to the place of settlement and there required to remain, under the control of the authorities.

It is impossible to secure accurate and reliable statistics of the tribe of wanderers in the United States. We have no system of registration of those who come and go as may be found, for example, in Germany. The number naturally varies greatly with the years; in times of industrial depression many regular workingmen mingle with the army of vagabonds and tramps and sometimes form the tramp habit.

A careful recent study[1] has brought out the causes of vagrancy and methods of treatment in a very clear and forcible way. Unwise philanthropy, bad systems of public relief, faulty municipal administration, errors in methods of transportation and the personal defects in character and training are cited as the causes. It is said that there are 200 common lodging houses in Chicago, 113 in Baltimore, 104 in New York, 106 in Philadelphia and no adequate supervision and control in any city.

Methods.—Wayfarers' Lodges: Mr. Marsh says of these: "Adequate provision should be made for every respectable homeless man to secure his board and lodging for a limited time while looking for remunerative employment, in return for three or four hours' work daily. This will involve in all cities of over 50,000 a Wayfarers' Lodge under private or public management, with

[1] Mr. B. C. Marsh, in Annals Amer. Acad., May, 1904, p. 37.

compulsory bath and medical examination." In charge of these cheap inns of the best type are men who take a genuine interest in men and boys who are in love with vagabondage and who seek to win them to the ways of regular industry. The sick are sent to hospitals, the honest laborer is found employment, the criminal is trained in a house of correction.

The experience of Chicago is cited. During 1901 the number of homeless men and boys lodged in the police stations of Chicago was 92,591. During 1902 the number lodged at police stations was 5,740. During 1902 the number lodged at the municipal lodging house was 11,097; so that the decrease of the number of homeless men and boys lodged at the expense of the city was 75,754 in one year.[1]

Among the municipal measures employed with good results are control of peddlers, schools and asylums for the blind and crippled to keep them from street begging, supervision of lodging houses by the police and detectives, and the elimination of habitual criminals.

In Massachusetts the State government has been establishing reformatory measures which deserve study and imitation. Mendicants are brought into court and released under suspended sentence on probation. The condition of the release is that the holder of the permit does not return to his former habits of vagrancy and dissipation. Drunkards are committed to the State Farm and when discharged are placed under the care of probation officers.

The probation officer is an essential factor in dealing with vagrants set at liberty on condition of leading a right life. Fifty-nine volunteer probation officers serve the State of Massachusetts, and the number of vagrants on the State Farm has diminished from 42 per cent. of all inmates in 1892 to 16 per cent. in 1903.

The application of the Bertillon system of measurement and identification has not yet been made to vagrants, though it has been proposed. We have still to look to the future for uniform legislation in all the States, and the adoption of measures of

[1] The horrors of the police station stone floor as a lodging place are depicted in W. A. Wyckoff's The Workers (The West), p. 37.

inspection and oversight which are already in successful operation in some commonwealths.[1]

H. Medical Relief of the Poor.[2]—In the poorhouse of each county the inmates are ordinarily treated by a medical officer who is paid a fixed sum by the year or a fee for each visit, according to a contract. As the poorhouse is usually at a distance from towns this service is occasionally very imperfect and suffering results. It seems certain that neglect of dental work is a cause of much misery among paupers, although this is a topic rarely thought of or discussed.

Paupers are attended in their homes by the "poor physician," who is not seldom the same person who visits the inmates of the poorhouse. He is generally a young man, fresh from the medical college, to whom the practice, the small salary and the distinction of a modest office are the considerations. In the large towns and cities this outdoor medical relief is more systematically ordered and connected with the outpatient departments of public hospitals.

The census of 1890 gave the total number of patients "in benevolent institutions in hospitals" as 22,473 (12,990 males, 9,483 females), of whom 11,690 were in the North Atlantic division, 1,404 in the South Atlantic, 6,302 in the North Central, 1,611 in the South Central and 1,506 in the Western. Of course this exhibit for a single day's registration gave an imperfect notion of the total annual number of patients treated.

Hospitals.—The tables collected by Burdett indicate that the finances of hospitals in this country are so managed that they seldom run into debt and pay interest, and it is said in explanation: "This is very satisfactory, because it indirectly proves that the interest felt by individual citizens is constant and considerable. It further indicates that the financial management is on the whole satisfactory, although the fact that the majority of the hospitals are rate-supported may account in some measure for the circumstance to which we refer."

As to the cost of treatment Burdett says: "The highest cost per in-patient per diem at a general hospital in the United States

[1] See Proceedings of National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1904, for further discussion.

[2] By C. R. Henderson.

of America is that at the Johns Hopkins Hospital, Baltimore, namely, $2.25 or 9s. 3d. Dividing the other hospitals into two classes, those with 200 beds and over, and those with under 200 beds, we find that in the former class at the Lakeside Hospital, Cleveland, the cost per in-patient per day was $2.18 or 9s., at the Pennsylvania University Hospital, $2.12 or 8s. 9d.; at the Roosevelt Hospital, New York, $2.01 or 8s. 4d.; at the Hartford Hospital, $1.90 or 7s. 10d., and at the Western Pennsylvania, $1.68 or 6s. 11d.; while at the other end of the scale is the Pennsylvania Hospital, with $1.24 a day or 5s. 1d." In the second class the highest amount is expended at the St. Luke's Hospital, San Francisco, $1.90 or 7s. 10d., and the lowest at the Garfield Memorial Hospital, $1.31 or 5s. 4d.[1]

The cost of maintaining hospitals has greatly increased of recent years. An officer of a metropolitan hospital has said that in 1871 the average cost of each patient per diem was $1.01 and in 1903 had come to be $2.98, including all expenses except improvements in the plants. This increased cost per diem is due chiefly to the higher prices for food and other necessaries, to the greatly improved methods of treatment, the higher standards of care, and the better wages paid for nurses. The aggregate sums expended have been increased because the cities are larger, the houses are more crowded and unfit for the treatment of many medical and almost all serious surgical cases, and because there are more persons in need of charitable help during sickness in the great centers of immigrant population.

In consequence of this heightened cost many urban hospitals on private foundations are in a serious financial condition and compelled to face curtailment of service in the face of increasing need. Mr. Frank Tucker showed that the deficits of twenty hospitals in New York City in 1902 aggregated $432,368.78, and he stated that there were grounds for fearing that the deficits were often met by taking from the principal of productive funds, a policy which must before long be ruinous.

Several proposals have been made for improving the situation, but these suggestions are by no means altogether consistent with each other. It has been urged that more dependents be treated in their homes and thus obviate the necessity for enlarg-

[1] Burdett's Hospitals and Charities, 1903, p. 161.

ing hospital service. Others who think hospital service is even now inadequate think that immense endowment funds must be raised so that the interest on these funds will cover the deficiencies. The experiment has been tried of charging even poor persons a small fee, when it is possible for them to pay, but this cannot be carried far without excluding those who most need medical aid. Others insist that cities and counties should at least pay the full actual cost of dependent patients treated by private institutions; but this would be, so far as it went, public and not private charity.

Meantime municipalities are extending their medical and surgical care of the indigent sick and thus narrowing the field of benevolent institutions.[1]

Dispensaries.—The medical dispensary is thoroughly established in the cities of the United States. The poor are attracted to it for advice and medicines because it enables them to secure competent physicians, and many are utterly unable to pay the customary fees. The physicians are ready to render gratuitous services from various motives, as philanthropy, the desire to advance the interests of their science and art, the love of distinction, the necessity of having clinical material for their instruction as teachers in medical schools, and the chance to advertise themselves as practitioners. The extent to which dispensary practice is carried is indicated, though not accurately exhibited, by the results of investigations in Philadelphia and New York City. In Philadelphia it was found in 1903 that there were 61 dispensaries devoted to the relief of the sick and injured, more than half of which were connected with hospitals. In 42 of the dispensaries 305,980 cases were treated during 1902. In New York 876,070 patients were treated during 1900. There is a manifest tendency to increased use of the clinic.

The public is interested both in the philanthropic service and the scientific and professional results of the clinics. "It is often to the advantage of the Community that persons able to pay a small fee should be treated without further return than their willingness to serve as subjects for demonstration for classes of medical students. It is a strong argument for confining free dispensaries to teaching institutions."

[1] See Charities, Jan. 2, 1904.

The chief evils of the dispensary of which physicians and other competent observers complain are: the use of the clinic by persons who are able to pay fees, and the consequent loss to the income of regular practitioners; the pauperization of persons who thus get something for nothing; the negligent treatment of patients which arises from the attempt in crowded dispensaries to handle many persons in a short time.

One of the most significant attempts to keep the free dispensary while minimizing the abuses is that of the State of New York. A law provides that all dispensaries shall be licensed by the State Board of Charities, and this board has power to inspect licensed dispensaries and, after due notice, to revoke licenses if the public interest seems to require such action. All emergency cases must be admitted and receive prompt care and treatment. All applicants who are thought to be needy are treated. If there is reason to think the patient may be able to pay, an investigation is made and the results recorded as a means of checking future imposition. A further safeguard is the clause which requires the patient to sign a statement of his condition and makes it a misdemeanor to record a false statement.[1]

One of the serious defects in medical relief in rural communities is the absence of proper hospital facilities. Persons of wealth can be taken to city institutions if their physical conditions admit of transportation. But in numerous instances it is not safe to move the patient and in cases of poverty the means are lacking. Indiana, by an act of the legislature (March 4, 1903), has authorized the establishment and maintenance of hospitals by boards of county commissioners, either with or without the aid of hospital associations. Indigent patients may be sent to such hospitals on the certificate of the township trustee, who is the relieving officer. Pay patients may be received and charged ordinary rates for such service. Indigent patients may be received from other counties for a payment of cost, and two or more counties may unite in erecting a hospital. Private physicians may send pay patients under regulations of the board.

It is very common in certain States for the Catholic sisters to establish a hospital in a city or town of moderate size, manage it with great industry and economy, add to its wealth and

[1] F. B. Kirkbride, Annals Am. Acad., May, 1894, p. 16 ff.

buildings from the profits on pay patients, gifts and subsidies from the poor-relief fund, and in a few decades build up institutions of the first class.

Red Cross Society.[1]—The Red Cross Society came into existence at Geneva, Switzerland, in 1866, when thirty-nine of the leading nations of the world signed a treaty making neutral in war all hospitals, their stores, physicians and attendants, promising protection to the latter who remained on the battlefield caring for the dead and wounded, and making obligatory upon the members of the society impartial care for every soldier of whatever nationality. Under this treaty societies were formed in each nation, with a National Committee at Geneva, with a common purpose of ameliorating the condition of the sick and wounded soldiers in time of war.

When the United States joined the Federation in 1884 under the leadership of Miss Clara Barton the purpose of the society was extended to include aid given in time of national disaster. The terms of the treaty were then made to embrace the following:

(*a*) In each country there shall be one national central society to which the auxiliary societies in that country shall be contributory, the central society being the medium of communication for all within the seat of war and with medical authorities.

(*b*) The societies shall in time of peace keep themselves constantly prepared for war, thus securing permanency of organization.

(*c*) During war succor shall be extended to foe equally with friend.

(*d*) Societies whose countries are at peace may give relief to the belligerent armies without being considered as violators of neutrality.

In the United States the work of the Red Cross has been mostly done in time of national disaster, and the public have come to depend upon the association as a medium for distribution of its contributions during such times. The most memorable services of the society were rendered at the time of the floods of the Mississippi and Ohio rivers, the Michigan forest fires,

[1] Written by Miss Ashcraft. See "A Story of the Red Cross," by Clara Barton, 1904.

Texas famine, Charleston earthquake, the cyclones at Mt. Vernon, Illinois, and Pomeroy, Iowa, Florida yellow fever, Johnstown disaster, Russian famine, the Armenian massacres, the Cuban Reconcentrado wars and the Spanish-American War.

Tuberculosis. — The social movement to contend against this "white scourge" of mankind may be regarded as typical, for consumption is a communicable and preventable disease which directly affects the community, causes pauperism, diminishes industrial efficiency, increases the burden of taxation and calls for charitable assistance on a grand scale. The war on consumption will teach the nation how to deal with pneumonia, diphtheria, skin diseases, etc., and will inspire hope of success.

Tuberculosis is one of the most serious causes of misery in the United States. One-tenth of all deaths are due to this cause; in the large cities the proportion ranges from 7 to 15 per cent. About 100,000 die annually in this country from this cause. Dr. Herman M. Biggs has estimated that the total annual loss to New York City from this disease is at least $23,000,000, and that the loss to the United States must be more than $330,000,000. Here is one of the causes of pauperism and one of the chief tasks of philanthropy. Sickness is said to be the cause of poverty in at least one case out of four, and a lingering disease like consumption, especially as it is likely to fall on the bread-winner, becomes a specially heavy burden.[1]

The fundamental factor in this hopeful crusade against one of the chief causes of misery is the advance in medical science, the discoveries in relation to the nature and causes of tuberculosis made in pathological laboratories, hospitals, dispensaries and practice. Social statistical investigations of the phenomenon in relation to age, sex, race, marital condition, occupation, dwellings, income, etc., have made important contributions.

Philanthropy has allied itself to the medical profession and furnished resources for the wise action of experts in the healing art. Hospitals and sanatoria have been built by benevolent persons, associations, religious bodies, cities, commonwealths and the nation.

Mr. Henry Phipps gave $1,000,000 for the founding of an

[1] Lilian Brandt, The Social Aspects of Tuberculosis, in Handbook on the Prevention of Tuberculosis.

institution for the investigation, cure and prevention of tuberculosis. Four cities (Cincinnati, Boston, New York and Buffalo) have erected municipal hospitals. Pennsylvania has a sanitarium in its forests. Massachusetts and 9 other States have sanatoria. Cook County, Illinois, in which Chicago is situated, has an isolated building for pauper consumptives on the grounds of its almshouse.

Dr. S. A. Knopf[1] has given a partial list of sanatoria and hospitals for consumptives in the United States, which shows that such institutions exist in California, Colorado, Connecticut, Illinois, Iowa, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, New Mexico, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Texas and in Canada. These are supported by fees of patients, private benevolent associations, churches, counties, States, and by the general government.

Mr. Homer Folks, when Commissioner of Public Charities in New York City in 1903, made a study of the cost of a municipal sanatorium for tuberculous dependent patients. Estimating the cost of land at $250 per acre he concluded that an institution for 500 persons could be provided at a cost of $450,000. In regard to expense for maintenance he found wide variations, from seventy-five cents to $1.42 per diem. He thought the expense of maintenance in a municipal hospital might be about $1.00 per diem, including cost of food, clothing, bedding, salaries, medical supplies, light and fuel, and ordinary repairs. Where there is good land for vegetable garden, dairy and light farming the cost may be somewhat reduced by utilizing the labor of the inmates.

Philadelphia has erected, at an expense of $80,000, a hospital constructed of steel and glass, with roofs and walls so arranged that they can be opened on hinges. New York has built a sanatorium with 20 beds in the Adirondack mountains for the treatment of incipient pulmonary tuberculosis. The New Hampshire legislature in 1903 voted $5,000 to aid poor consumptives in a private establishment. New Jersey gave $100,000 for a State hospital.

By means of dispensaries, clinics and out-patient service of hospitals many ambulant cases have been helped or cured and made less dangerous to the community. District nurses' associa-

[1] A Handbook on the Prevention of Tuberculosis, 1903, pp. 357-9.

tions have sent their missionaries of health among the poor and ignorant, have mitigated suffering and stayed the spread of the terrible scourage.

In Chicago the anti-tuberculosis movement was organized in 1903 by the Visiting Nurse Association by the appointment of a committee of persons representing the medical profession and the educational, charitable, social and industrial movements in the city. District physicians examine and treat all cases of consumption coming to the notice of the visiting nurses or the Bureau of Charities. The physicians' headquarters are the twelve district offices of the bureau, and a visiting nurse is assigned to each physician, to care for the cases under his direction. Careful records are kept of the clinical history and the material surroundings of each case in order to locate infected districts that these may be carefully investigated. By means of lectures, tracts and circulars popular instruction is given.

Charitable aid to the sick and to their families has made it possible for men to remain away from work until they could recover strength or has transferred them to occupations not too severe and to surroundings more favorable to improvement. Philanthropy, by means of diet kitchens, has provided nutritious food at low cost or gratuitously, and gathered the money to pay for medicines and nursing in homes.

Benevolent enterprise has taken the form of preventive methods, through the coöperation of public and private agencies. Myriads of publications, weighty with the high authority of eminent names of physicians, have been scattered among the people. Notices have been fastened to the walls in public places and in street cars. The people have been warned that consumption is a disease which spreads from person to person; that it is chiefly caused by the filthy habit of spitting; that it is a disease which may be stopped; that people are seldom born with consumption, and that it is caused by a very small living thing whose name is "bacillus tuberculosis;" that these germs fall upon the earth or floors where one spits, are carried by dry dust to throat and lungs, and then set up the deadly malady. Men are instructed that strong drink and all forms of dissipation enfeeble the body and make it more liable to contagion.[1]

[1] And the New York Charity Organization Society adds: "If you wish to read

Charitable societies in cities have provided lectures by medical men in schools, clubs, churches and elsewhere for the instruction of the people. Boards of health have exacted reports from physicians; have isolated dangerous cases; have warned those who were in peril; have condemned unfit habitations or cleansed, disinfected and renovated those which could be improved. Legislatures and councils have enacted police ordinances and regulations to prevent spitting. The whole movement to secure better dwellings for the poor,[1] with necessary light, ventilation and space, is in alliance with the anti-tuberculosis crusade.

The C. O. S. of New York City in 1901 appointed a committee of 12 physicians and 15 laymen to prosecute the effort to instruct the public. In one year 83 lectures were given and there was an attendance of 6,290 hearers. Montreal, Washington, St. Paul, New Haven, Cambridge, Scranton, Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia and other cities have followed the same policy.

Much that is done to prevent the adulteration of food, the sale of decaying fruits and meats and impure milk, to secure more ample space for parks and playgrounds, cheap excursions and country outings, vegetable and flower gardens and open air recreations has for its motive the prevention of enfeebling diseases. The wardens and directors of prisons are laboring to secure better light and ventilation in the institutions of correction which have long been notorious breeding spots for consumption, especially where they are dark and crowded, and where isolation wards and shops are not supplied. The managers of theatres and other public places of amusement are beginning to heed the warning of science; medical men are urging churches to have their edifices hygienically constructed, well ventilated and without fixed carpets, and are urging clergymen to refuse to lend their names to patent medicines, which are so frequently made of cheap whiskey and dangerous ingredients. Newspapers are exhorted to cease advertising these nostrums and quack

more on this important matter, write to the C. O. S. for information." Other societies are doing similar work.

[1] See DeForest and Veiller, The Tenement House Problem, 1903, and Tenement Conditions in Chicago (City Homes Association Report, 1901).

remedies for consumption. Employers are urged to take proper precautions in places of work, in factories and stores.

The anti-tuberculosis enterprise has inevitably become a temperance crusade. Thus Dr. Knopf, one of the chief apostles of this movement, says: "Concerning alcoholism and other intemperate habits, which are so often the forerunners of consumption, I desire to speak plainly. . . . I consider alcohol a medicine, at times indispensable in the treatment of certain diseases; but liquor as a beverage is never useful and nearly always harmful. Alcoholism must be considered the greatest enemy of the welfare of the nation, the most frequent destroyer of family happiness, the cause of the ruin of mind, body, and soul; and certainly the most active coöperator of the deadly tubercle bacillus. . . . . Alcohol has never cured and never will cure tuberculosis. It will either prevent or retard recovery."

Certain trade unions, especially those of the garment workers, have rendered considerable help to sanitary officers by investigations of their own; and this is an important ally.

M. Casimir-Périer, formerly President of France, in an address before the Central International Tuberculosis Committee in 1903, said: "The struggle with tuberculosis is intimately bound up with the solution of the most complex economic problems, and no plans will be complete which have not for their basis the material and moral improvement of the people. The struggle with tuberculosis demands the mobilization of all social forces, public and private, official and voluntary."

In consequence of improved methods of dealing with consumption the mortality from this cause has diminished since 1890. In the registration area the general death-rate in 1890 was 196.5 in 10,000 population, and in 1900 was 178.0 or 9.4 per cent.; while the death-rate from consumption fell from 24.5 to 19.1,—a decrease of 22.4 per cent. In the State of New York since 1886 the rate has fallen 35 per cent.; the deaths from 4.27 per cent. of population in 1881 to 2.5 in 1901.

During these years much thought, discussion and action have been devoted to tuberculosis. The people generally have been taught by medical men, boards of health and popular articles to understand the nature and causes of the disease and modes of preventing communication. Physicians themselves have a better

knowledge on the subject. The cities have been making a more vigorous effort to secure better conditions of cleanliness, and the means of sustaining vitality have been improved. Improvement has been 5 per cent. greater in cities than in the rural part of the registration area.

J. DEFECTIVES. *The Blind and the Deaf.*[1]—The teachers of the blind and of the deaf in the United States earnestly protest against classifying their pupils among objects of charity. They assert that the State acknowledges the obligation of giving an elementary education to all children, and that the schools for the blind and for the deaf are parts of the free public school system. This plea is accepted; and yet, as a matter of fact, these defects do cause an expenditure for support which is a burden upon public charity, and in adult life special measures are necessary to prevent or alleviate the sufferings of the destitute.

The methods of instruction and training in the schools should be considered rather in special works on pedagogy than in an account of charitable systems.[2]

Defective Children in Public Schools.—There are great advantages in retaining children at home so far as this is possible. They need the care of father and mother and the companionship and freedom of family life, especially during childhood. The burden of support should fall primarily on the family and the neighborhood of the home. The artificial life of the institution is a poor preparation for the ordinary modes of existence. For these reasons the public schools are gradually providing special rooms and teachers for children who are slow, refractory, peculiar, blind, deaf and crippled. Thus in Chicago (Report of Superintendent for 1902) provision was made in 13 different school buildings for 23 classes of deaf children, with an enrollment of 192 and an average daily attendance of 148. The per capita cost of instruction, including all current expenses, but not including repairs and permanent improvements and incidentals, was $103.97 for the school year,—or $135.15 for average daily

[1] By C. R. Henderson.

[2] Education of Defectives, by E. E. Allen, in Education in the United States, Ed. N. M. Butler, 1900. Also, monograph distributed at the St. Louis Exposition, 1904.—G. S. Hall, Bibliography of Education, p. 254 ff.—W. S. Monroe, Bibliography of Education, p. 82 ff.

attendance. Provision was made for blind children in three different public schools, in three rooms, with 21 pupils, and $202.35 per capita cost on enrollment. In two buildings 99 crippled children were taught by four teachers, in rooms especially suited to their needs on the ground floor; and in the summer a camp in the country gives them vacation enjoyments.

It is very gratifying to an American to read the favorable comments of Europeans on our methods of teaching and caring for children with defects of hearing. Professor G. Ferreri, after a visit to America, praises the location, the buildings, the sanitary arrangements, the dormitories, the methods of instruction and the spirit of hope which are observed in our institutions. "L'americano non discute mai quando crede di fare un' opera buona."[1]

The Insane.—The laws of the several States provide that an insane person may be placed in an asylum for treatment, without his own consent, if he is dangerous or even for his own benefit. While all the States provide for the insane, private institutions are also permitted to receive patients afflicted with mental disease, though not without State supervision and control. No person can be deprived of liberty without judicial process. When a State board of lunacy or of charities has been created these private establishments are placed under central supervision; the qualifications of the managers are made the subject of inquiry; the facilities of the house are examined; reports are required; modes of treatment are studied; and regulations for safety are established. The general policy in the United States is to provide for all the dependent insane on grounds of public safety and humane duty; to permit even those who are able to pay to use the hospitals on the ground that as taxpayers they have contributed to their support and have a right to their benefits when required; and to give full liberty to families of means to make more comfortable provisions for their unfortunate relatives in private institutions which are supervised by the State.[2]

It is still in doubt whether the number of the insane is actually

[1] See Istituzioni americane per l'educazione dai sordomuti, F. Ferreri, 1903; notice by P. Parise in Riv. Ben. Pubb., Feb., 1904, p. 148.

[2] The law of commitment has already been mentioned above. See also E. Freund, Police Power, p. 242 ff.

increasing in the United States. The statistics probably indicate an increase somewhat more apparent than real because more patients are sent to hospitals and the records of cases are more complete than formerly. But there is no room for doubt that the number of the insane who are dependent on public relief has increased, and the financial burden has become one of the most serious factors in State taxation. Massachusetts has kept good records for over 40 years, and while in 1863 there were 1,900 insane paupers out of 6,000, in July, 1902, there were 8,497 insane out of 16,324 paupers, an increase in ratio from one-third to one-half. In six States of New England there are 19,000 insane in a population of 5,800,000, or one to 300 inhabitants.

In 1860 the total number of the insane, including idiots, was 48,824; in 1870, 59,677; and the ratios 1 to 728, and 1 to 637 respectively. In 1889 the total number treated in both public and private hospitals was 97,535. Dr. Maudsley's explanation of the apparent increase in England applies to the United States. There is no satisfactory evidence of an increase in the proportion of cases of insanity to the population. The registration of the insane is now more complete than formerly, the diagnosis of the disease being better understood. The lower rate of mortality accounts for part of the total amount of insanity.

Almost all the States have one or more institutions for the treatment and custody of the insane, and many of these rank among the best in the world and meet the highest requirements of modern knowledge. But the provision remains inadequate; institutions are often crowded; acute cases are occasionally refused; indigent chronic patients are frequently sent back to rural almshouses to suffer unspeakable misery from ignorance and neglect.

It would be unprofitable and apart from the scope of this volume to enter into the medical technique of treatment of the insane in the United States, since only the methods of social organization and administration are here under consideration. But there is one matter which relates to the professional side of the subject that should receive attention of the public, the connection between the merit system and the advancement of that branch of medical science which deals with mental diseases. In some way the people must learn that the most eminent service of

investigators cannot be given by a medical officer who is hounded by partisan politicians and who is uncertain of the tenure of his office. The development of knowledge goes on only in quiet and security. Fortunately in some States these offices are almost entirely "out of politics," and the medical officers are fairly certain that they can go steadily on improving their methods and perfecting their policies without rude and brutal interruption from place-hunters.

The writer would be profoundly gratified if he could honestly publish to the civilized world that this happy condition is true of all States; but with the evidence before him from repeated and extended investigations he is ashamed to confess that in some commonwealths the changes are frequent, unreasonable and destructive of all possibility of contributing to the science of psychiatry or the art of curing or helping the insane. At the same time the abuses are not quite so great or common here as in some other branches of the public care of dependents, because the dangers to the community are so obvious and terrible if the helpless maniacs are entrusted to the incompetent. In some States it remains true that every time there is a change in the party strength, or even if a new faction of a party gains a victory over the clique in power, all the superintendents and their corps of assistants are given notice that their places are wanted for others, and these others are frequently persons without professional training for the positions.

The policy of providing for all patients by the State in Massachusetts includes the following recommendations of the board: hospital buildings for the acute, curable class; industrial and home colonies for the quiet, harmless and able-bodied insane; infirmaries for the sick and the feeble; buildings specially adapted to the care and treatment of chronic patients who are disturbed; farmhouses for farm working patients; tuberculosis pavilions; separate houses for nurses; private residences for superintendents.

The classes of persons who come under the supervision of the Massachusetts Board of Insanity are the insane, the feeble-minded, the epileptic and the inebriate. Gradually all the insane will be removed from local almshouses to State institutions. Private institutions must be licensed and supervised by the board.

The experiment of boarding out a limited number of harmless patients, carefully selected, in supervised families, is going on under the care of the State Board of Insanity in Massachusetts. On September 30, 1903, 159 patients were in this category. During the year 194 different persons were thus placed, and the average number at one time 144. The total expenditure was $23,050.84, and the weekly rate for public charges was $3.45. There was no accident of a serious nature during the year. The results in respect to improvement and comfort of patients are regarded as encouraging. Most of these patients are women and are boarded with farmers or with widows in the country.[1]

The policy of Wisconsin is in contrast with that of Massachusetts. This policy, which has had considerable influence in other States, is one of county care of the confirmed cases of insanity, but with supervision by the Board of Control. The recent and supposedly curable patients are sent to the State hospitals, but when it is thought that they are beyond recovery they are sent to the county asylum. It is claimed that this plan is economical, since the per capita cost is less than in a large establishment; and it is also asserted by advocates of the system that it is more humane, since the numbers kept together are smaller, freedom of movement less constrained, and visits from relatives and friends more frequent. Criticism of the method is very strong in some quarters, and one reads complaints that supervision is very ineffective where the small institutions are so numerous and widely scattered. It is also claimed that the medical service is defective; that patients are sometimes abused; and that superintendents trained to care for the insane are not and cannot be provided.

Certainly the Wisconsin plan is far superior to that of many other States where the pauper insane are confined in county poorhouses without any kind of State supervision. Some of the descriptions of such poorhouses are revolting in the extreme. As there is not room in the State hospitals the dependent insane are sent back to the counties from which they came to make room for acute and curable patients. The number of the insane increases so rapidly that the legislatures are slow to build enough

[1] Fifth Annual Report of the Massachusetts State Board of Insanity, 1904, p. 66, Dr. Owen Copp, executive officer.

new hospitals to accommodate all, and thus there is no alternative but to crowd the poorhouses with these helpless and often dangerous patients. As the superintendents of these small establishments are without training for the delicate task of caring for the insane, and as there are seldom competent nurses, the disturbed and violent patients are often chained to a wall, or thrust into a cell, or punished with whipping as if they were criminals. In some instances the miserable county jail has been used for the confinement of lunatics. Almost any kind of inspection by a State board will improve these conditions in some degree; but even after many years of such inspection stories of barbarity reappear and shock the community, while many of the worst abuses never come to the knowledge of the humane public. One thing is made perfectly clear by American experience, State central control, as well as supervision, is necessary to prevent the wrongs sure to occur in local poorhouses and jails, unless the oversight is extremely strict and effective.

State inspection of hospitals for the insane is a necessary means of securing reliable service. This inspection is sometimes made by boards of charities and sometimes by special commissioners. Dr. D. H. Tuke stated that he found the medical superintendents averse, in many instances, to supervision of visitors who were without medical training. He expressed the judgment: "Some irritation and annoyance will almost inevitably arise at times, in regard to advice tendered on points upon which doctors ought to be, if they are not, better judges than their advisers. But it appears to us that, officious and harassing as individual members may sometimes be, such a board is of use, and must certainly be continued until medical lunacy boards are introduced; and even then I should regard it as very desirable to secure the unpaid services of the same class of men and women as visitors, though no longer as commissioners. . . . Ladies may prove invaluable in this way, for they often see the necessity of certain comforts and changes which may escape the attention of officials."[1]

Reception Hospitals.—Very general regret is expressed among alienists in this country that many families fail to send their relatives to a hospital for the insane until the psychosis is so far ad-

[1] D. H. Tuke, The Insane in the United States and Canada, 1885, p. 73.

vanced that cure is hopeless. The ordinary physician has little experience in the diagnosis of insanity, and people dread the disgrace of having a friend in the confinement of State institutions. To remedy these evils it is proposed to have wards of general hospitals in cities set apart for this class of patients, with trained attendants and specialists in charge of the medical service. To enter these wards of detention and observation a tedious and trying legal inquisition would not be necessary. Patients would go to them voluntarily. Some beginnings have been made already in this direction, as at Bellevue Hospital, New York City; Albany, New York; Philadelphia, and at the University Hospital at Ann Arbor, Michigan.[1]

Feeble-Minded and Epileptics.—Only in part has the difference between the insane on the one hand and the feeble-minded and epileptic on the other been practically acknowledged in the social methods of the United States. It has not been very long since they were all herded together in jails or almshouses, or left, if harmless, to go about exposed to ridicule, outrage or cruelty. It was an advance to establish hospitals and custodial asylums for the insane, with whom idiots and epileptics were mingled. It was a mark of further progress when special wards, pavilions or cottages were assigned to epileptics. Now the process of further specialization is urged by the National Conference of Charities and Correction, by State conferences, by medical officers and by enlightened philanthropists, and the effects of this agitation are to be noted. As the sun moves from east to west, so the progress of a social idea may be observed to follow the direction from New England westward, along the line of social development, migration and settlement; only that now in the West and South independent centers of original initiative are established and multiplied.

The earlier conception of work for the feeble-minded was symbolized in the word "school," since it was thought that many, if not most, of this class could be educated and trained for independent life. It is still held that each child should have all the help which can be given it to develop its limited and crippled faculties, but the emphasis has come to be placed on the idea of custody, segregation and prevention thereby of propagation.

[1] N. C. C., 1903, p. 436, Drs. Spink and Herdmann.

Rarely are those who are seriously affected restored to civil life. Those who wander about, or are given freedom of entrance to almshouses, especially feeble-minded girls and women, are exposed to grave dangers and evils. Generations of defectives return to the poorhouse and a source of contamination is kept open. Social defence calls for the isolation and permanent custody in farm colonies of all members of this class, and this claim is now generally accepted, although the means of carrying out the right conviction are given grudgingly by legislatures. The beliefs of scientific minds must be more widely diffused before the backward States can be brought up to the level of the more advanced.

The earliest movement in the United States on behalf of the feeble-minded was made under the leadership of Dr. S. G. Howe in Massachusetts, and the legislature of that State in 1846 appropriated $2,500 for an experimental school. New York followed in 1851. A private school was opened at Barre, Mass., in 1848, and it is still in successful operation. Pennsylvania established a school at Germantown in 1853. The Ohio Institution for the Feeble-Minded was created in 1857. Then followed Connecticut, Kentucky (1860), Illinois (1860), Iowa (1876), Minnesota (1879), Indiana (1879), Kansas (1881), California (1883), Nebraska (1887), Maryland (1888), New Jersey (1888-9), Washington (1891), Michigan (1895), Wisconsin (1897), North Dakota. Other States, as Colorado, New Hampshire and Maine, have made progress toward providing training and asylums for members of this unhappy class.[1]

The separate care of epileptics makes its way more slowly than that of the feeble-minded, and their situation in most of the States is still truly pathetic, especially when the jail is the only place owned by the county where the dangerous patients can be restrained. The almshouse, with its lack of medical care, is but one shade better. The epileptics are not wanted by managers of the insane, for they are a disturbing factor and render recovery of other patients more difficult. Epileptics themselves, in their lucid periods, feel the companionship of the insane and of the feeble-minded to be irksome and, in a degree, humiliating. The highest standards of science and of humanity require separate treatment, and a few of the commonwealths have already

[1] Letter of Dr. A. W. Wilmarth, in Ely, Evolution of Industrial Society, p. 185.

shown the way for the others by establishing special hospitals and colonies for epileptics.

The State of New York has taken an advanced position in the care of epileptic patients. The Brunswick Home, incorporated in 1887, is a private charity. In 1902 it cared for 248 patients (epileptics, idiotic and paralytic), of whom 77 were paying patients and 171 were supported by public funds. But the chief institution is at Sonyea, named from an eminent philanthropist Craig Colony, and opened in January, 1896. A steady development and a continuous policy have been made possible because the very competent superintendent, Dr. William P. Spratling, has directed the enterprise from its legal inception in 1895, and because the boards of managers and of State charities have taken a pride in protecting it from the spoilsmen. The property of the institution at the last report was valued at $660,517.81. The institution possesses 1,895 acres of land and has a capacity for 830 patients. The average weekly cost of support, including the value of home and farm products consumed, was $3.59; excluding such value, $3.16. Application for admission is made through the county superintendent of the poor. The object of the institution, as stated in the law, is to furnish epileptics intrusted to its care every chance of recovery and improvement that scientific treatment, humane care, pleasant and gentle associations can provide. The institution is removed from the excitements of city life and gives on its extensive grounds an opportunity for a quiet, natural and wholesome existence. The entire separation from all other forms of disease, insanity and idiocy, makes it possible to give to the patients the specific kind of treatment which is best adapted to their peculiar needs, without the necessity of making concessions to the demand of afflicted persons of entirely different requirements. At the same time other persons are spared the pain and injury caused by constantly witnessing the terrifying convulsions of epilepsy, and the restraints which accompany the dangerous types of this malady.

Massachusetts opened its hospital for epileptics in 1898. It then had about 220 beds available for patients; and at the last report the daily average patient population was 409.5 for the year, of whom 303.20 were town patients, 80.52 State patients and 25.81 private patients. On October 1, 1903, there were 913 epi-

leptics under supervision of the State Board, of whom 422 were in the State Hospital for Epileptics, 115 in the insane hospitals, 93 in the School for the Feeble-Minded, 93 in the hospital cottages for children, 2 in private institutions for the insane, 8 in a private institution for the feeble-minded, 2 boarded out. In addition to these there are about 100 epileptics in city and town almshouses and in private families under control of overseers of the poor. There are groups of buildings on the farms and congestion at one place is avoided. There is a house for 40 female nurses. No recoveries are reported but improvement is observed in a great majority of cases. The mortality was 3 per cent. of the whole number treated. The total expenditures for maintenance in the last year reported were $97,162.90, and the property was valued at $443,974.24. The net weekly per capita cost was $4.09.

Inebriates.—Public policy in regard to the treatment of habitual drunkards is by no means clear and consistent. The drunkard is a sick man, in the eyes of physicians; yet the hospitals are not prepared to give adequate treatment. Alienists recognize brain disorder, but the asylums for the insane cannot, for legal and financial reasons, retain a drunkard after he is sober enough to walk away. Inebriates are very liable to commit crime and are generally dangerous to public order and comfort, but they cannot be treated as criminals unless they actually commit some offense, and then a prison gives little promise of healing their disease or restoring them to moral uprightness. The medical profession seems to be in agreement that habitual drunkards, to be permanently cured, must, in many instances, be placed under restraint and held under control for two to four years, until the poison is eliminated from the body and a new life is built up. For this kind of treatment very little preparation has been made in the United States.

In some commonwealths the sellers of liquor are forbidden to sell to intoxicated or intemperate persons. When a statute has been enacted creating a power to restrain the drunkard of liberty and place him under treatment in an asylum, he must have notice of such action and opportunity to defend himself. The ordinary penal treatment, a short sentence in jail or bridewell, has no value in restoration to health. It disgraces a man without helping him to recover himself.

Massachusetts has a Hospital for Dipsomaniacs and Inebriates to which patients are committed when they give promise of amendment by hospital treatment. The fifth annual report of the State Board of Charities (1904) states that the average patient population in 1903 was 140, against 204 in 1902 and 243 in 1901. Some inquiry has been made as to the conduct of patients discharged since the opening of the hospital. Of 1,043 patients who completed the full course of treatment, 243, or 23 per cent., were reported abstinent or temperate; 206, or 20 per cent., improved; 594, or 57 per cent., unimproved, unknown or deceased. The information indicates that a certain number have been helped, but does not exactly reveal how many have become abstainers.

The necessity for measures of restraint and close supervision is shown in the fact that in the decade since the establishment of the hospital, 3,005 commitments have been made and 1,685 escapes have been effected, being 56 per cent. of all commitments. Most of the patients are supported at public expense.

The Census Bureau is now engaged in a special investigation of the statistics of crime, pauperism and benevolence, and of the deaf, dumb and blind, but the results are not yet accessible. We have the volume of the Tenth Census (1880) on Defective, Dependent and Delinquent Classes of the Population, and two volumes of the Eleventh Census (1890) on Crime, Pauperism and Benevolence, and the volume on the Insane, Feeble-Minded, Deaf and Dumb, and Blind in the United States.

K. Treatment of Children.[1]—The time has passed when philanthropy will permit the adult and the child to be classed together. When children were placed in almshouses and were made companions of the criminals in jail, the possibilities that lay in the child were overlooked, for then the work of charity consisted merely in making existence possible for those who were unable to care for themselves and in keeping society untainted by contact with its criminal members by the intervention of the stone wall and prison bars. But charity is no longer satisfied with being a mere conscience alleviator, for it has found among its most discouraging tasks that the education of ill-bred youth would restore to society as useful citizens those who had been

[1] By Miss Ashcraft.

its dependents. Work among the children has caused inspiration and hope. Study and experience have shown that the dependent and delinquent children differ from the normal only in that they lack proper counsel and guardianship; that they have been brought up amidst poverty and crime; that "home" is a foreign word to them; that they have no incentives from parental interest; and, consequently, see no purpose in life. It is the duty of charitable workers to give these children a chance to live, surrounded by the opportunities which belong to them.

The Juvenile Court.—The institution of the Juvenile Court is a recognition of this duty. Its object is to reach the delinquent children and juvenile offenders who have been accustomed to stand trial among the criminals, and to become their counsellor and guardian. To carry out its purpose several States have passed Juvenile Court acts, which in substance have given the power to any reputable resident of the State to petition the court and call attention to a neglected or delinquent child. The acts also provide that a summons shall issue requiring the person who has charge of the child to appear in the court and give answer to the declarations of the petition. The court is given authority to appoint one or more persons of good moral character to serve as probation officers, whose duties are to make investigation of the case on trial, to represent the interests of the child in court, to furnish the court such information and assistance as the judge may require and to take such charge of any child before and after trial as may be directed by the court.

Disposition of Delinquent Children.—The law further provides that in the case of the delinquent child the court may continue the hearing from time to time, or may commit the child to the care of a probation officer, or may allow the child to remain at home subject to the visitation of the probation officer and subject to be returned to the court for further trial whenever such action may appear to be necessary; or the court may cause the child to be placed in a suitable family home subject to the supervision of the probation officer, or it may authorize the child to be boarded out in some suitable family home; or the court may commit the child, if a boy, to a training school for boys, and if a girl, to an industrial school; or the court may commit the child guilty of criminal offense to any institution within the county incorpor-

ated under the laws of the State for the care of delinquent children. In no case shall the child be committed beyond his or her minority.

The thirteen or fourteen cities which have introduced the Juvenile Courts have followed very closely the general course given above and their work has been successful, but attention should be called to several points which the law does not in every State cover. In the first place, children awaiting trial should not be committed to the jail or police station. The county or State should provide a suitable place for such detention. A judge should be chosen with special regard to his ability in dealing with children. Kindly and fatherly admonition should take the place of many sentences. It is important that no one judge should be required to hear as many as forty or fifty cases in one session. The decisions are the making or marring of the child's career, and time is needed for deliberation. Too much thought cannot be spent upon the manner of conducting a trial. A child will never forget the scene of a trial in a confused and crowded courtroom. Special hours are set aside for the trial of juvenile offenders. Persons not connected with the trial are requested to leave the courtroom. The officer who made the arrest tells his story, the complainant his, and the witnesses are examined. The child is called to the judge's desk and tells his story. Confidential relations are at once established between the child and the judge. The probation officer then makes his report, after which the judge announces his decision.

The Juvenile Court has been accused of being a medium through which parents have been relieved of the responsibility of caring for their wayward children. Such a tendency is present and it carries with it its problem. It is often necessary for the sake of the child to take it from its parents. At the same time the home is the only place for the natural development of the child. Unfortunately, the home often means more to the child than the child does to the home. In such cases the parents need the instruction and discipline, not the child. In this connection Colorado has provided penalties and the parent may be made to answer for his neglect of the child or for the act which resulted in delinquency.

Probation Officers.—The most important work of the Juvenile

Court is done by its probation officers. The object of the probation system is not punishment, but the prevention of crime and rescue of the child from a criminal career. Every endeavor is made, especially after the first offense, to give the child another and a fair chance to show his ability to live rightly. For this purpose a probation officer is required to make a complete investigation of the child's character, home and environments before the trial. After the trial the care, custody and discipline of the child is made to approximate as nearly as possible that which should be given by its parents, and in all cases where it is possible to be done the child is placed in a family home and made a member of the family by legal adoption, or otherwise. Wherever the child is placed the probation officer is expected to keep especial oversight by frequent visits and by reports from the parents or guardian. In some States the period of probation is limited to three years, in others, until the child has reached his or her majority.

Much is required of the probation officers. They must be persons who have the ability to enter into the child's life and exert an influence in the home. The work calls for much sacrifice. As a rule the services are voluntary, no provision being made by law for their compensation.[1] In many cases, however, the salaries are paid by the contributions of the Women's Clubs, Children's Aid Societies and other charitable organizations.

The importance of the probation system lies in the fact that the child is no longer placed behind the high walls, where contamination is warded off at the expense of blunting the young life, but the child is guided from the contagions of the daily life to a natural development. The probation method also emphasizes the importance of home life. Where it is impossible to raise the home surroundings and to instruct the parents in its care, a new home is found. The child is spurred on by the feeling that he has some one's interest and sympathy, and in the probation officer he has found not only a watchman, but a counsellor and friend.

The following report of the Juvenile Court of Cook County

[1] This may prove to be merely a feature of the pioneer stage of the movement. In some States provision is made by law for payment of probation officers.—C. R. H.

shows in a general way the work that is being done by these courts: During the year, from July 1, 1900, to July 1, 1901, 2,378 children were docketed and disposed of by the court. Of these, 1,204 were delinquents, 126 of whom were girls; 1,071 were dependents, of whom 528 were girls; 1,089 were placed on probation, 658 of these being children released from the John Worthy School. There were only 195 probationers returned to the court. The delinquencies consisted of petty thefts (374), vagrancy (161), disorderly conduct (261), and incorrigibility (153). The causes of dependency were lack of proper parental care, desertion, drunkenness, or death of one or both of the parents.

Institutional Care of Children.—What is most needed in the institutional care of children is the introduction of those elements which will do away with the artificial institutional life and will introduce more of the home life. The Chicago Jewish Orphans' Home shows that this end can be reached even by a large institution. One feels in this home that he is in the midst of a large and happy family. The children do not get up by bells, bells do not summon them to get in line for dinner or bed; they sit down to their meals as a large family. Once in a while a straggler will come in a few minutes late, but it is considered no crime. The children attend the public schools. After school they toss their books on the desk and run out to play with the rest of the children. After dinner they go to the library, where they find the superintendent ready to help them with their lessons, and one by one they drop off to bed. In the superintendent they find a father and in the matron, a mother.

Other institutions have endeavored to reach the same results by the cottage plan. Under this arrangement it is designed that from twenty to forty children shall occupy each cottage under the direction of one matron. The groups sleep and live in the separate cottages, but the dining-hall, school, chapel, offices and shops are in the main building.

Support and Control.—The subsidizing by the State of the private institutions has begun to be almost universally discouraged. Where the private institutions are unable to carry on the work it is the duty of the State to act. More of the institutions should be entirely under public control.

The general management of State institutions is represented by the following methods as found in different States.

Michigan has adopted the State school and "placing out" system. Destitute and neglected children, committed by the courts, become wards of the State. They may, however, be returned to their parents by the voluntary action of the board in control of the school. This board is composed of three unsalaried members appointed by the Governor. The school is conducted on the cottage plan. In connection with it are the "placing out" agents who are appointed in each county to investigate applications from families desiring to receive children, and to visit the children placed in homes in the county from any of the State institutions.

The weak points in the Ohio and Connecticut plans speak for themselves. Ohio has provided homes in each county under the control of a board of trustees appointed by the county commissioners. There are no exact records kept nor close supervision made of "placed out" children. Connecticut makes the homes only temporary and provides for the subsidizing of the private institution.

Some States put especial emphasis upon the "boarding out" and "placing out" systems. Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and New Jersey, as a rule, board their children in private families until permanent free homes in private families can be found.

When public attention was called to the evils connected with the care of children in almshouses it was natural that people should seek to place them in private institutions or in families; and in Ohio and Indiana the county authorities began to provide in various ways for separate institutional local care. This was a decided advance, and yet it has proved to be a transitional and provisional method. As early as 1866 the Ohio legislature took action which gave support to a children's home, and gradually the system of county homes has been developed and children taken from infirmaries. Trustees without pay are appointed by the county board to direct the school, and a visitor is appointed in the county to place children in families. Each institution has its own school and some institutions have kindergartens. Between 1866 and 1899 50 homes were established. The importance of placing out children was not realized for several years.

In 1900 only two homes were employing agents for this purpose. May, 1901, 48 of the 88 counties had county homes, each with its own board of trustees. Nine counties maintained children in private institutions.

In 25 counties there were no homes, either public or semi-public, and in these cases provision was made in the homes of other counties. In April, 1901, there were in 51 homes, 2,260 inmates, the average age of whom was over 9 years. It was not until 1902 that the legislature provided for State agents to facilitate the placing out and supervision of children. Local administration had proved to be inadequate and central control necessary, and the success in Indiana influenced a change. In 1902 there were 3,281 children in the county institutions, and the expense for care was $308,696.87. The report for 1903 shows the effect of State intervention and of the recent demand for placing out. There were then 43 homes, several having been closed, and the number retained is diminishing. The tendency is toward the reduction of the number of institutions, the improvement of their management, the placing of children in families and the reduction of expense.[1]

In 1881 the legislature of Indiana authorized boards of county commissioners to establish homes for orphans in order to give asylum to children then kept in almshouses. In 1897 was established the system of State supervision of county institutions and the placing-out agency of the State Board of Charities, and a law was enacted requiring the removal of children from the poorhouses. In consequences of the new policy not only are the children removed from contact with paupers, but the number of and population of county homes is reduced. The average expense for each child was $229.57 at 25 cents a day, and this is saved by placing in families.[2]

Michigan was fortunate in the early discovery of the wisdom of central management of State wards, and in 1874 led the advance movement by establishing its State public school and its system of selection and supervision of families by its own agents. Hence this State has not built up a series of petty local establishments and has none to destroy. Nor has it become en-

[1] Ohio Bulletin, 10, 1903, Vol. 10.

[2] 13th Report of Board of State Charities of Indiana, 1902.

tangled in alliances with private institutions to which it must pay subsidies, as in New York and California.

The scope of the work yet to be done in addition to combining and altering the above plans is shown by the fact that the following States have no public system of caring for children except outdoor relief, almshouses, and occasional "placing out" in families, either directly or through "placing out" agencies: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Missouri, Iowa, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Utah, Vermont, West Verginia and Wyoming.

"Placing Out" System.—As has been indicated, the object of the institution is becoming more and more to serve as a temporary home for the children. The goal which it is the endeavor to reach is to find a suitable home for each child. Care must be taken in the selection of such a home. Where the system is used with best success careful investigation is made of the home, surroundings and guardians. The child and the home are visited regularly, and the institution through its agent kept in close communication with the child. The "placing out" system is too apt to be used as a convenient way of disposing of the wards of the State. The children after leaving the institution are too often lost sight of. Careful records are necessary, giving the child's previous history, as far as known, and reporting the progress made in the institution's care.

Life in the Institution.—The time that the children are in the institution is spent in preparing them to take their place in the work-a-day world. When it is impossible to send them to the public schools the institution usually has its own school rooms. Out of school hours the boys have classes in manual training and sloyd, and the girls their classes in sewing, cooking and housework. There should be a kindergarten and nursery in every institution for the younger children. On Sunday there are Sunday school or chapel exercises in the home, or the children attend the churches in the neighborhood.

Foundling Asylums.—The care of foundlings and abandoned infants is a problem which as yet is far from being solved. The object of endeavor along this line is toward the saving of the child and restoration of the parents, but it is a difficult task and

many of the efforts which have been exerted to save the child have resulted in the greater moral degradation of the parents. Among the methods now in existence the baby-farm, where infants are adopted and placed in the hands of some home-finding society, and the institutions where no investigations are made, are institutions to be condemned. Careful investigation should be insisted upon, and the legal responsibility for support enforced upon both parents.

Marriage has often been the device for the rescue of the unmarried mother, but no general rule can be laid down. Separation is often better for both the child and the parent. Wherever it is possible, however, the mother should be urged to remain with the child. This is often accomplished by securing a position in domestic service where she can take the child with her. Rural communities afford many such accommodations.

Experience has shown that the large institutions which attempt to care for a great number of infants are not advisable. The ideal method at present calls for a small hospital for the temporary shelter of the children. Then in cases where it is impossible to bring either parent to the sense of their responsibilities or to arouse parental affection the child should be placed in a home where it can receive good, motherly care. Experience has shown that as a rule the children should not at once be placed out for adoption, but wherever placed should be under the supervision and medical care of a hospital.

Partial Care: Day Nurseries.—The day nursery began as a place where mothers might leave their babies while they went out to work. Its usefulness has broadened until it has become a training school for the little men and women to come. It has games for the children to direct their thoughts. It is forming their habits and making them lovers of cleanliness. That it might not rob the parents of their sense of responsibility in the care of the child it has strictly provided that its benefits shall be only for the working people unable to provide for their children and for working mothers, preference being given to widows. That it may reach only these people careful records are kept and investigations often in coöperation with the associated charities are made before the children are received.

For the successful carrying out of its purpose the nursery

itself needs careful supervision. Regulations need to be adopted and faithfully followed by every nursery, limiting the number of children to be admitted, requiring the use of iron beds and wire mattresses covered with blankets. Due consideration must be given to ventilation of the room; the outside garments of the children should be fumigated daily; children who have come from quarters infected with contagious disease should not be admitted, or should be confined in separate rooms; a regular physician is needed in daily attendance, or within call; and any child showing any unusual symptoms should be isolated until its case can be decided upon.

The working of an ideal nursery is given in a report of the Virginia Day Nursery of New York. At this nursery at the nominal charge of 5c a day children under seven years may be cared for, receiving two meals a day, and in addition, a physician's supervision, physical care, kindergarten instruction, amusement and the opportunity for sleep and rest. There are two play rooms on the roof, one enclosed and one shaded by an awning. The construction and appointments of the building are in keeping with modern, scientific and hygienic requirements. The house has beds and swinging cribs for seventy-five children, three bath rooms, rooms for the matron and attendants, and isolation rooms for use in sickness, dining-room, kitchen and laundry. Mothers' meetings are held at the nursery with instruction on sanitary topics, and in cooking, sewing and the care of the home and children. The work of the nursery is reaching more and more into the crowded tenement house sections in the vicinity.

Federations of day nurseries are being formed, with encouraging results. The object of these federations, as stated by the New York Association, is "to benefit by conference the work done by the nurseries, the extension of the work into the needy districts of the city and the encouragement and development of every feature which shall educate and elevate the beneficiaries." There is also a general federation of day nurseries whose purpose is to have a central body uniting all the day nurseries throughout the United States, so that by united effort the standard of the day nursery may be raised to a high level.

Kindergartens.—The need of kindergartens among the poor chil-

dren is every day becoming more evident. A worker among the children has observed that "many poor children of our cities are living under inhuman conditions. The over-worked mother, helping in the wage-earning, has little time or desire to make home what it should be. The child is naturally the sufferer. Poverty starves the spirit and robs him of his childhood. The mind of the child should have thoughtful attention and direction. The kindergarten, with its large airy room, its pictures, growing plants and happy atmosphere, gives the young human plants a hardy, eager, vigorous growth. The sense of beauty, harmony, and order found here are in broad contrast with the child's home surroundings."

A great influence is exerted by the kindergarten on the home. In the first place, there is a general awakening of the child. Through its games the social nature is developed, its songs and plays brighten the home. The mother is reached through the mothers' meetings, she is benefited by association with the kindergartner, and by instruction in discipline, games, cleanliness, clothing, etc. The social time that these meetings afford also means much to her.

School Children's Aid.—The work that is being done by the School Children's Aid Society of Chicago illustrates some of the work that is being done among the school children. The object of this society is to enable the children to attend the public schools comfortably clad, who by reason of poverty or other causes have been neglected, and who, by the enactment of the compulsory law, would be forced into school wretchedly clothed. The society is a voluntary one, being supported by contributions from the charitable, the contents of globes placed throughout the city and a Thanksgiving offering of the school children. The Board of Education assists the society by furnishing a distributing room, heat, janitor service and the delivery of the clothing to the respective schools, all orders being given through the teachers. The sewing is largely contributed by the sewing societies of the city. Nothing but new clothing is distributed.

Besides distributing clothing the society coöperates with the Bureau of Charities and Truant Officers in placing children in school who have been deprived of this right by parental greed or indifference. It also extends its work into the homes of the

children, bringing to the notice of the benevolent associations, or individuals, many cases of suffering found there.

The health of the school children is also looked after. The practice of physicians visiting the schools and inspecting the general health of the children has been in operation for some time. Recently in New York two trained nurses have been assigned to the schools in the neglected districts. Their duty is to treat minor disorders in school and to visit the homes of the children and instruct their mothers in the treatment, and advise in the more serious cases. The nurses also distribute leaflets containing advice to the children about personal cleanliness. To all children who cannot afford it are furnished soap, towel and tooth brushes.

Sick and Weak Children.—The work for sick and weak children has not yet received its due share of attention. It is one branch of charity which has not been thoroughly organized, but its work has begun, and organization will undoubtedly follow. Among its general efforts are the Day or Fresh Air Sanatoriums. In their tents or houses by the lake or sea they have nursed many children through the hot summer days. Attendants, physicians and a corps of nurses, supported by voluntary contributions, have carried on the work. Cleanliness has been their watchword in the care of their little patients. For their future protection their mothers have been given instruction in their care.

But the work of the sanatoriums has not reached as many children as it should. Their distance from the crowded tenement districts will always prove a barrier, although transportation is furnished free. It is hard for the mother to leave home, or it is almost impossible for a very sick child to make the trip daily, as most of the sanatoriums are not provided with the equipments for caring for any but day patients. Until such obstacles have been overcome the possibilities of the work cannot be realized. When the sanatorium admits day and night patients a permanent building is necessary. The work is under the direction of a board of managers, with a resident nurse, a physician and assistants; an isolation ward for contagious diseases is essential. There should be ample facilities for bathing, both for the children and the mothers. Provision is often made for caring for the sick mother, but unless the mother is sick it is rarely ad-

visable that she should remain with the child. The medicine chest needs to be well supplied and the linen closet amply stored. There should be a dining-room, diet kitchen with necessary provision for the preparation of special foods, such as sterilized milk, etc.

The treatment at the sanatorium should be followed by frequent visits to the home, for the supervision of the child's care and food. Careful records should be kept. The receiving and visiting of the children is best accomplished through coöperation with the Associated Charities, or Children's Aid Societies.

St. John's Guild of New York City has conducted a novel society which is suggestive of the possibilities of this work. Under their direction a barge, appropriately named "The Floating Hospital," makes six trips weekly to the lower bay. For admission to the privileges of the barge, tickets are distributed to the poor mothers with sick babies or young children by physicians at the city hospitals and dispensaries, or at work among the poor. Fifteen hundred people are comfortably cared for on each excursion. A physician from the Board of Health is in attendance and guards against the admission of contagious diseases. The attendant physician and his staff of trained nurses attend to the needs of each family group. The "Floating Hospital" is provided with abundant bathing facilities. A hot meal is served at noon to the adults and sterilized milk twice daily to the babies.

On Staten Island, the destination of the "Floating Hospital," is erected the guild's Seaside Hospital, where the most serious cases are transferred. Wherever it is possible, the mother remains and assists in nursing the baby. Where she cannot be spared from home over night season tickets are given good for a succession of trips.

Indigent Crippled Children.—Humanity and economy are good grounds for timely care of children who may be made strong and industrially productive if their defects are early brought under skillful treatment. Minnesota in 1899 made an arrangement with the State university and with a hospital for the treatment of crippled children, and the legislature voted an appropriation of $10,000 for the purpose. At the beginning of the year, August 1, 1899, 28 children were in the hospital. The average cost per child was $193.56. The results were satisfactory, and the appro-

priation was renewed for 1902-3. The Ohio legislature of 1902 ordered the appointment of a commission to consider this matter.

Seaside and Country Outings.—This work began by taking a few children to spend the day in the park. Their wild enthusiasm over the grass and "real trees," and their shouts of joy at the sight of water revealed to charity workers that what these children needed more than anything else was to become acquainted with nature and have a chance to live in the great "real world," a world where their ambitions might have room to develop and their ideals to broaden. The revelation aroused the determination to create an opportunity. Kind people were found in the country who were willing to share for a few weeks the pleasures of their homes and farm life with the little children from the crowded city. Where it was impossible to find a sufficient number of hosts and hostesses, parties of women and children have been boarded in the country, or, better still, a camp has been established in the woods or on the shores of some lake.

Under whatever form the summer outings do their work a careful supervision is necessary. If children are placed in homes, endeavor is made to select homes to suit the children and the children the homes. In establishing a camp a site should be chosen in a beautiful spot in the woods, or on the lake front, but by all means not in a vacant lot in the residence district. An ideal camp is equipped with one or more sleeping tents adjoining a cooking tent. The camp belongs to the children, and in the camp life each should bear his or her share of the burden, taking turns in being dish washers, milk boys and camp cleaners. Much depends upon the play activities of the camp life. The program of one successful camp reads as follows:

"The morning we spend in rambles about the beautiful country, studying geological constructions, picking flowers and berries and chasing rabbits. In the evening the swimming hole is the center of attraction. Baseball is the boys' chief sport, and the playing of theatre is one of the girls' favorite pastimes. After supper we gather on top of the hill for our little vesper service, where we read or tell stories and sing familiar hymns."

Some of the most commendable branches of the summer outing work has been done among delinquent children. A summer home is maintained for the inmates of the industrial schools.

These are the children who most need to be reached, and this is the way to reach them.

City Play Grounds.—Play grounds have been established in behalf of the children whose only opportunity for play has been limited to the narrow street or alley. Until a few years ago the city seemed satisfied with having taken care of these children during school hours. After school its only care was to hurry them out in the street, locking the gates behind them to guard the only patch of green grass the neighborhood possessed. But the municipality has become awakened to the fact that many of its little citizens were growing up with a misconception of social conduct because their opportunities for forming social habits in play were so meagre. In consequence the school-house gates now always stand open, so that as within the building the children are taught how to know, so without they are taught how to live.

The city has not been content to convert its school yards into play grounds, but has utilized for this purpose vacant lots, and even roofs of buildings in its most populous districts. In Boston, Philadelphia, New York and Chicago the play grounds have been well established. New York City has required every new school building to have an open air play ground attached. The ideal play ground is equipped with a complete outdoor gymnasium and running track, swings, sand bins, shower baths, toilet rooms, and where possible, a swimming tank. Experienced teachers are in charge to direct the games. There is also a room and kindergarten for the little folks.

In winter the play ground sends its devotees to the play room, where both afternoon and evening the children meet to play games, to sew or to read. Chicago and several other cities have tried the successful experiment of flooding the play grounds and vacant lots for skating rinks. Thus in winter as well as in summer the children are provided with play grounds which, as Jacob Riis says, are the "royal paths out of the slums."

Care of the Morally Imperilled Children.—The provisions made by the States for the care of their morally imperilled children are very similar. The provision made by Illinois may be taken as typical. The statutes of this State class these children as neglected and dependent, applying these terms to any child who for

any reason is destitute or homeless, or abandoned and dependent upon the public for support, or who has not proper parental care or guardianship, or who habitually begs or receives alms, or is found living in any house of ill-fame, or with vicious or disreputable persons, or whose home by reason of neglect or depravity on the part of the parents or guardians is an unfit place for such child, or who from any cause shall be a wanderer through the streets and alleys or in public places, and any child under the age of ten years who is found begging, peddling or selling any article, or singing or playing any musical instrument upon the street, or giving any public entertainment, or who accompanies or is in aid of any person so doing. Such children the State empowers the court to commit to some suitable State institution, or to the care of some reputable citizen of good moral character, or to the care of some training school, or an industrial school as provided by law, or to the care of some association embracing in its object the purpose of caring for or obtaining homes for dependent or neglected children. The court may also, when the health or the condition of the child so requires it, cause such child to be placed in a public hospital or institution for treatment, or special care, or in a private hospital or institution which will receive it for like purposes without charge.

Reference has already been made to the State's care of these children through its probation officers. The weakness and strength of its institutional provisions have also been considered. Attention is here called to the inadequate provision made by the State to carry out the purpose of this law for the treatment of dependent and neglected children. The law reads, that these children shall be brought before the court for commitment upon the petition of a reputable citizen who has knowledge of the dependency or neglect of any child in his county, and is willing to bring the facts verified by an affidavit before the court, but not many of the little waifs or newsboys of the great city ever become very intimately acquainted with the reputable people. For this reason the State should have its agents at work among these boys, or it should do its work in coöperation with the child saving societies of the city.

A plea is made for the extension of State industrial and training schools for the dependent children separate from such insti-

tutions for juvenile delinquents. The necessity for these schools is apparent, but they should not be regarded as the only means of reaching the children. For many children institutional life is worse than imprisonment. The love of the child for liberty should not be disregarded, but encouraged. For this reason the work done by the boys' home and clubs has proved invaluable. It is this also that places a large part of the duty for the care of morally imperilled children in the hands of private charity. Institutions, and especially State institutions, with their official routine cannot reach the child because they are necessarily unsympathetic; it is the sympathy and interest of the superintendent of the home, or the leader of the club that brings out the manhood of these little people.

The following illustrations show the general scope of work being done by private organizations among these children, and suggest possibilities for furthering such undertakings:

Newsboys.—Los Angeles Newsboys' Home supplies the newsboys of that city with all the luxuries of home life and home counsel. The purpose of the home is to elevate the work of the newsboys. The boys are encouraged in opening news stands and stores, and in making a trade of the delivery of the daily papers, but none of the boys of the home are found on the street corners selling papers or jumping on and off the cars.

New York has recently passed a law in the interest of newsboys. No boys under ten years of age are licensed to sell papers and boys between ten and fourteen are not permitted to work later than ten o'clock at night.

Homeless Lads.—The Children's Temple Home in Chicago endeavors to reach the homeless lads, and especially those who have been confined in the prisons for stealing. The practical work of the home is done on the farm in Southern Michigan. Beulahland Farm is a junior commonwealth, being owned by the boys and all the work being done by the owners. The profits accruing from the farm are managed in the following manner: The boy who does his very best receives three credits per hour in the pay of the commonwealth; ten credits make one merit; ten merits make one share. The financial year closes July 4th, when stockholders ascertain the gross profits, from which the expenses are deducted. The net profit is then divided by the total number of

shares held by all the members of the commonwealth. Each member is credited with his share of the profits. At eighteen the boys leave the farm and take with them their earnings as a start in life.

Paroled Boys.—The Junior Business Club, also of Chicago, is another unique organization. The membership of the club is limited to boys paroled from the John Worthy School (reform school), and is intended to furnish them a home until they have found one elsewhere. The club has its own apartments which are divided into reading rooms, drill rooms, lounging and sleeping rooms and dining hall. The club is practically self-supporting, and at the present time has forty-three members, each member has a small bank account in the Illinois Trust and Savings Bank. Many of the members have secured positions in large business firms of the city. The club has won for itself a good reputation and has been pronounced the best plan yet devised to put boys on their feet who have been through a penal institution.

Stage Children.—The Dorothy Dix Hall of Boston provides a home and furnishes an education for children whose parents are actors and are unable to provide a home for them. Where possible the parents pay a nominal sum for the care and instruction of their children. The most important work is done through a dramatic club, only such children as are used in the theatres, or do concert work, are admitted. It is the aim of the club to protect and instruct, interfering with work that is not suitable and assisting in that which seems advisable. The children sign an agreement through their parents placing themselves under the care of the club. Each child who performs has an under-study, ready to alternate at the least sign of fatigue, thus enabling the child to rest without losing its position.

Clubs.—What clubs can do is shown by the last report of the Chicago Boys' Club. "During the ten months just closed the club has had an aggregate attendance of 11,673. Three hundred and ninety-eight free lodgings and 1,645 free meals were given, and medical services were rendered 139 boys. The club has its quarters in the waifs' corner of the city. It has tried to carry on its work by transporting its youths to the country, but this did not prove successful because the boys always wanted to get back

to the city by Sunday so that they could go to the "the-ater" and "play tag wid de kids in de depot." It has been discovered that the only way to reach the boys is to go down to their level and work up with them. It has opened its doors in opposition to the saloons and billiard halls, and the reports show it has proved the more popular place. Pool and billiards were at first eliminated, but the dominoes were used as balls and wands as cues. The basket ball and nine-pins and basement floor furnished all the equipment the boys needed for a bowling alley, so these games have been added to the list of indoor sports and the boys are being taught to use them as they were intended. The basement windows have been screened so that the baseball and punching bag need not be wanting. They play the same old games, but in a new way and under kindly influence and direction.

The Home Library.—The Home Library movement is rapidly becoming a recognized branch of philanthropic work. The object of the movement is to place good books within the reach of those children whose opportunities for reading are confined to unwholesome literature. A library case, containing about twenty books, is placed in the home of a child who acts as librarian Once a week a group of ten or twelve children from the neighborhood, under the direction of a volunteer visitor, gather about the library case to exchange books, discuss the books they have read, play games, tell stories and have a general good time. When a set of books has been sufficiently read, it is moved on to a new group, and another case takes its place.

In Boston, Baltimore and Philadelphia the Home Libraries are supervised by charitable institutions. In New York, Cincinnati, Helena and Pittsburg they are maintained by the public libraries. The charitable and library associations in Providence combine in the work. Brooklyn, Chicago and Albany have placed them under the management of library schools and associations. Boston and Pittsburg alone have paid supervisors in charge of the work. Chicago is planning to do the same soon.

Removal of Children from Poorhouses.—Mr. Folks touched a weak place in the methods when he wrote: "The delay in the removal of children from almshouses is a lamentable illustration of the slowness with which such reforms proceed. Thirty-five years have passed since Ohio enacted the first law in the United

States looking toward the removal of all children from almshouses, but as yet barely a dozen States have followed her example, and even in those States the laws are not, in all cases, enforced." The Iowa Senate (1904) has refused to pass a bill already passed by the Assembly forbidding the further retention of children in poorhouses and providing for their transfer to State institutions. And the reason? That parents of the children would be unable to visit them, if removed to the more distant State institutions!

Deserving special mention is the remarkable service of the New York Children's Aid Society, founded in 1853 by the gifted and devoted Charles Loring Bruce. This man believed that the Christian missionary spirit among the farmers could be trusted to receive and humanely care for even unattractive little waifs. Since its beginning up to 1903 this society has rescued and placed in family homes 23,061 orphans or abandoned children, provided situations for 25,200 older boys and girls, and restored 5,551 runaway children to parents. While not all have done well the majority have become assimilated with the general population and some have reached distinction. Material help had been given in some form in the year 1903 to 49,983 boys and girls; of whom 15,816 were enrolled in the industrial schools, 10,236 were relieved in their homes, 4,302 were sheltered in the lodging houses, 602 were trained in the farm school, 389 were in the charge of a probation officer, 8,648 were given a week's country outing, 5,408 a day's outing, 1,522 treated by the sick children's mission, 533 placed in family homes. The attractive lodging houses help to win homeless boys from the cheap poolrooms, Bowery theatres, gambling places, and the company of thieves; and the society has diminished juvenile vagrancy and crime.

Federation and Coöperation on a National Basis.[1]—The situation at the present hour is about as follows: There are in some States public institutions for dependent children. Thus we have State public schools for temporary homes, supplemented by a State agency for selecting homes, placing children and supervising their care, as in Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota. There are homes for the orphans of soldiers in Illinois, Iowa and elsewhere.

[1] By C. R. Henderson.

There are State infirmaries for the treatment of eyes and ears, and cripples, as in Illinois and Minnesota. Very generally in the case of defective and undesirable children the county poor-house is still used, although much less commonly than in earlier years.

In some States boards have been charged with the care of dependent children in institutions and families: as the State Board of Charities in Massachusetts and Indiana; a board of guardians in New Jersey and the District of Columbia. In Indiana there are county boards of guardians; in Baltimore and Boston, municipal boards; in Michigan, county agents.

The recent rapid development of juvenile courts, with probation officers, is another form of public care.

A survey of methods of private care would reveal many types and methods; for example: orphan asylums and half-orphan asylums, supported by churches, societies, endowments and sometimes in part by subsidies. The home-finding societies usually own or rent temporary receiving homes where children are sheltered until they are sent to families to be boarded out or permanently adopted. Then come the home farms, the George Junior Republic, homes for waifs and newsboys in cities, boarding industrial schools, foundling asylums, hospitals and sanatoriums, day industrial schools, vacation schools, night schools, schools for cripples, parental schools for truants.

There are now in most of the States some kind of placing-out societies and children's aid societies whose chief function is to find suitable families to take homeless children and educate them. For special needs are organized societies to prevent cruelty to children, and others to send them for a time to the country for an outing.

In adition to these, closely allied to them, are all the agencies for dealing with delinquent children.

With all this array of child saving agencies there are important gaps to fill. Even in States where the government provides for all dependent children in a very noble way, as in Michigan, voluntary associations find a great work to do and for many special reasons are needed to supplement State action. Thus the members of a church wish to place their dependent children under the continued influence of the family faith. Catholics,

Jews, Protestants and members of various nationalities have this feeling, and the State respects it.

In most of the States there is no general public policy of child saving, and the initiative must be taken by private associations to avoid utter neglect. It seems likely that for many years to come this will be true; and many believe that voluntary associations can carry on the work of placing and caring for dependent children better than a political and public administration. It must be remembered that the benevolent public in the United States is constantly shocked by the revelations of the inhumanity and cold blooded cruelty of partisan politicians when placed in office.

In several States neither the government nor voluntary societies attempt to meet the need and provide for all dependent children, and many little ones are left in immoral homes, in poorhouses, even in jails because there is no responsible agency alert and ready to protect them and care for them.

Even where there are such agencies there are serious defects to be corrected by better organization and by State supervision. There is occasionally an unhappy conflict between competing societies in the same territory. At times the selection and supervision of families are very much neglected, and helpless wards are subjected to neglect and cruelty.

The necessity for inter-State coöperation is revealed in the fact that the Eastern States and cities have long been accustomed to send their homeless children to families in the Western States, sometimes without further attention to them. This has naturally produced evil results, complaints have grown, and unfriendly or regulative laws have been enacted. This experience has shown that the migration of wards must be brought under the strict and intelligent control of some national agency, public or voluntary.

The beginnings of coördination and federation have been made by the National Children's Home Society. This society has an imperfect organization, and is simply a federation, without authority in its executive board to control the action of its members; and yet through counsel, advice, information, conference and correspondence it has already corrected abuses, pushed aggressive work in several States, secured the local appointment

of agents and helped to educate the public in the duty and methods of child saving work.

The National Children's Home Society was organized in 1883, and is now a federation of 26 State societies. The total number of children received by all the societies included in this federation since 1883 is 23,726; the number now under guardianship is 12,473; children in receiving homes, 491; children handled in 1903, 3,720. The current expenses of all the societies in 1903 were $230,000, and the value of property in their possession March 1, 1904, was $279,014. It will be observed that a very considerable amount of work has been accomplished with a very modest average outlay for each child. The States having societies of this federation are: California, Colorado, Florida, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, New Jersey, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma (including Indian Territory), Oregon, Pennsylvania, South Dakota (including Wyoming), Texas, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin.[1]

Legal Protection.—In addition to the measures already mentioned in connection with the poor law, it may be said in general that the educational and preventive agencies of society in relation to minors are receiving increasing attention from legislatures and courts. The tendency has always been to regard minors as under special court protection, but this principle has been of late much extended into new applications, although as the minor approaches maturity the degree of control is properly relaxed.

"Our constitutions are silent upon family rights and relations, and we should have to regard the parental power not only as a natural right, but as a natural right above the power of the State, to declare its legislative restraint to be unconstitutional. It has, however, been held that the right of parental control is a natural, but not an inalienable one; that there is no parental authority independent of the supreme power of the State; that in other words the parental right is no vested right."[2]

The welfare of the child, considered in relation to the interests

[1] The office of the Society is Unity Building, Chicago; the secretary is H. H. Hart, and the president C. R. Henderson.

[2] E. Freund, Police Power, p. 248, and cases cited.

of the community, is the decisive matter with legislatures and courts.

The first demand of the law is laid upon parents, as the responsible authors of the existence of the child and as the persons who are bound to give proper training for citizenship. The tendency is to bring all possible legal pressure to bear on the family to induce it to perform its duty. Thus the father of an illegitimate infant is sought for, and, if found, is required to furnish it support. The mother is held to her task. If the parents cannot be found, or if they die, or become wholly unfit for the office of education the State assumes the place of parent, but transfers the neglected child to a new home. When the parents have not abandoned a child and claim their natural rights of custody they are entitled to a hearing, but not to a jury trial, since it is not of the nature of a criminal proceeding.

Private institutions may be recognized as moral persons and clothed with the powers of legal guardians. Such institutions have no more control than the laws give them, and they may be and often are subjected to State supervision and control.

The States go further in their care of children in such matters as compulsory attendance at school and prohibition of such premature labor as interferes with the growth and education of the young person. While parents are free to send their offspring to a private or parochial school if they choose to do so at their own expense, the States generally provide free instruction for all, and many of them make attendance on some school for a certain minimum period obligatory.

Parental Schools.—The law in some States goes still further and provides special schools for children whose parents are unable to control them and secure their attendance in the public schools. Various devices have been tried. In some cities special rooms or buildings are set apart for unruly and truant pupils, and special methods are used for interesting, influencing and bringing them under control. The children live at home, are looked after by special officers of the police or schools, and are rewarded for good conduct by permission to return to their places in the ordinary school rooms.

But when more close watchcare is necessary for discipline and training the unruly child may be sent to a "parental" school,

as in Massachusetts and Illinois, where he is boarded, taught and trained for several months, until he seems ready and willing to take his proper place at home and in school.

L. Care of Youth from 12 to 18.[1]—This topic is not confined to the care of the wayward youth, but suggests for consideration the treatment of all youth who have been deprived of, or who have lost all opportunities for self-cultivation and expression; those who have never had a hope nor a desire satisfied; who have never known the support of another's interest; but whose ambitions have died from lack of the friendly counsellor; whose paths upward have been more difficult and less inviting than the ones downward; those whom we have misunderstood and allowed society to maltreat. Until a few years ago the only attempt that was made to reach these boys and girls was after they had become a menace to the community and had a fairly good start in the way of criminality. That attempt ended by confining them amid prison surroundings, high walls, gloomy cells and dark dungeons. The idea that hope should replace the despair which the prison surroundings cast upon the young lives did not occur to anyone. It is a new idea. It has introduced industrial and reform schools to take the place of prisons; but until it has been made a more fundamental part of these institutions they will not accomplish the work hoped for.

It is of prime importance to study the causes which have made these youths dependent and refractory. Not very much can be expected from the youth who has not known home life or home surroundings. Nor is the child apt to have a very high ideal of life or hopeful ambitions who has only seen life as it is pictured in the gloomy, squalid streets and alleys where thousands live huddled together. It is not reformation that these children need. They have all the faculties of the normal youth, but their forces are dormant. They need to be awakened. Due consideration should also be paid to the trials which accompany changes going on in the child's life at this time. It is the critical period. It is the time when the individuality demands expression and if not allowed to take one course will take another. It is the time when the youths most need guidance for they have reached the age when they are supposed to be able to shift for themselves.

[1] By Miss Ashcraft.

Poverty compels them to support themselves or take criminal risks to gratify their needs; but they are at an age and are surrounded by circumstances which make them less capable of earning an honest living or to resist temptations. Adverse conditions have drowned every ambition; there is no self-respect nor self-interest because there has been no opportunity to test their own powers or to become acquainted with their better selves. The lower self is dominant, and in keeping with its nature persists in dragging down, but it cannot make the nature so depraved nor the heart so hardened as not to be awakened by friendly interest. It is only this interest with sympathy and a keen understanding, and with the due allowance made for the hardships that have been borne that can arouse ambition, incite self-respect, and gain self-control, and hence character, for the wayward youth. The correctional institutions which lack these lack all.

Clubs.—The institutions do not reach all of these young people. Many of them pursue their daily rounds without disturbing the community. The young girls employ themselves in peddling or strolling about the city as rag and bone pickers. The boys sell papers or become the frequenters of saloons and gambling dens. For these the clubs answer the same needs as they did for the younger boys and girls and should be conducted in the same manner. There should be a library, reading room, gymnasium and class rooms. The hunger of these young men and women for instruction and learning should be satisfied. The director of the club should be their counsellor and surround the club rooms with an atmosphere of home. It is best that the clubs for the boys and girls be separate. Where it is possible, a lodging house should be conducted with the clubs, at least in each city there should be a lodging house for the young men and one for the young women apart from those for the older men and women.

Day Industrial Schools.—The day industrial schools, with their manual training and sloyd for the boys and their domestic science for the girls, have proved an attraction to many of the wayward youths. Where they have been tried in connection with the public schools they have been the means of preventing truancy and they hold the interest of the backward children. But a greater good would be derived for young people from the industrial schools if they were made entirely independent of the

public school and were situated in the populous districts. The program should be made to appeal to the older ones, the same things which hold the interests of the younger children in the public schools will not attract the older ones. The courses offered should be practical, not those whose only object is to instruct, but those which afford preparation for some business pursuit. A night industrial school would reach many who would not be able to take advantage of the day school. Social activity should have a part in the school, finding expression in such organizations as the clubs.

Rural Industrial Schools.—Much attention has been directed toward the care and training of the city youth, but until recently little has been said of the need of such training in the rural districts. The work that is being done in the South shows the possibilities and need of such work. The greater part of the undertaking is being accomplished through industrial schools. Booker T. Washington is doing much for the colored youth at Tuskegee. The Calhoun colored school at Calhoun, Ala., includes in its work the academic industrial departments. In the academic department courses are given in arithmetic, reading, geography, history, citizenship, drawing, spelling, science, singing and methods of teaching. The industrial department has the usual classes in manual training, in carpentry and farming for boys, and domestic science, with cooking, laundry and sewing for the girls. Similar work is carried on among the poor whites by the Southern Industrial Institute at Camp Hill, Ala. The object of this school is to help deserving young men and women to help themselves by providing a course of study and a way for any boy or girl to pursue such a course; farming, saw-milling and carpentry are among the industries in operation; cooking, sewing, weaving and laundering are taught in the domestic science department; in general, primary and secondary academic courses are offered. This same work is urged for the rural districts of the North. Much is gained by aiding these young people before they drift into the city and increase its number of vagrant youth.

State Provisions.—The industrial school for girls and the training school for boys and the reformatory are the usual State institutions provided for this class of children. The commitments to

these institutions are in general the same. For commitment to the reformatory the Illinois statutes provide that any boy between the ages of ten and sixteen years shall be committed to the State Reformatory whenever he is convicted before any court of competent jurisdiction of any crime which if committed by an adult would be punishable by imprisonment in the county jail or penitentiary. Similar provisions are made for the commitments to the State Home for Juvenile Female Offenders. The object of the industrial and training schools, when first established, was to afford training for the dependent boys and girls only. At present, especially where the Juvenile Court law prevails, they receive delinquent children as well. A more general use of these schools for the delinquents should be encouraged, but such institutions for juvenile offenders should be separate from those for the dependent children.

Industrial and Training Schools.—The most successful of these schools are built on good farming land which can be cultivated by the pupils, thus affording an opportunity for agricultural employment for both hygienic and educational reasons. The grounds are large and have all the conveniences for outdoor occupation and recreation. The buildings are best constructed on the cottage plan in order to permit the necessary classification and sub-divisions of the pupils according to age, ability, disposition and character. Each cottage accommodates not more than thirty students, with their matron and teacher, and should contain school rooms and dormitories. There is usually a central building containing the dining-hall, offices, shops, etc. The ideal life of the institution is that of a family. The buildings should be free from bars, grated windows and all features of the prison. There should be an outdoor play ground, gymnasium and chapel for religious and literary exercises.

Instruction.—In addition to the school work there are shops for the industrial training for the boys. Opportunity is given for instruction in many of the different trades, such as carpentry, printing, shoe making, farming, etc. In the selection of the trade the boy's special aptitudes and desires are considered. It is important that each should choose a profession or trade and be encouraged to carry out one line of work. The Jack-of-all-trades spirit should not have too much encouragement. The girls have

their school work and opportunities for instruction in business courses, such as stenography.

Period of Detention.—The time that the students should be confined to the schools has been a matter of dispute. The general rule has been that sentences are not to be less than three months nor more than two years, and in any case commitment does not extend beyond minority. Experience has shown that the largest per cent. of commitments has been due to home environment, and the return home to evil associates after short sentences has resulted in re-commitment. For this reason it is urged that sentences should be made long and release should not be granted until the boy or girl has been safely launched into some occupation, or until some suitable home surrounding has been assured. Discharge under any condition should be under parole and subsequent supervision of the probation officer. This supervision should not end before majority has been reached, and even then advice should still be given if the youth is not strong enough to pursue his course without counsel and guidance. The purpose of these institutions is for the training of children above ten and twelve years of age. Children under that age are usually placed in families for adoption or boarded out under the supervision of a responsible society until final disposition of them can be made.

Support.—For the sake of children and parents, the parents as a rule are obliged to furnish clothing and pay the board of their children in so far as they are able. In cases of inability of the parents to pay, or where the parents are not living, or are unknown, the duty falls upon the State or county.

Separate Institutions for Girls and Boys.—It has been generally agreed that the industrial school for girls and the training school for boys should be located in different communities. However, several successful institutions have found it profitable and beneficial to combine the institutions. There is a great saving of expense to the State, and by locating the buildings in different parts of the grounds complete separation is possible and all the advantages of separate institutions are secured.

Subject of Reformatory.—We have always regarded the inmates of the reformatory as youthful criminals and have too often treated them as such; but study has revealed that they are not criminals at heart, but that their misconduct is due to influences

over which they have no control. An examination of the records of the various reformatories has shown that in cases where reformatory inmates had both parents living, in nine out of ten of these cases one or the other of the parents was distinctly disreputable; not 6 per cent. of the children had homes which were morally fit for the child to live in and not more than 15 per cent. of the juveniles committed to the reformatories and industrial school came from homes in which they were fairly housed, fairly fed or fairly clad. It is evident from this that the juvenile offender is the joint product of bad heredity and bad environment. It has been estimated that 90 per cent. of them are morally depraved, and when at liberty are surrounded by depraving associations.

Such disclosures have led those interested in relief and child-saving work to insist that the following regulations should be carried out in the treatment of the juvenile offenders. Several States have embodied the spirit of these regulations in their statutes.

First, imprisonment of juvenile and first offenders should be absolutely prohibited except as a last resort for those convicted of flagrant crimes.

Second, when a limited imprisonment is necessary, it must be by entirely separate confinement.

Third, juvenile and first offenders should never be confined in jail with older criminals while awaiting trial.

Fourth, the primary and supreme object of the sentences of the convicted juvenile or first offender should be his rescue from a criminal life.

Fifth, the character and circumstances of the accused should be carefully investigated and allowed full weight and influence in determining whether the juvenile or first offender should be tried and convicted or not, and in placing the kind of sentence which should be imposed upon conviction.

Construction of Reformatory Buildings.—The reformatory school should be built upon the same plan as the industrial school. There should be shops and facilities for industrial training, gymnasium and a chapel. The cottage system with the classification of the inmates and the family life are even more essential than in the industrial school. As yet it has not seemed wise to

dispense with all of the prison features; barred windows, high walls and solitary cells for punishment have not found efficient substitutes.

Instruction for the Boys.—More than all else the boys need a steady training in some industry by which they can earn their living when they leave the reformatory. In addition, they should have a good common school education, a course in civics, music, military drill and a physical, moral and spiritual training.

Discipline.—The aim of the reformatory discipline is correction and saving the youth from repetition of the crime. This end is not gained by intimidating measures. By such measures and the usual prison discipline "the will is obliterated, the individual's power of action and decision reduced to a nullity; he is shut up within the narrow horizon of his own disordered imaginings; he lives and breathes in the polluted atmosphere of monotony, solitude and crime; his social sympathies are suppressed and starved; society, friendship and affection, the pillars upon which human happiness repose, are demolished." The opposite of all this is what he needs. He has been a product of abnormal circumstances; his economic conditions, and all the opportunities for making anything of himself have been of an adverse character, and as long as abnormal conditions continue, abnormal conduct will be inevitable. For his reformation such a youth must be placed in the midst of wholesome material and moral surroundings. The reformatory could be a home where parental care and love are paramount. His life may be made hopeful and happy. The idea that he is in imprisonment should be lost sight of in his interest in his work, in the desire he has had instilled in him to create something and in the awakening of self-respect, and interest.

Superintendents.—Much depends upon the superintendent. His position should be one entirely free from politics and all of his interests should be centered in his work. He needs a cautious judgment and strong will, true sympathy and a keen understanding of human conduct. He must not only be a master of the work, but a willing leader and a partaker in it. The boys should find in him a friend and counsellor. He is aided by his assistants, clerks in the office, physician, chaplain, teachers, housekeeper, foreman of the shops and director of the kitchen.

Release.—Release is usually granted only when the boy has shown himself able to take care of himself. Even then, only conditionally with the discharged under the care of a probation officer who secures employment and tools for him, and assists him by advice and support to maintain himself honestly.

There is need for a more definite plan by which the boy discharged from a reformatory can secure permanent work and can be relieved of every kind of police espionage. One plan under consideration aims to secure a manufacturing site, upon which a large working institution may be placed. It is proposed that this institution be equipped with machinery and be made modern in every particular. All of the work is to be done by the men and boys discharged from a house of correction and the training school. The work undertaken would depend largely upon the kind of employment most adaptable to these men and boys. It is a novel and suggestive project, but its disadvantages are very apparent.

Homes for Juvenile Female Offenders.—The home of the juvenile female offenders should be constructed and conducted on the same plan as the reformatory. The girls come from the same surroundings and conditions as the boys and should receive the same consideration. In discipline, hope should be made to take the place of fear, and reward, of punishment. The object of their education should be to fit them for earning a livelihood and living an honest life. For these purposes there must be opportunities given for a common school education, classes in cooking, dress-making, laundry work and nursing. Training may be given in physical culture, music and social etiquette. For the girls who prefer a business career, instruction is offered in telegraphy, typewriting, stenography, etc. Release is not granted to any girl before she is in a position to care for herself. After her discharge she should be placed under the supervision of a probation officer, and aided in securing work or a proper home.

Child Labor Laws.[1]—The following States have prohibited the employment of children below the age of fourteen years: Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Colorado, Missouri, and in Louisiana and New Jersey the employment of girls under fourteen is prohibited.

[1] By C. R. Henderson.

In Pennsylvania and Ohio the age limit is thirteen years in factories, while in mines it is fourteen in Pennsylvania and fifteen in Ohio. In the following States the limit is placed at twelve years: New Hampshire, Maine, Rhode Island, North Dakota, California, Maryland, West Virginia, Tennessee, and in Louisiana and New Jersey twelve is the age limit for boys only. In two of our States ten years is the age limit, *i. e.*, in Vermont and Nebraska. In some States child labor is prohibited in the mines, while no restriction is placed on their employment in factories and workshops. The year 1903 was prolific of new enactments, all tending to more strict control of child labor. In the South the first statutory regulation has been secured in six States. "Little, if any, provision has been made in the Southern States for the enforcement of these regulations by factory inspectors, health officers or other public officials which experience has demonstrated to be necessary. Florida, Georgia and Mississippi are still without protective statutes." But the conscience of the people is awake and vested interests in property will not permanently override the social interest in childhood.[1]

M. Preventive Measures.[2] *Free Employment Bureaus.* — The Free Employment Bureau of the State of New York in 1902 had 5,903 applicants for work, 4,106 applicants for help, and secured 3,662 situations. Of the applicants, 2,656 were men and 3,247 women.

The free employment bureaus in 13 States of the United States are conducted and managed principally by departments of labor. The chief reason for the establishment of State bureaus is the dishonesty of many of the private agencies who take fees but do not render service, and some of them are agencies of betraying innocent girls into the control of houses of ill-fame. The Italian padrone system is also severely condemned as a means of exploiting immigrants for the benefit of the padrone.

Most of the States have passed laws regulating employment agencies. The Bureau of the Statistics of Labor of Massachusetts investigated the workings of free bureaus in 1903 and has

[1] Handbook of Child Labor Legislation of National Consumers' League. Rep. New York Dept. of Labor, 1902, p. III, 586.—Rep. Industrial Commission, Vol. V, pp. 50-52.

[2] By C. R. Henderson.

reported to the legislature that such offices at home and abroad have been uniformly successful, and recommends their establishment by State authority in the principal cities.[1]

Insurance of Workingmen.—The value of insurance against fire, death, sickness, accidents, unemployment and old age is coming to be more generally recognized. The majority of our people live on farms and believe that the best protection against suffering is an investment in land. But even with farmers the principle of insurance is accepted and acted upon.

It is in cities and among our rapidly growing wage earning group that other methods of protection, better suited to their economic situation and prospects, are sought. At present both custom and law are in a chaotic condition, but the experiments now under trial are full of promise for the near future; each attempt increases the fund of knowledge and opens the eyes of men to the need, and sets them upon inquiry after the best solution of the problem.

Legal Aspect of Compulsory Insurance.—"The community is certainly interested in averting sudden and unexpected losses as well as the destitution following from sickness and disease, and the distribution of these losses over large numbers through insurance is a legitimate end of governmental policy. . . . It may, however, be safely asserted that compulsory insurance requires that either the state itself becomes the insurer, or that it exercise an efficient control over private or semi-public associations which the individual is compelled to join; for this alone eliminates from the problem the difficulty that the state would force the individual to enter into contract relations with other private parties without substantially guaranteeing performance to the individual who is required to part with his money."[2]

The methods now upon their trial may be classified as follows: (1) Schemes of thrift and savings; (2) building and loan associations; (3) mutual benefit associations, local and national; (4) insurance against sickness, accidents and unemployment, by trade unions; (5) insurance funds under the impulse and direction of employers, especially of large corporations; (6) "industrial insur-

[1] New York State Library, Legislative Bulletin, 1903. Rep. New York Dept. of Labor, 1902, p. 51, 7th An. Rep. of Free Employment Bureau in N. Y. City.

[2] E. Freund, Police Power, p. 464.

ance," with a motive of profit, by insurance companies; (7) the pension funds of firemen, policemen, teachers and other municipal servants; (8) the pension system for soldiers and sailors by the Federal government. As yet the State and National governments have not entered upon the policy of insuring wage earners.

The subject of compulsory government insurance is now before the people of the United States. It has been carefully studied by the Department of Labor and the results published. It has come before Congress in a resolution asking for further study of the situation. The Industrial Commission gave the matter some attention and printed the facts relating to methods already in use in the country. The National Conference of Charities and Correction appointed a commission of seven persons to consider the bearing of insurance on public and private charity and to make a report in 1905.

Cruelty to Animals.—The growth of humane feeling has, even in the absence of express legislation, abolished much of the harshness of former barbarous habits, and extended mercy to all sentient creatures. Through the organization and activity of societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals many offensive practices have been abandoned or greatly mitigated. Under the common law or statutes drivers of horses have been arrested for maltreating their humble servants; the use of pigeons for targets at shooting matches has been diminished; cattle on trains and in stockyards must be properly fed, watered and protected from cold and heat. Needless suffering in the use of vivisection for scientific purposes will soon be brought under suitable regulation.

Pawnbroking.—With the growth of cities and of a class of people always living close up to the margin of want, the necessity of securing small loans for consumption becomes more urgent. Legal protection of the borrower goes with defence of society against theft, and the pawnbroker is ever tempted to become a "fence" for the sale of stolen goods. Thus it is required in Chicago that the pawnbroker shall deliver daily to the superintendent of police a book showing every article pledged and the name and residence of the pledger. Since the risk of loss and the cost of collection are very great where sums lent are small and the habits of borrowers unknown, some States have permitted private lenders and pawners' societies to receive higher than legal

rates of interest. Otherwise the business could not be carried on, and poor persons would be obliged to borrow secretly at still more oppressive rates.

Provident Loans.[1]—Various semi-philanthropic methods have been used in American cities to provide means for small loans on personal and chattel security. Many of the charity organization societies keep a fund to lend to approved persons to tide them over an emergency and save them from falling into the hands of hard and unscrupulous lenders. When the records of the borrowers are carefully studied and only honest, healthy and industrious persons are given credit, this method has yielded good results. With vagabonds, drunkards and idlers some other course must be taken.

On a larger scale, chiefly as a preventive measure, provident loan associations and public pawners' societies "capitalize the credit" of honest poor persons and secure them temporary accommodations at reasonable rates of interest, either to prevent immediate suffering or to furnish a capital for some small venture in business.

The American cities have not yet followed the European example by opening pawnshops under the direct management of the municipal administration.

Among the measures which come under the "police power" of the State and which aid in the prevention of pauperism are: sanitary control of houses and lodging places; employers' liability and compensation laws; factory inspection; regulation of the hours of labor in mines and factories; prevention of labor of women and children where health or morals may be injured; the guardianship of habitual spendthrifts whose extravagance threatens their families with want; the creation of boards of health; the control of contagious and epidemic diseases; the protection of debtors; and many others.[2]

Care of Discharged Prisoners and Their Families.—In the year 1890, at the hour of taking the census, there were 97,000 persons in the prisons of the United States (52,894 in State prisons, and the others in local houses of correction). In 1902-3 10,850 prisoners were discharged from 36 establishments studied by Mr.

[1] J. Lee, Constructive and Preventive Philanthropy, ch. III.

[2] All these are discussed, with citation of authorities, in Freund, Police Power.

E. B. Woods. Twenty-four of these institutions gave no help of any kind, except a suit of clothes and transportation.

In order to protect the discharged prisoners and lend them a helping hand at the critical hour when they face a frowning world with only a bad record behind them, voluntary associations have been formed. The methods employed are as various as the agencies. Some societies simply act as employment bureaus and guide the discharged person to his occupation; others provide temporary homes. Some societies receive State subsidies, while others derive all their income from private means.

Clothing and tools are sometimes supplied; employment is sought and arrangements made with employers to give the ex-convict a friendly reception and a patient trial; broken families are brought together, and correspondence with the home is encouraged; the wife and children are aided during the enforced absence of the bread-winner; religious services and personal care of souls are supplied; religious and moral associations for mutual encouragement are established in the prisons and jails; probation officers are selected and supported in the work of looking after prisoners out on conditional release and parole; men are protected from unreasonable surveillance of the police, while they are trying to regain a reputation for honesty and industry; prisons are inspected and abuses corrected or reported to the highest authorities; and, out of the knowledge gained, public opinion is instructed and guided into rational decisions as to policy.

In 1776 the first Prisoners' Aid Society (now called the Pennsylvania Prison Society) was organized in Philadelphia. Among the most conspicuous societies are the New York Prison Association, the Massachusetts Society for Aiding Discharged Convicts, the Connecticut Prison Association and the Maryland Prisoners' Aid Society. The Central Howard Association of Chicago is a younger branch of the family.[1]

[1] E. B. Woods, "The Work of American Prison Societies," in Jour. Prison Discipline and Philanthropy, Jan., 1903.—E. C. Wines, Prisons and Child Saving Institutions.—Report of A. W. Butler, National Prison Association, 1902, pp. 282-326.—P. W. Ayres, "Care of Discharged Prisoners in the United States," in report of the International Prison Congress of 1900, at Brussels.—Mrs. B. Booth, "After Prison—What?" (1903).

There are industrial homes for temporary shelter and training of discharged prisoners, as the Hope Halls sustained by the American Volunteers under the leadership of Mrs. Maud Ballington Booth. Mrs. Booth's homes have aided 1,300 men in (1902), 75 per cent. of whom are said to be doing well.

In a few of the States agents are employed to secure employment for discharged prisoners and to see that they keep their promises. This is done by Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New York, and Ohio; but there are too few agents and they are not provided for all institutions.

Societies exist in Virginia, Kansas, Connecticut, Illinois, Michigan, Iowa, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, New York, New Hampshire, Maryland, California, and in Canada.

The Salvation Army and the Volunteers of America both are active in helping prisoners and former convicts.

As the care of convalescents or of the insane after discharge from a hospital is regarded as essential to their permanent cure, so humane and sensible aid to discharged prisoners is necessary to secure their re-adaptation to normal life and conduct.

Criticisms of the "indeterminate sentence" and the parole system would generally disappear if the State and private associations would provide an adequate number of agents and probation officers to aid the discharged persons who are really willing and eager to return to honest life, and to detect and return promptly those who associate with evil companions and refuse to be industrious, sober and upright. The success of the Juvenile Court laws depends on the probation officers, and the same statement will be found true in respect to conditional release of adult offenders.

PART II

LATIN COUNTRIES

CHAPTER IX

FRANCE

BY ANNIE MARION MACLEAN, PH. D.

HISTORICAL SKETCH.—One must approach this study through centuries of effort filled with failure and successes, leading up to an administration characterized by sanity and on the whole by scientific purpose. Entering through the gateway of the Middle Ages, we find the work of poor-relief almost entirely a function of the church. Charity was ever an essential Christian virtue, and it was to be expected that the church or her officers should become known as the legitimate guardians of the poor and distressed. And when the storm of strife in Gaul was over, and a new order prevailed, it was the bishops alone who were left to give relief, and during the reign of Clovis, the council of Orleans (A.D. 507) voiced a belief in the justice of this in the sentence: "Let the bishop in as far as may be possible, give food and clothing to the poor and to those who are unable to labor." The church was always regarded merely as a trustee of goods held for the poor, and in a council at Rome in 324, it had been decreed that one-quarter of all church revenues should be reserved for the poor.

At this time the church and king worked in unison, and we learn that Charlemagne and Louis the Pious both assumed a protectorate over widows, orphans, and other poor. A church council held in Paris in 829 insisted on the sovereign's obligation in regard to such. This oneness of state and church in poor relief is characteristic of the earliest charity in France. We notice two forces at work determining the future method of relief. First, the Roman heritage of belief in a strongly centralized authority, and second, the Teutonic influence which resulted in a certain measure of localization of responsibility

toward the poor. A nice adjustment of these two principles prevails in the case of unfortunates in France.

The council of Tours decreed as follows: "Let every city according to its means nourish with becoming aliments the poor and needy of the place; let the local clergy as well as all the citizens feed their own poor so that the poor may not go wandering through the cities."[1]

In 806 Charlemagne issued the following proclamation: "As to the beggars who pass to and fro through the country, it is our will that every one of our faithful subjects feed his own poor either from his benefice or from his own estate, and do not allow them to go begging elsewhere. And when such beggars shall be found let them labor with their hands, and let no one presume to give them anything." This principle grew naturally in a feudal society which furnished each person a natural protector. The foregoing serves to show the principle of responsibility in mediaeval charity, but so far as administration was concerned the church was the means of distribution, and it was through the church almost exclusively that alms were given. We notice during this period the establishment and development of hospitals[2] for the needy. These were at first simply places set apart in the church, under the care of the bishop. And as early as the fifth century, Gregory of Tours claims that there was such a Maison Dieu in every church.[3] We find the following five classes of inmates recognized and cared for,—the able-bodied poor, the sick, orphans, the old, and destitute children. The religious fervor which terminated in the Crusades gave a new impetus to the founding of hospitals and other charitable homes. These were usually the result of private gifts and were under the care of the church, unhampered by civic interference. All the towns and cities were well supplied with hospitals and devoted people endeavored to make sure of their souls' salvation by contributing to their support. Synchronous with the growth of these was the rise of various religious orders, notable among which may be mentioned the Hospitallers. They devoted themselves to all good works and were unremitting in their efforts to secure the best public service possible, and most especially

[1] Quoted by Miss Balch, p. 12.

[2] These were not hospitals in the modern sense, but rather were refuges for all need and distress.

[3] The notable Hotel-Dieu of Paris was founded in 800 by the Bishop Saint-Laudry.

did they seek to equip and work in hospitals. The steady increase in the growth of these hospitals during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries appears to assert that poverty, too, must have been on the increase, but this was not necessarily the case; it may merely mean that the decay of feudalism emphasized the existence of the poor and needy now that their natural protectors were no longer responsible for their support. People were more free to move about, and mobilization of population usually means the growth of a vagrant class. The laws of Saint Louis were quite rigorous in regard to vagabonds, as may be seen from the following provision: "Any idler, who having naught and earning naught, frequents taverns, shall be arrested, questioned as to his means of livelihood, and banished from the city if he be taken in a lie or convicted of an evil life."[1] Even at this somewhat early period, the poor flocked to Paris as they do at present, and then as now caused much trouble to the municipal officers. As an offset to this tendency, Saint Louis built hospitals in surrounding towns. It was apparently easy then to get money for such institutions. Religious enthusiasts gave willingly and others contributed in the hope of saving their souls, but in the latter part of the fourteenth century interest in charitable institutions began to wane. This was inevitable with the political disturbances and the gradual breaking up of religious orders. And we find a growing lack of confidence in the clergy manifesting itself in enactments to place hospitals under lay control, a noteworthy change from the days when Gregory forbade laymen to participate in the government of charitable institutions. All these upheavals helped to swell the number of beggars roaming about and uncared for, and this in turn led to the enactment of many measures designed to rid the country of beggary. In the stringent ordinances of John the Good (1350) we find that all idlers and beggars of either sex in Paris must go to work or leave the city within three days on pain of imprisonment for the first offence, of the pillory for the second, of branding and punishment for the third. And all preachers were ordered to warn their hearers not to give alms to those "sound of body and limb" who are able to work for a living.

But the efforts to rid the country of the curse of beggary were not very successful. The time was inopportune. Pestilence and war increased paupers and left France at the close of the fourteenth cent-

[1] Gérando, De la Bienfaisance Publique, IV. 483. Quoted by Miss Balch, p. 12.

ury utterly unable to cope with the situation in a satisfactory manner. The end of the fifteenth century witnessed a change in the political and social order. Freedom brought, as we have seen, a more precarious existence to the serfs and villains, for the duties of the feudal lord vanished with his rights. With this unsettled condition ends what may be regarded as the first period of poor-relief in France.

The second period then may be fixed from the sixteenth century to the Revolution, beginning after a lapse of two chaotic centuries and ending in the fury of 1789. It is convenient here to study relief under two heads: first, in Paris, and second, in the provinces. It is noteworthy that all charitable institutions, whether in Paris or in the provinces, continued to be licensed;[1] but they were not obliged to specify the particular class of persons for which they were intended.

Louis XIV harmonized the administration of the large charitable institutions in the capital. The letters-patent of 1690 made of the Bureau of the Hotel-Dieu a sort of superior council for the discussion of questions of general order. It was composed of the archbishop of Paris, and five other important personages, all laymen. In 1607, the hospital St. Louis, and in 1637, the Home for Incurables, later called the Hospital Laennec, were founded, and these were administered by the Bureau of l'Hotel Dieu. Formerly the Home for Incurables had controlled its own funds. Hospitals abounded in Paris, and it is claimed[2] that in 1786 with a population of 660,000 souls there were 48 establishments capable of accommodating 20,341 persons as follows:

L'Hotel-Dieu et Saint Louis	2,500
Les Incurables	426
Les Ménages	382
L'Hospital général	12,000
L'Hospital royal et des Invalides	3,000
Maison de fous de Charenton	692
Hospital militaire du Gros-Caillon	264
Les Quinze-Vingts	300
Divers (Charité, Necker, Cochin, etc.)	777
Nombre des hospitalisés	20,341

[1] Dérouin, Traité Théorique et Pratique d'Assistance Publique, I, p. 14. Hereafter the author's name only will be used in referring to this work.

[2] Terron, Mémoires sur les hospitaux de Paris, 1788, p. 24. Quoted by Dérouin, pp. 17 and 18.

The revenue of these was reckoned at eight million livres at the time of the Revolution. To recapitulate, we find:

1. The administration of l'Hotel-Dieu, first in the hands of the clergy, had been made laical at the beginning of the 16th century.

2. The municipality of Paris did not exercise the regulative power over l'Hotel-Dieu given by the acts of 1505, but in 1544 instituted Bureaus for the poor.

3. The king in 1656 effected a centralization of administrative power by the creation of a general bureau.

4. Each institution enjoyed a measure of autonomy.

5. Each institution, having revenue accruing from its own endowment, was granted privileges and exemptions. In regard to relief to the poor in the provinces, many difficulties appeared. An edict of 1543 gave to bailiffs, seneschals and other justices the care of lazarettos in so far as the selection of persons to handle their revenue was concerned. That this was not altogether satisfactory is seen from the great number of acts that were passed in the half century following. In 1606 Henri IV ordered a general reform in regard to the auditing of hospital accounts. This was not efficacious and was renewed by Louis XIII in 1612. In 1656 the king opened in Paris a general hospital for mendicants of the city and environs. This only served to attract beggars from the country and rendered the problem of relief more complex. As an antidote to this, an edict of 1662 ordained the establishment of a general hospital in every city and town of importance. A law of 1666 prohibited the opening of any hospitals whatsoever without express permission of the king accorded in letters patent. This principle holds to-day, for the state alone has power to create moral bodies, but it was interpreted by the king to confer on him the opposite right, the suppression of corporations no longer filling a social need. Thus by an edict of 1672, the king gave to the Orders of Notre Dame and Mont-Carmel and Saint-Lazare the wealth of other institutions which were no longer necessary for the public good. This led to complicated legal difficulties, but finally the law of 1698 determined the manner of administration of hospitals created or enriched by the earlier edicts and this method remained in use in many cases until the Revolution.

A declaration of 1698 gave to each establishment a bureau of management composed of (1) members by virtue of office, as the

mayor, consuls, principal justice; (2) members elected by the general assembly.

There were in the kingdom before the Revolution, according to Dupin,[1] 740 civil hospitals, besides 130 small establishments of three or four beds. All these were capable of caring for 110,000 persons, 25,000 sick, 40,000 children, and 40,000 old people and others incapacitated for work. Their revenues were valued at about thirty million livres.

It is claimed[2] that the chief advance made by charity in the 18th century, and particularly in the reign of Louis XIII, was in the field of medical assistance. Free consultations outside of the hospitals had been established under Louis XIV. During the reign of Louis XV filled medicine chests were distributed among the poor in the country. The spirit of reform in sanitation and hygiene was at work and it was none too soon, for in the hospitals could be found five and six patients in one bed, and frequently each was suffering from a different loathsome or contagious disease. The publicity given to these horrors led to most bitter discussions in regard to the value of hospitals. Many urged their disuse, others advocated their speedy multiplication. A middle course was adopted and four general and several special hospitals were then opened. The dying years of this period were brightened by agitation by Philippe Pinel for more humane treatment of the insane; the invention by Valentine Haüy of raised type for the blind; the invention of the sign language by Abbé l'Epée, and the working out of an educational system for deaf mutes by Abbé l'Epée and Abbé Sicard.[3] The period of the Revolution was characterized by much doctrinaire discussion of principles of assistance, but by small results. The men of the Revolution felt that with the gift of liberty to each individual, the state should guarantee him the minimum means of existence either in aid or work. "L'Etat doit à tous les citoyens une subsistence assurée" was their belief.

The Convention in 1793 proclaimed the following principles:[4]

1. Poor-relief being a national debt, the wealth of hospitals, foundations and endowments for the poor shall be sold for the profit of the nation.[5]

[1] Le Baron Dupin, Histoire de l'Administration des secours publics, p. 13.
[2] Miss Balch, p. 64. [3] *Ibid.*
[4] Montesquieu, Esprit des lois XXIII, p. 29. Quoted by Dérouin, I, p. 23.
[5] Décret du 19 mars 1793, Art. 5.

2. Public relief is a sacred debt, and it is for the law to determine the extent and application of it.[1]

3. Fathers and mothers unable to support their families are entitled to aid from the nation.[2]

4. A man's domicile is the place to which the needy must look for relief.[3]

The only immediate result of the reform programme was a diminution of hospital funds; no reforms resulted, and the Revolutionary years contributed nothing of value toward the solution of the problem of charity. Visionary schemes for the obliteration of poverty came to naught, and the legislation of the time can only be regarded as a side light on the vagaries of the period.[4]

The modern period may conveniently be regarded as ushered in by the dawning days of the 19th century. Charity was in a chaotic condition, and the Directoire had neither the time nor the inclination to elaborate a new plan for poor-relief; so it simply reëstablished an organization similar to that existing in pre-Revolutionary days, and regulated by three laws:

1. Relating to hospitals and almshouses.[5]
2. Relating to Bureaus of Charity.[6]
3. Relating to needy children.[7]

Provision for the insane was made by the law of June 30, 1838, and it was not until 1893 that a law was passed providing for the treatment of the ill in their homes. In addition to the foregoing classes of charitable enterprise, there are some others which must be enumerated to make the classification complete. These are either of a purely local or special character, and are as follows: The general administration of public relief in Paris, the national institutions of charity, the inter-communal institutions, the departmental institutions, and the communal institutions. Such then is the machinery

[1] Déclaration des droits de l'homme, du 28 mai 1793, Art. 1*a*.

[2] Décret du 28 juin 1793, Art. 1.

[3] Décret du 24 vendémiaire an II title V, Art. 1*a*.

[4] Perhaps it would be fair to add that the ideas of the Revolution relating to the prevention of pauperism, though crude and impractical, have entered into the recent movements to establish government insurance on a scientific basis, as in Germany.—C. R. H.

[5] Loi du 16 vendémiaire an V (7 Octobre, 1796).

[6] Loi du 7 frimaire an V (28 Novembre, 1796).

[7] Loi du 27 frimaire an V (17 Décembre, 1796).

which is in use in France for the distribution of aid to the helpless. To facilitate administration, by a decree of 1886,[1] all branches of public relief were united under a board known as the "Directoire de l'Assistance Publique," and this was divided into four committees having charge of[2] (1) national institutions, beggary, the insane; (2) children; (3) communal hospitals and asylums, bureaux de bienfaisance, public hygiene; and (4) benefit societies, monts-de-piété. In 1888 there was established the "Conseil Superieur de l'Assistance Publique,"[3] composed of about 60 members. The Conseil formulated the following rules as a guide in its work:

1. Public aid is due those who, either temporarily or permanently, are unable to support themselves.
2. Public aid is due only in default of other aid.
3. Public aid is in essence communal.
4. Public relief is a work of national solidarity.

The aim of this Conseil is the reorganization of methods of poor-relief, and the ability of the men composing it leads to the belief that their aim will be realized at no very distant date.

This mere outline of the rise and development of public assistance in France simply serves as a background for the detailed account of existing methods that is to follow.

A. Public Poor-Relief.—Since 1806 about 80 laws have been passed, arranging for and regulating the distribution of poor-relief in France, and as a result of this legislation we find the state the controlling and supervising body with power,—

1. To create relief establishments.
2. To name the officers of these.
3. To control directly.
4. To give full authority.
5. To grant support.
6. Immediate supervision over general relief institutions.

The state, the department and the commune each has its duty in regard to public relief, but properly speaking the question of assistance may be said to rest with the state or the commune. The difference between state and communal institutions is simply that they, while legal entities, function in and for the state or commune according as they are under the authority of the one or the other. Under

[1] Dérouin, I, p. 35. [2] Miss Balch, p. 164. [3] Dérouin, I, p. 35.

the old legislation, any institution for public relief, whether a hospital, bureau of charity, or bureau of relief, might be created by authority of the government. As early as 1806 this principle was recognized. Institutions established before this time are regarded as having a regular legal existence, and therefore to be maintained at public expense.

Classes of Indigent Who Have Claim.—The people who are temporarily unable to support themselves form a considerable proportion of the population of Paris. Many of those who come in from the country seeking employment are unable to obtain it and thus swell the ranks of those who sooner or later must apply for aid. Relief given to the strong who are unable to find work is of necessity limited, as the first care is for those who through various infirmities are incapable of self-support, and so there has grown up a large body of social malcontents ready to burst forth into bitterness at all times.

The following are the classes of indigent who have claims. At the International Congress of Charity held in Paris in 1887 the principle that public relief is due those who are temporarily or permanently unable to provide themselves with the necessities of life, was enunciated and such persons are classed as follows:

1. Children, whether orphans or not, who are abandoned, and without parents' care.
2. The insane.
3. The sick.
4. The old and infirm. The able-bodied unemployed are not considered legitimate objects of charity in a general classification, but each local bureau may investigate cases, and bestow aid as it deems wise in accordance with the funds at its disposal. The indigent known to be incapable of supporting themselves permanently receive an amount varying from thirty francs a month to three francs a month in summer, and five francs a month in winter. Persons receiving such aid have their names placed on annual lists compiled by an employe termed the visitor. Great care is taken with these lists so that there may be no duplication of aid by different organizations.

Law of Outdoor and Indoor Relief.[1]—The prevailing principle in France is that aid shall be administered at home whenever possible, and institutional aid given only when rendered imperative by the

[1] Law of 1893.

nature of the case. While in the different communes of France the management of all institutions for relief is vested in an administrative body distinct from that of the bureau of charity, in Paris, by virtue of a special law[1] a single administrative body directs indoor and outdoor relief. This body, under the authority of the prefect of the Seine and the Minister of the Interior, consists of a responsible director and an advisory board. The director is named by the Minister of the Interior upon the suggestion of the prefect of the Seine.

His duties are: (1) To supervise all services; (2) to prepare the budgets; (3) to order expenditure; (4) to make a statement of his administration; (5) to represent in law all institutions or bureaus as plaintiff or defendant; (6) to care for all needy and orphan children; (7) to assist the advisory board in its meetings;[2] (8) he is, finally, by virtue of his office, a recognized member of all communities for public relief work.

The advisory board or council of superintendence is composed as follows: (1) The Prefect of the Seine; (2) the Prefect of Police; (3) ten representatives of the municipal council; (4) two mayors or their deputies; (5) two officers of bureaus of charity; (6) one councillor of state; (7) a member of the Court of Appeal; (8) one practicing physician from the hospitals and almshouses; (9) a practicing accoucheur from the hospitals; (10) one practicing physician from the medical relief service; (11) a professor of the faculty of medicine; (12) a member of the Chamber of Commerce; (13) an honorary and working member of the "Conseils de Prud'hommes;" (14) nine other members. All of these members excepting the first are appointed by the President upon nomination by the Minister of the Interior.

Organization.—The administrative personnel consists of in all 509 persons, whose duties are clearly outlined, ranging from those of the general secretary to the friendly visitor, with salaries of from 15,000 fr. to 1,800 fr. There is opportunity for advancement in the service. This very complete organization controls public poor-relief in France. The titles of the officials are: 1 general secretary, 2 inspectors, 4 division chiefs, 17 bureau chiefs, 17 assistant bureau chiefs, 1 inspector of rural property, 42 directors, 30 managers of institutions, 20 secretary-treasurers of bureaus of charity, 39 head

[1] January 10, 1849.

[2] Decree of the President, April 24, 1847.

bookkeepers, 80 bookkeepers' clerks, 90 copying clerks, 100 permanent assistants, 58 visitors. Their duties are indicated in the titles.

Relief of Persons at Home.—As indicated elsewhere, needy persons are rendered aid in their homes in the form of monthly pensions, medical attention and nursing. All this is extended only after careful and searching investigation.

Outdoor relief is confined chiefly to the twenty bureaux de bienfaisance of Paris, and was reorganized by a public decree of 1886, which was not entirely satisfactory, as it modified the organization without furnishing additional funds. A later law of 1895 specified the mode of procedure, and took away from the bureau the power of preparing their own lists of beneficiaries, which was their work under the law of 1886. The Director of Public Relief prepares the lists now for each year, and important revisions are made from time to time. Each bureau has the right to propose names for the lists and the cases are then carefully investigated by the central office. The budget of 1900 gave to the bureaux de bienfaisance 6,968,674 francs to carry on the work of outdoor relief.

Sources of funds.—Public poor-relief as organized in France receives funds from the following sources:

(1) Funds accruing from the real estate and personal property of institutions, given in the first place by the state or private individuals. (2) Moneys given by virtue of special laws. (3) Gifts and legacies to special institutions. Charitable persons frequently contribute largely to public institutions. (4) Moneys left to the various territorial communities and by these used for charitable purposes. In 1896, 1,216 bequests were made to public institutions and 106 to those of a private character. The money value of the former was 18,069,696 francs, and of the latter 2,513,566 francs. (5) The general funds of the state. (6) Special funds set apart for charity, as, for example, a ten per cent. tax on all theatre tickets and on the gross revenues of all places of amusement. This tax amounts to about four million francs a year. (7) Annual appropriations by the municipal councils.

C. Private Charity.—Private charity in France covers a wide range, as wide in fact as public charity, for in all fields of benevolence private initiative is at work. Institutions for the sick and the old and the needy are springing up on every side, and are doing in a smaller way just what the larger public ones have undertaken. The results

obtained by private charitable undertakings and the rapidity with which these have developed in a short space of time furnish the best proof of the social utility of the methods of relief they have adopted. They have had to surmount difficulties, it is true. The indifference of the public at times has been disheartening, but they have been able to meet expenses and in many cases to extend their work. Private charity always suffers more or less from a too fickle public opinion. The attention of the people is easily diverted and so the support becomes uncertain. The French charities have to meet this difficulty continually, and it is only by the utmost perseverance on the part of those interested that many institutions dependent upon general contributions survive. The term private charity as used in France includes: (1) Alms given freely to the poor by charitably disposed people with or without inquiry concerning the cause of their need. (2) Aid given by private institutions of charity. These establishments have their own organization, and their special purpose. In France private institutions of this kind may or may not be recognized by the government as public utiilities, that is, they may or may not enjoy a legal existence. Even when recognized, they still remain private institutions. Recognition usually results from some significant merit. Public relief, on the other hand, includes all public aid given, whether by the state, department or commune, and public institutions created by law of the state, department or commune, but which are, however, dismembered parts of these territorial communities. These institutions are national, departmental or communal according to the function they perform. The administration of each of these is in the hands of an officer chosen by the state and assisted by a council or a directing commission. In the directing commission the state is generally represented by a certain number of members. Other members are designated by the authorities of the territorial community in which the public institution is located.

Thus it will be seen by comparison that private charity, representing, as it does, the activity of individuals or groups acting only upon their own initiative and with their own resources, is much more pliable than that created and controlled by the community. While public charity, by reason of its impersonal character, is particularly apt to create and maintain large institutions, private charity by virtue of its very personal element tends to smaller efforts for more diverse needs.

Benevolent Associations.—Associations of men and women working together or separately play a very important role in the dispensation of charity. They carry on multiform activities in behalf of children, the aged and the destitute in general. Founded in a spirit of kindness and unselfishness, the members of such associations are able to get a very vital hold upon those whom they would help.

The Société philanthropique was formed in 1780, before the time of the first revolution. This very powerful organization commenced its work by giving an annual stipend to twelve octogenarian laborers, and as the years passed it added new beneficiaries. As early as 1786, the society gave to 316 persons and had a membership list of 186 of the most prominent people in France. Political events compelled the society to disband in 1793, but in a few years it was reorganized with renewed life and was recognized as a public utility in 1839. From its creation it has been supported by annual subscriptions and gifts sufficiently liberal to enable it to extend its work continually, and no record of private charity is complete without a recognition of the invaluable services of this far famed society. In 1900 the Société philanthropique owned and operated the following charities:

(1) Thirty soup kitchens. The first was opened in 1800. In these one may get a portion of soup or a cup of coffee for five centimes (one cent), and other food at a similar rate. They distribute annually three million portions of food. (2) Thirty dispensaries for adults. Free medical treatments, and consultations are given to the annual number of 3,000 of the former and 25,000 of the latter. (3) Four special dispensaries for children. Over 12,000 are cared for each year. (4) A surgical hospital. This was opened in 1896, and patients pay a small fee. (5) Rewards given to honest and industrious workers. About five thousand francs a year are distributed. (6) Three night refuges for women and children. Twelve thousand women and 2,500 children are admitted each year. Work is obtained for about twenty-five per cent. of the women. (7) Home for women enciente. About 250 women are received annually. (8) Home for mothers with young children. The annual average admission is 700 women with their children. (9) Homes for aged and infirm women. The first one was opened in 1882. (10) Improved dwellings. The first building, with accommodations for 35 families, was erected in 1888. The society had housing accommodations for over 300 families in 1900. The Société philanthropique is directed by a

council of administration under the presidency of the prince of Arenberg.[1]

The "Oeuvre de Bienfaisance," founded by Miss de Broen in 1871, is notable in many ways. Its many activities aim at lessening the hardships of the poor dwelling in the most populous districts of Paris. Miss de Broen has herself directed this work for over thirty years at a cost of about two million francs. She procures all the funds, which come mainly from her own fortune and from friends in England. A list of the institutions included in her work is given below: (1) Home for old, unemployed women. They are given a certain quantity of bread or meat for three hours' work. (2) Free dispensary. (3) Oeuvre for conferences on morality, temperance and other important social questions. (4) Evening courses, held twice a week for young men and women. (5) A day school from 1873 to 1899. (6) School open twice a week to instruct children in general morals. (7) Organized friendly visiting among the sick and destitute. (8) Free distribution of food. About 300 people are fed each day. (9) A trade school for young girls. Closed in 1878. (10) Orphanage for little girls. (11) A maritime sanatorium for delicate children. (12) Free library of 2,000 volumes. (13) Distribution of moral tracts and pamphlets.

In addition to those cited, the Oeuvre de la Chaussée du Maine, the Société française de Bienfaisance de Tunis, and the Hospitalité Universelle à Nantes et à Paris are maintaining multiform activities differing but slightly in character and extent. These are all illustra-

[1] In its report for 1901-2 it showed that it had 30 popular kitchens which distributed in the year 2,230,494 portions of food for orders or cash. They supported 30 dispensaries in various parts of Paris, and these treated 3,091 sick in 40,041 consultations. Hospital accommodations for surgical cases were provided for men and women, and for children. The four dispensaries for children treated 18,237 children in 34,476 consultations, and 30,584 articles of clothing were given to children. In three lodging houses 10,150 women and 1,126 children were temporarily sheltered, and of these women 3,010 were given employment, and many articles of clothing were distributed. In a special house for women about to become mothers 578 women were lodged and fed for 5,144 nights. Other forms of help were: Aid given for the settlement of 31 skillful young workmen, 5,475 fr.; education of children, 4,476 fr.; pensions and rent payments; the Hotel Marjolin for self-supporting working women, with 60 beds.[1]

[1] Zeitschrift für das Armenwesen, April, 1903, p. 117.

tive of the fact that private benevolence is a very important factor in relief work in France.

Red Cross.—"La Société de secours pour les blessés et les malades des armées de terre et de mer," organized about the middle of the last century, was recognized as a public utility in 1866. This society gives to wounded and sick soldiers, and to their families, financial aid when it is needed. Hospitals and ambulances are provided for the wounded and in recent years France has organized and incorporated hospital volunteer aid until the service is now most efficient.

Settlements.—The social settlement idea is gaining ground in Paris, but existing institutions are not "settlements" in the English and American acceptation of the term. Three have adopted the name "Université Populaire," but, strictly speaking, they have little in common with university extension, which has existed in France for more than a generation. These institutions have, with one exception, no residents, but their aim is primarily social, and the relationship existing between the classes of people meeting at these centers is mutually advantageous. The Université Populaire at 19 Rue de Belleville is a very close approach to the English settlement. Here a number of university students dwell in a workingman's tenement house, and seek to elevate community standards. The following is a list of the Paris settlements: Université Populaire, de la Rue Mouffelaret; Université Populaire, 127 Fauborg St. Antoine; Université Populaire, 19 Rue de Belleville,—students in residence; Oratoire St. Phillipe de Neri, 14 Boulevard Tuckerman,—a sisters' house; Oeuvre de Popincourt, 72 Rue de la Foli Regnault,—four residents.

D. Ecclesiastical Charity.—Religious societies generally are interested in the care of children, and so it is not surprising that an enumeration of their charities would be almost entirely confined to relief for children. The aged, too, are a care of the church, but they are insignificant in number compared with the children and so have never aroused sympathy to the same extent.

Catholic.—The Catholic church plays a most important part in private charity in France. From its large funds emanates relief to thousands. There is practically no field of effort left untouched by this church. We find homes for the young and the aged, the morally diseased and the physically defective. The magnificent organization of the Catholic church makes simple the support and management of

institutions of mercy. One of the tenets of the Catholic faith is that each church should care for its poor, and so the church becomes a distributor of alms not much inferior to the state. Some of the most illustrious relief societies in the world owe their inception to the French Catholic church. Notable among these is the St. Vincent de Paul Society with its ramifying branches. The early history of French charity is only a record of Catholic charity. The church was the early almoner of the poor, and now, even though the state has assumed a duty toward the destitute, the church continues its multiform works of mercy. The numerical and financial strength of the Catholic church in France makes possible the distribution of charity on a large scale.

An old and notable church society is the Little Sisters of the Poor. The work of this sisterhood is too well known throughout the world to need special discussion here.

The Catholic charities are naturally the most important of all church activities since the Catholic people are by far most numerous. The number of persons assisted (assistés hospitalisés) by their societies, in 1901, in the Department of the Seine alone, was 23,396; in all France, 107,400; children, 83,000; girls and women in refuges, 700; aged people, 17,000; insane, 6,700. Abbé Gayraud declared that there were over 4,000 religious charitable societies. The law of July 1, 1901, introduced some changes in methods. Before that time the right to organize a private charitable society and give it corporate rights had been restricted. The religious orders are still subject to administrative regulations, and they may be dissolved by decree. Here we discover the signs of the general conflict of clericals and anti-clericals. The tendency, M. Rivière thinks, will be to diminish the sums given to church societies and throw this burden on the public tax-supported agencies. The secular institutions are growing.

Protestant.—In France Protestant charities are naturally few in number compared with those under the control of the Catholics. Conspicuous among the former are those conducted by the Order of Deaconesses. L'Institution des Diaconesses des Églises évangéliques de France maintains a hospital, charitable institution and a school of correction in Paris, rue de Reuilly 95. The society was founded in 1841 and has continued to do excellent work. The cost for attending the School of Correction is 25 francs a month, with an entrance fee of 25 francs, payable but once. Then there are always many children

taken without charge through the kindness of charitable people. The number cared for during the year is at least seventy.

Another Protestant charity, founded at Nîmes in 1857, consists of an asylum of two parts, the family and the refuge; in the former are received young orphaned or deserted girls, regardless of belief; in the latter fallen or vicious girls are taken. The latter are admitted on request of parents or guardians for a fixed period, and the cost, except in cases of great need, is twenty-five francs a month.

La Réunion protestante de Charité was founded in 1871 for the care of children rendered orphans by national or civil wars. It owns three homes and takes girls between the ages of seven and twelve years of age and boys between five and ten whose mothers at least are Protestants. Now any destitute orphans are taken and cared for. In 1897 the number in the three homes varied from 58 to 65.

The "Réunion protestante de Charité à Paris" was founded in 1872 and recognized as a public utility in 1891 and designed to aid persons belonging to the reformed church. It maintains: (1) A charity clothing club. (2) A boarding school for girls. (3) An orphanage for boys. (4) A home for young children. A small fee is charged by some of these institutions, and this, together with the proceeds of an annual charity sale, more than pays expenses.

The foregoing serve as types of Protestant undertakings. These are rather limited in their field, and do not justly represent charitable acts of adherents of the Protestant religion, for many contributions go to charities not distinctively Protestant.

Salvation Army.—Paris was the scene of the first missionary venture of the Salvation Army and the methods were well adapted to capture an emotional people fond of military display. Yet the struggle for regeneration has been difficult. The Army maintains the usual activities, and now has about three hundred officers at work.

E. Co-operation and Co-ordination of Public and Private Reief.—If we except the city of Paris, where a powerful administration groups under its direction all the relief institutions and unites them in a body of great strength, there does not exist among the different societies which in different ways are working toward the same end any coördination, any bond, any understanding or any solidarity.[1]

Charity Organization Society.—Properly speaking, there is in

[1] Dérouin, Traité Théorique et Pratique d'Assistance Publique, Tome I, p. xi.

France no charity organization society. There is a method which combines voluntary effort and official management. "The right to relief is recognized only in the cases of lunatics and deserted children; all other relief may be described as organized charity distributed by public bodies. Institutions such as hôpitaux for the sick, hospices for the aged and infirm are supported by endowments and voluntary contributions and managed by unpaid bodies constituted and controlled by the state.[1] The Bureaux de Bienfaisance consist of elected and nominated members and give outdoor relief in the commune. In 1898 there were in France 15,827 such bureaux, and they extended aid to 1,531,780 persons. The funds distributed are derived almost wholly from endowments and voluntary contributions, and a small proportion from taxation. Very searching inquiry is carried on and faithful records are kept. This work is mainly in charge of the Sisters of Charity and is very accurate. No aid is given without investigation. Each bureau consists of: (1) The mayor of the arrondissement; (2) deputies; (3) municipal councillors of the arrondissement; (4) at least four governors per quarter; (5) a secretary-treasurer. Besides these, there are friendly visitors who serve gratuitously and in addition some salaried officers. By means of this thorough organization, it becomes increasingly difficult for the unworthy to obtain aid.

Conferences and Congresses.—An international Congress of Charity met in Paris in 1855. This was the first of the kind, and all countries in Europe were represented. The discussions proved to be of inestimable value, and the congress established then has met in Paris three times since, during the exposition years of 1878, 1889, and 1900. Its next meeting will be held in Milan, September, 1905.

The Société Internationale pour l'étude des questions d'assistance is a learned society doing a practical work; and the Société Générale des Prisons is doing much to improve conditions in the prisons throughout the land.

In 1878 the Congrès Universel pour l'amélioration du sort des aveugles et des sourds-muets met in Paris, and has held meetings at intervals since.

In addition to the foregoing, the various national societies inter-

[1] Palgrave, Dictionary of Political Economy, article on Charity Organization in France.

ested in some phase of philanthropy and maintaining charities meet to discuss needed changes in method. The Société des Crêches may be mentioned as one conspicuous among these.

Expositions.—Each international exposition held in Paris has resulted in the organization of congresses to deal with the subject of charity in some of its many phases, and this in turn has led to exhibits from various countries illustrative of development, character, and methods of relief. In 1900, the exhibits were more numerous than ever before, and at the same time better organized.

Charity Directories.—A directory of French charities may be found in various year books[1] published by individuals and societies, and the annual reports of separate charities contain complete lists of a particular class. In this way, it would be possible to obtain a knowledge of all the charitable institutions or societies in the country.

F. Indoor Poor Relief.[2]—Institutional relief is afforded all classes of destitute persons from those needing permanent care to those who require only temporary relief, subject to the general rule that none shall be admitted to institutions who can be cared for outside. This has long been the policy of public relief in France.

The splendidly organized hospitals and institutions of various kinds receive within their doors persons who have no homes or who for good reasons must be given institutional care. Hospital treatment comes almost entirely within the domain of public relief. The hospitals of Paris alone afford accommodation for about thirty thousand people. Domiciliary regulations are carefully observed in the admission of each person applying for aid. Indoor relief is given in public institutions only after the most searching investigations. In private institutions no such stringent regulations exist. In general, private indoor relief is given on a smaller scale, and in institutions designed to meet special needs. Public funds must be distributed in a way to satisfy the public, while the distribution of private funds concerns only the donors.

G. Vagrants. The giving of relief to able-bodied adults raises some of the most complex and delicate problems of modern charity. The difficulty of distinguishing between the professional beggar and the deserving poor is great and much cumbersome machinery is nec-

[1] Hachette, Annuaire.

[2] Dérouin, Traité Théorique et Pratique d'Assistance Publique. Larrivé, l'Assistance Publique en France. Fleury, De l'Assistance Publique à Paris.

essary to carry out satisfactory investigations. Philanthropists and sociologists are agreed that the best method of checking vagrancy is to furnish no aid except where a return of work is given. Exceptional cases, however, need special treatment. Among its various charitable undertakings, the city of Paris includes three institutions where aid is given in return for work. These are: (1) Le Refuge-ouvroir Pauline-Roland for women. (2) Le Refuge, Nicolas-Flamel, for men. (3) La colonie agricole de la Chalmelle, also for men. These have all been organized since 1889, and at considerable cost. The establishment for women has 157 beds and accommodations for 40 little children. This is designed for strong women who are temporarily out of employment. They pay expenses by sewing, washing, ironing or doing other work given them in the home. Provision is made for small children in the crêche and the kindergarten. The director is very successful in finding permanent employment for a large proportion of the women who seek shelter with her. The home for men has accommodations for 207. This is not only a night refuge, but has workrooms where those desiring work may obtain it for a time. The duration of a sojourn is supposed to be three days, or four if a Sunday intervenes. Financial aid is sometimes given to the most needy. It is only since 1893 that the municipal work rooms have been open. The regulation sojourn in the work rooms is 20 days, but may be prolonged in exceptional cases.

In the institutions for both men and women applicants upon entering must be bathed and examined for general cleanliness. In addition to the institutions mentioned, Paris maintains three municipal lodging houses, two for men and one for women. These, unlike the English houses, are entirely free, providing not only a bed but soup at night and bread in the morning. Men are allowed to stay for three successive nights, while women may remain for a month if it seems advisable. Every effort is made to prevent the admission of unworthy characters. The system of disinfecting is very complete and guests are required to wear municipal clothes while in the houses. Thus the health of all is safeguarded. Institutions giving temporary asylum to needy men and women are very numerous in France. Some, like the municipal lodging houses, are entirely free; others require payment in work, while still others furnish a home for a time and in addition money or clothes, or both. Thousands of persons are aided every month in this way, and the great majority of

them find their way into some permanent occupation, thus justifying the efforts made in their behalf. The institutions under discussion entertain from three to five thousand a year each and at a great expenditure of money. Private individuals and societies as well as the municipalities have interested themselves in the unemployed and temporarily homeless poor, with the result that new institutions are constantly being added. Thus the movement, which dates back less than a score of years, bears no insignificant part in the general charitable work of France.

Closely allied with the foregoing, yet differing from it in essential details and method, is the movement toward colonization of the poor in agricultural districts. The first municipal colony was started at Chalmette in 1891 to provide home and work for many men originally from the country who found themselves unable to cope with industrial conditions in the city. At first only men between the ages of twenty-five and fifty-five years and who had been resident in Paris at least three years were eligible for admission. There are accommodations for sixty men at the present time, but the intention of the council is to make provision for men with families in the future, so that they as well as single men may have the advantages of life on the model farm. During the first ten years of its existence the colony received 850 persons; of this number 491 were placed in good positions, 271 left voluntarily, 15 were sent to a hospital, 4 joined the military service, 2 died, while 37 were expelled for cause.

As types of colonies established by private parties the Colonie Agricole de Mettray and the Colonie Agricole protestante de Sainte-Foy may be mentioned. The former was founded in 1839 and the latter in 1843, and they receive an average of 540 and 140 persons respectively per year. They are both designed for young boys who need correction, but who scarcely merit prison life, and so these colonies differ from the more recent one founded by the city of Paris. They perform a very valuable function in checking criminal tendencies in the young.[1]

H. Medical Relief. *Public.*—The law of free medical aid[2]

[1] See Witt, La Charité à travers les Siècles. Witt, La Charité en France. Rapports du Jury International Exposition Universelle Internationalle de 1900; Quatrième partie, classe 112. Shaw, Municipal Government in Continental Europe.

[2] Law of July 15, 1903.

recognizes absolutely the right of the needy to aid, and the rendering of it is now obligatory throughout France. The law provides[1] that every ailing Frenchman who has no resources of his own shall receive gratuitously from the commune, the department, or the state, as the case may be, medical aid at home, or if that is not practicable, in a hospital. This law applies equally to women. Ill and needy foreigners will be treated as the native-born in every case where the French government has a treaty of reciprocity in respect to relief with the country of the needy strangers.

Free medical aid may be organized in the commune in two different ways: (1) For needy residents of the communes, and in rare cases strangers; (2) according to the needs of the different communes. All of this is carefully regulated by the law of July 15, 1893. It is noteworthy that the word *"indigent"*[2] does not appear in the law. The wage worker who falls ill may need aid, but he is in no sense indigent.

The insistence upon the regulation that no one shall be treated in a hospital when it is possible to administer relief to him at home is upon economic and moral grounds. Lists of persons eligible for this aid are made by a commission whose duty it is to arrange such lists. When it becomes impossible to treat the sick one properly at home, the attending physician must certify to this and state clearly the reasons which necessitate hospitalisation.[3] This certificate must be countersigned by the president of the bureau of relief, or the "maire" (unless he be the physician) or some one delegated by him. The recruiting of *physicians* for this public service is fraught with difficulties. The funds are limited. At present two systems are in vogue: (1) The prefect designates a physician who shall have charge of the sick poor in his locality, and he is responsible for all whose names are on his lists. (2) Any physicians who accept the conditions of the public service are considered relief physicians, and those in need of care may select from these the one they prefer. Local conditions determine the method in use.

To be entitled to medical treatment, the petitioner must have a "domicile of relief." This domicile is acquired by: (1) Residence; (2) birth; (3) marriage. The length of residence must be at least

[1] Article 1. [2] Larrivé, l'Assistance Publique en France, p. 13.

[3] Circular of the Minister of Interior containing instructions for the enforcing of the law of free medical aid.

one year in the commune. Children are considered as having the domicile of the father, or, the father being dead, that of the mother. In cases of separation or divorce, the child takes the domicile of the parent to whose care he has been committed. The wife takes the domicile of her husband from the day of her marriage. The domicile of relief is forfeited by an uninterrupted and voluntary absence of a year(military service or absence in a hospital or asylum is not included).

Dispensaries.—Free clinics are maintained in many of the hospitals and houses for aid, and dispensaries are maintained throughout the country. These are directed by the Department of Public Relief with the aid of the local bureaus of relief.[1]

Hospitals.—These are of two classes: (1) General,—designed for the treatment of all maladies; (2) special,—for the care of certain specified diseases.

In Paris there are 15 general hospitals for adults and two for children, and seven special hospitals for adults and four for children.

For administrative purposes Paris is divided into "circonscriptions hospitalières," and according to his domicile, one is assigned to a hospital. Since 1880 provision has been made for incurable adults. A commission examines all requests for admission at its monthly meetings. Incurable children are cared for also if their parents can justify their state of need. Contagious cases are treated in isolated rooms or wards. The isolation of consumptives is only beginning to be practiced in France. Ordinarily the hospitals receive into their maternity wards women on the eve of accouchement and keep them only about ten days. Public opinion is now agitating for an extension of time in the interests of humanity and the increase of population. Outside of the hospitals medical attendance in maternity cases is furnished at home. Licensed midwives are sent out by the bureaus of relief.

"L'Ecole des sages-femmes" is maintained in order that maternity cases may be properly cared for. Tuition was originally free, but now is paid by those who can afford it.

In 1898 there were in France 1,708 hospitals of all kinds maintained at a cost of 133,914,343 francs. Many of these more than make their own expenses from private patients.

[1] Dérouin, Traité Théorique et Pratique d'Assistance Publique, Vol. I, p. 365.

It is important to note the very great improvements that have been made in the hospital service since 1872. After this date came their rather startling change from a religious to a purely sectarian basis. The great hospitals in Paris are now a part of L'Assistance Publique. It was not until 1881 that the municipality substituted trained nurses for religious sisters and opened regular professional training schools for nurses. Members of sisterhoods are now found as nurses only in a few hospitals where their presence is demanded by the terms of the gifts and bequests.

Care of Convalescents.—Some years ago, it was seen that the poor, upon leaving the hospitals after certain serious illnesses, and sick persons cared for at home, nearly always require at least a few days' complete rest before they are able to resume work. To meet this need convalescent homes have been established. They are few in number compared with the hospitals, because the necessity is less urgent. Yet they are significant in that they represent a recognition of a social need. There are, besides the two great national asylums at Vincennes and Vésinet, some smaller institutions of this kind which owe their existence to private initiative. The two public institutions were created at the same time, by a decree of March 8, 1855, and were opened about two years later. The grounds are spacious and beautiful and the buildings of the best construction and ample in size. As they are doing practically the same work, a discussion of the former will be sufficient to indicate the general method. At Vincennes the following classes of persons are admitted for convalescent treatment: (1) Those injured or stricken with sickness while engaged on public works. (2) Those connected with certain mutual aid societies. (3) Those working in the homes of specified persons. (4) Patients leaving the hospitals or sent by the bureaux of charity. This class includes by far the largest number. (5) Persons sent by special authority of the Minister of the Interior, either upon payment of a fee or to be cared for gratuitously. The institution is under direct authority of the Minister of the Interior, and is administered by a board consisting of executive officers and a medical staff. From 1857 to 1899 there has been an average annual attendance of over 8,000. The number received in 1899 was 8,873.

The French government maintains a hospital in London, and in 1894 accorded a subvention of 100,000 francs to establish a convalescent home at Brighton.

Since 1891 the Société des Grands Magazins du Louvre has had a country home for convalescing or worn-out employes of the big shop. In the year 1899 fifty-seven men and women were cared for.

Tuberculosis.—The first French sanatorium for adults was erected by a society in Lyons in 1900. In 1901 the public relief authorities of Paris opened a sanatorium, and the *Conseil de surveillance* ordered separate hospital wards to be set apart for consumptives. In many departments societies have been founded to establish sanatoria.

Cities, as Lille, Bordeaux and Paris, have begun to give dispensary help in homes and other relief as needed. *L'oeuvre des dispensaires antituberculeux* in Paris had two dispensaries. The *Oeuvre de la tuberculose humaine* and the *Oeuvre antituberculeuse* care for patients at home and send the curable to the country. In March, 1902, a federation of anti-tuberculosis societies, 66 in number, was formed, M. Brouardel presiding.

Training of Nurses.—A circular of the Minister of the Interior, Oct. 28, 1902, directs the commission of administration to further the work of preparing nurses for their duties, as a necessary factor in carrying out the law of gratuitous medical relief.[1]

Hospitals.—The new director (1901), M. Monnier, in charge of public relief in Paris, began his duties by calling attention to needed reforms in hospitals, the increase of room and the building of isolation pavilions for treatment of contagious diseases. Three new children's hospitals were completed in 1901. He recommended the employment of women instead of men for nurses, and the provision of domestic servants for all common labor. M. Monnier died Aug. 19, 1902, and was succeeded by M. Mesureur.

School for Mothers.—In 1892 was established in Paris the first of the *Consultations de Nourrissons,* of which there are now 28 in Paris and many in the cities of the provinces. They are connected with hospitals and dispensaries or supported by private charity. The mothers bring their infants to the class, when the little ones are examined and weighed, the mothers are taught how to feed and care for them, and, when necessary, sterilized milk is provided.[2]

J. Care of Defectives, Public and Private.—The Republic of France recognizes a special duty to the defective, more particularly

[1] Zeit. f. d. Armenwesen, January, 1903, p. 17; M. Rivière.

[2] La Revue Philanthropique, February, 1904, article by Dr. Budin.

to the mentally defective members of society, and in this as in other forms of charitable work we find a combination of public and private control, individuals or societies furnishing the funds and the state directing. The principal institutions are now under the direct control of the state.

Blind.—The first definite effort to relieve the hardships of those deprived of sight dates back to 1227, when the Hospice National des Quinze-Vingts was founded by Saint Louis. About this time a number of blind people had formed themselves into a kind of mutual aid society near the Palais-Royal. The king became aware of this and was so moved by their misery that he built them a house and ordered that it should always be used as a permanent home for needy blind people up to the number of three hundred, and so originated the above named institution. It is now classed among national charitable institutions, and as such comes under the direct control of the Minister of the Interior. Through changes and reconstruction, it has remained true to its original principles, and still has three hundred resident pensioners. But in addition to this, it extends aid to many non-residents by means of clinics, consultations and other advice, and in numerous ways renders aid to these unfortunates.

The school for the blind was a much later development, and we find the first one in the world established in France in 1784 by Valentin Haüy. This institution gives intellectual and technical instruction ranging all the way from arithmetic to history, and from agriculture to sewing. Children are received between the ages of ten and thirteen years and are kept as long as may be necessary to complete the course of study. Louis Braille, the inventor of the Braille system of instruction for the blind, was for years a pupil and later a professor in this national institution. There is a Braille School in Paris doing a notable work for the education of the blind. One rather unique institution gives only technical or professional instruction, and candidates for admission must be: (1) Totally blind; (2) between the ages of eighteen and forty years; (3) of good health, and have special aptitude for the work.

In all the many institutions the most scientific methods are in use, and the pupils go out ready to support themselves if need be. And societies exist to aid the student in finding work. Instruction of this kind has made remarkable progress during the past century, and the indications are that a greater advance will yet be made.

Deaf Mutes.—Education of the deaf mutes naturally goes hand in hand with that of the blind, for the need is equally apparent. The earliest institution for the training of deaf mutes mentioned in history was founded in Paris in 1760 by Abbé l'Épée. It seems fitting that France should take the lead in this as in the training of the blind. In this school, from its inception, very young children have been received. They are taken as early as six years of age, and taught lip reading of short, easy words. In addition to this they are given other simple tasks. At the age of nine, the education proper begins, and this includes the usual school branches and the useful arts. The cost is nine hundred francs a year, but there are always available scholarships for the needy.

Another school, the national institution for deaf mutes in Chambery, was founded in 1841. Its purpose is the same as the one just described. The intellectual training includes articulation and lip reading as well as the instruction usually given in primary schools. The technical training, which is obligatory, includes, for boys: Agriculture, gardening, shoemaking, carpentry and tailoring; and for girls, dressmaking, mending, knitting, embroidery, crochet work, lace work, laundry work and all kinds of domestic work.

Besides these two, there are numerous institutions attempting practically the same work and accomplishing equally good results. Deaf mutes are thus enabled to take their place in society as useful citizens. To aid such as must earn their living, a society was formed in 1897 to help them find employment.

Insane.—Under the insane may be classed all types of mental weakness, as institutions are organized on a sufficiently broad basis to make possible the care of all. The insane poor are objects of special care by the state when relatives are unable to support them in suitable institutions. There is at Charenton a lunatic asylum founded in 1641 and reconstructed between 1838 and 1845. This is under the immediate direction of the national government and is open to patients from all parts of the Republic. It is regarded as a model institution for the care of mental diseases. Its ample funds make possible the organization of numerous divisions, each of which has charge of a particular mental malady. Every effort is put forth to make the inmates as comfortable as possible and suitable work and entertainment are found for them. All other institutions for the insane are local foundations. The law decrees that each of the

eighty-seven departments must either provide a suitable place for those of unsound mind, or make an arrangement, subject to the approval of the Minister of the Interior, with some other department to assume this care. These institutions are supported by the department and contributions from the various communes in which patients lived, and these funds defray the expenses of inmates when relatives are too poor.

Anyone desiring to establish a private asylum must obtain the sanction of the government. A person applying for such a license must be: (1) Of good moral character, and (2) a doctor of medicine or have a medical man in charge. A thorough system of inspection exists, and both public and private asylums are periodically inspected by a committee composed of the following persons: (1) Prefect of the department; (2) president of local tribunal; (3) local procurer of the Republic; (4) judge of the peace; (5) mayor of the commune. The public asylums are under the supervision of a committee of five appointed by the prefects, and this committee holds meetings monthly or oftener if necessary.

Patients are consigned to asylums in two ways: (1) Compulsory. Dangerous lunatics are placed in asylums for the protection of the public, whether their friends are willing or not. (2) "Placement volontaire." In this case relatives or friends apply for admission. Such application must be accompanied by a medical certificate given by a physician who is not a relative. Patients are always accessible to their friends, and a peculiarity of the French lunacy laws is that a patient or his friends may claim discharge at any time before a civil court.[1]

In 1892 a colony for family care of insane women was opened at Dun-sur Auron and in 1900 at Ainay, a neighboring village, a colony for men. The authorities had studied the systems of Berlin, Gheel and of Scotland. The patients are carefully selected by medical men, surpervised, and are comfortable and contented. They have been transferred from closed asylums.[2]

Insane Convicts.—By an order of the Minister of the Interior, after Jan. 1, 1903, one wing of the old central prison of Gaillon was

[1] In 1896 there were 64,522 insane persons in asylums, 1,862 of these were in private establishments.

[2] Miss Julia C. Lathrop, National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1902, p. 188 ff.

to be used as a public establishment of *poor-relief*, and so pass from the administration of the prison to that of the public poor and sanitary authority. Here are to be treated: (1) Convicted persons who have become insane during incarceration; (2) those who during trial are found insane and are therefore not convicted; (3) inmates of ordinary asylums for the insane who are declared by physicians to be dangerous.[1]

K. Treatment of Children. *History.*—The custom of abandoning children was always common in France as in other countries and during the Middle Ages it became a veritable curse which neither rules nor edicts could check. In the 14th century the favorite place for abandoning infants was at the church doors, where they were sure to be found later and cared for in some way. For although parents, for various reasons, cast away their children, it appears that they hoped that they might live, only with the burden of care and support transferred to other persons. Thus at this early period we find institutions of various kinds opened for the care of the helpless little creatures whom Christian people could not leave to die from exposure. In the larger cities it was customary to place cradles at the church doors for the reception of such children, and the mere sight of these led charitable people to give generously to the institutions which cared for them. This, then, was the first stage in the development of the highly organized system of the present. During the 16th century we find infants deposited in hospital entrances, and this raised a new problem, for it was manifestly impossible for such institutions to assume what proved to be a great additional expense. From this need developed regular foundling asylums, and the 17th century saw the establishment of a large number of such institutions. In the 18th century infants were exposed on the streets and open places in the effort to conceal the identity of those abandoning them. The risk of being seen at asylum doors was great, and so parents resorted to this infinitely more inhuman method of abandonment. As a remedy for this growing evil, turning boxes were placed in the walls of hospitals in obscure places, and there children were deposited. Attendants within had only to turn the box to take out the child, and they could have no possible knowledge of the person without, protected as he was by windowless walls. This method, which was

[1] Zeit. f. d. Armenwesen, 1903, p. 15 (M. L. Rivière).

adopted by all the hospitals, and even extolled by a decree of 1811, fell into disuse by the middle of the 19th century, and the last turning box in France disappeared about thirty years ago. One of the evil consequences of such a system was the creation and development of a gruesome industry conducted by persons (meneuses de tour) whose business it was to go about through the villages and country to gather children whose parents wished to dispose of them, and carry them to the turning box of the nearest hospital. The promoters of this business reaped rich financial rewards, as their services were in great demand. A system making so simple the desertion of children naturally increased this particular crime, and it was abandoned none too soon for the good of the country and its morals. But the experiments of generations paved the way for modern methods of dealing with the great problem of child desertion.

Public protection of infants in the modern sense was instituted in France by the law of December 23, 1874. Outside of the official state protection thus guaranteed, many private institutions are doing notable work. According to the law of 1874, every child under the age of two years which is cared for, for hire, outside of the home of its parents becomes an object of public guardianship in order to protect its life and health. Legislators believe that an antidote for the decrease in births is to be found in lessening the number of deaths, and so justify themselves for the far-reaching rigidity of the law. It can readily be seen that such a law properly enforced would have great social value, and to this end the administration is invested with power to attach penalties for evasion or non-enforcement.

As a further protection to infants, the Society of Maternal Lactation, organized in 1876, provides necessities for a nursing mother when her need has been established. This aid is of two kinds: (1) Each month a certain quantity of food and clothing is given to the mother; (2) milk is furnished to the child when a physician declares the mother's supply to be insufficient. Between the years 1877 and 1898 the society aided in one or both of the above ways 36,427 infants.

In addition to this there are many other societies doing practically the same work as the ones indicated, and from the aims of all of these one learns that France is making vigorous efforts to save her children. All such societies are supported by public funds, supplemented by private donations, and are administered by the state through boards.

Institutional Care.—We find in France a great number of institutions, both public and private, for the temporary care of children, and their purposes and methods are adapted to the particular class the institution aims to help. One such institution in Paris receives: (1) Indigent children; (2) morally abandoned children; (3) children whose parents are ill in a hospital, or under quarantine, or sentenced to imprisonment for not more than six months; (4) a certain number of children of both sexes arrested for vagabondage or petty offences and sent there by the magistrates; (5) sick and needy children from the country who cannot be given proper care at home; (6) sick children brought for the purpose of consultation with physicians and surgeons, and whose condition is so serious as to demand immediate attention. Large numbers of these various classes are cared for each year and the character of the care given is a tribute to the worth of the institution.

The "Oeuvre de la Chaussée du Maine" is designed for children whose mothers are ill at home or in a hospital, and thus unable to give needed maternal care to their offspring. Boys are admitted from the age of six months to six years, and girls from six months to fourteen years of age. The time limit of attendance is from fifteen days to four months. It is only a temporary asylum. A charge of one franc per day is exacted, except in the case of chilldren admitted by a subscriber, who can always recommend that no charge be made.

Another institution, unique as well as useful, is "La Maison Maternelle" in Paris, founded in 1891 by private beneficence for the purpose of caring for the children of wage earners incapacitated by illness or lack of employment. Boys from three to six years of age and girls from three to twelve are admitted ordinarily for a period not exceeding three months, although in special cases an extension of time is allowed. There is no provision made here for sick children,—they are sent to the children's hospital,—but the well are taken care of, and sent each day to the primary or parish schools, according to their age. In this way the institution strives to fill temporarily the parents' place, but in no sense does it try to usurp that place, as every effort is made to keep parents in touch with their children in residence. The institutions cited are merely types of those effectually aiding needy children in France. Many thousands are helped each year by such organizations, and they amply justify their existence.

Day Nurseries.—Crêches or day nurseries are established to aid

working mothers in the feeding and care of their children, for it is not always possible for a woman to take her child with her to her place of labor. This is possible only in household work by the day, and even then it is not always possible, so philanthropic people saw a vast field of opportunity opening to them in providing places where working mothers going for the day to shops and factories and offices could leave their little ones. The day nurseries receive children of from fifteen days to three years of age during working hours, regardless of the religious bias of parents. The ultimate aim of the institution is to make maternal lactation easier and to preserve the family tie among the needy; to lighten the work of women wage earners and to start under favorable auspices the physical and ethical education of children; and to improve at the same time the spirit and morals of a class sadly in need of improvement.

The first crêche was opened in Paris, November 14, 1844, by Firmin Marbeau, who conceived the idea while engaged in preparing a general report on infant schools in his arrondissement. He was impressed with the fact that provision was made in various kinds of institutions for children over two years of age while those younger were not considered. The development of crêches was very rapid, being promoted by the "Société des Crêches," organized in 1846. This society procures funds needed to carry on the work, and, while its efforts have been mainly in behalf of Paris, the provinces have not been entirely neglected. The daily attendance at all crêches has nearly doubled since 1889. There were, in 1898, 653,838 children cared for per day. Some of the day nurseries more recently opened by private beneficence have beautiful playgrounds in addition to the house accommodations.

Taking the "Crêche Furtado-Heine," 7 Rue Jacquin, Paris, as a type, one is able to see the methodical manner in which such an institution is conducted and also its far-reaching effects. This crêche, which is absolutely free, was opened in 1896, and receives children up to the age of three years, regardless of sex or religion. The methods pursued in the treatment of children taken there are as follows: (1) There is a thorough medical examination of all children brought for the first time, and this is repeated if the child is absent at any time for forty-eight consecutive hours. (2) The child is at once supplied with crêche clothing, and its own garments, properly labeled, are put in a basket and subjected to a disinfecting process. (3) Each child,

after its acceptance, is bathed carefully. (4) Sterilized milk is provided. (5) Children are fed at times prescribed by the physician in charge. (6) The day is divided into sleep and play periods.

This very important work is carried on in France through the "Société des Crêches," by means of private benefactions and municipal subventions.

School Children.—In 1890 there was formed in Lille a society whose aim was the distribution of clothing, playthings, fruit and sweetmeats to poor school children at Christmas time. There has never been any complicated machinery in use to determine what children are entitled to the gifts. It is sufficient to know that the child is poor. The success of the society in Lille led to the formation of similar societies throughout the north of France, and now in nearly all of the towns school children who are needy are provided with the necessities of life.

Sick and Weak Children.—There are many sanatoriums, the growth of recent years, for the care of children afflicted with rickets, scrofula and tuberculosis. And the term sanatorium is used to mean an institution where suitable climate and proper care, rather than medication and surgery, predominate in effecting a cure. As early as 1854 the department of public relief in Paris opened an institution for anaemic children at Forges-les-Bains, and a few years later sanatoriums for the treatment of rickets and scrofulous diseases were established. But it was not until 1888 that the necessity of caring for tuberculous children became apparent. This very valuable work is now done in a most scientific way. There are seven establishments representing a cost of four million francs, and under the supervision of a medical committee composed of twenty members. By the careful selection and treatment of patients, and an insistence upon preventive measures, the ravages of this dread disease have been checked to a considerable degree. Since the beginning of the work over thirteen thousand children have been treated, and the number seeking relief increases from year to year. In 1900 the Chamber of Deputies, recognizing the great value of the work done, unanimously authorized the establishing of a lottery for its support.

In addition to the above mentioned institutions for the care of specific diseases, there are many children's hospitals of a more general nature. "L'Hôpital des Enfants-Malades" was founded in 1732. Designed at first for girls and women, it opened its doors in 1802 to

sick children of both sexes. There are isolation wards for contagious diseases. In all the hospital contains 632 beds. Other children's hospitals in Paris are "L'Hôpital Trousseau," originally opened in 1670, and "L'Hôpital de la Roche-Guyon," founded in 1861. In addition to this, many of the hospitals have free clinics for children.

Seaside and Country Outings.—The first efforts to send school children to the country for an outing in vacation resulted from private initiative. This was in 1881, when a well-known and philanthropic woman sent three children to Manteuil-les-Meaux. From this small beginning has grown up the great work of vacation colonies. There are two methods commonly pursued: (1) The sending of children to the homes of people in the country, where they live for a time the family life; and (2) the sending of groups of children under the protection of a properly qualified person to spend their vacation in the country. This is the more general method.

The work of sending children to the country for a time during the summer is undertaken by different societies having special funds for this purpose. "La Chaussée du Maine" undertook this branch of charity in 1882 in a very modest way by sending twenty children out of the city; in 1890 the number was 160; and in 1899 it had increased to 1,106. The children were at first placed in little groups among the farming people, but since 1899 the society has owned a home near the sea where the climate is especially adapted to the needs of the weak children. The age of admission varies from five to fifteen years and children are entertained from one to three months, according to their needs. The charge is thirty-five francs a month, including traveling expenses, but this is only in rare instances paid by parents. Supporters of the society have a special fund for this purpose. "La Caisse des Écoles" of the seventh arrondissement in Paris instituted summer outings in 1887. This organization is administered by a committee composed of the mayor, the deputies, the members of the cantonal delegation, and the inspector of primary instruction. A very notable work has been done by this organiaztion for sick and well children. The "Ouvre des Trois-Semaines," organized in 1881, was the first society in France founded for the express purpose of sending poor children to the country. The society owns two classes of homes, one by the sea designed for those who need the salt air, and one inland. The average charge in the latter is thirty-five francs, and in the former seventy francs a month. There is in addition a

branch where mothers with children are accommodated. This is a Protestant charity, supported by contributions from the various Protestant societies in France. The majority of the children received belong to Protestant families, but others are not excluded.

Playgrounds for children are provided in some of the city gardens and parks of Paris, where space is reserved for them, as in the Jardin de Luxembourg.

Morally Imperilled Children.—Since 1887 there has been in France a union for the protection of childhood. Its field of operation is clearly delimited. It deals exclusively with maltreated or morally endangered children, including in the first class all those who are brutally treated at home, or doomed to beggary or employed in dangerous trades; while in the second class are included all those whose parents are notoriously bad, or given up to a life of mendicancy or have been sentenced for crime; in short, all those children whose home life would inevitably conduce to fatal depravity. Children gathered together by the society are placed temporarily in the home at Neuilly. While there, their moral and physical natures are carefully studied by experts, and later they are placed, according to their needs, in institutions or private families. Between the years 1888 and 1899 the Union received 1,196 children. Since 1892 the Union has had a dotal fund for the children it has adopted. For this purpose it puts aside from the day of adoption to the time when the child begins to earn its living fifty francs a year for the girls and thirty for the boys. The sum thus accumulated is given to the ward if, after investigation, his conduct is found to warrant it. The society is administered by a council of thirty-six members elected by the general assembly of subscribers. Similar societies exist in Lyons, Bordeaux, Toulon, Marseilles, Montpellier, Bourgoin, Mâcon and Chalon-sur-Seine. These coöperate with the mother society, but act independently in local matters. The original Union is supported by membership assessments, subventions from the state, departments and communes, and an annual charity bazaar, and a lottery. With this thorough organization, supplemented as it is by the work of private individuals, one feels that morally imperilled children have an avenue of escape open to them, and that a most commendable work is being done. The number of children given public assistance in 1897 was 110,575.

In order to prepare children for productive industry, attention has

been given to technical training. The Écoles manuelles d'apprentissage (loi du 11 décembre, 1880) and the Écoles pratique du commerce et de l'industrie (décret du 22 février, 1893) had this purpose. These schools are free. The pupils enter at 13 years, and receive instruction in ordinary branches while they have commercial or industrial training. But the advantages of such schools have been restricted to the cities and the class of skilled workmen. Many societies of patronage, religious and secular, have been formed to guide and counsel youth and keep them from evil ways. Homes have been opened for young girls working in shops and factories, where they can secure decent surroundings at a reasonable cost.[1]

The law of 1874 (Dec. 7) pronounced severe penalties of imprisonment on parents who permitted their children to give performances as acrobats, etc., or to send them begging.

The law of 1889 (July 24) provided for the dissolution of parental power by a court when a child is in moral peril. It followed that the judge could do nothing until the case was serious enough to deprive a parent of his control over the child; and in case of illegitimate children nothing could be done.

The law of 1898 (April 19) gave juvenile offenders and those cruelly treated protection.[2]

L. Care of Youth, 12 to 18 Years of Age.—In seeking what is being done for youth from twelve to eighteen years of age in France, one is confronted with the fact that many of the varied institutions whose primary aim is the caring for young children open their doors to boys and girls of twelve or fourteen years or even older. This is especially true in the case of hospitals and institutions for the care of the sick, as, for example, the hospitals at Ivry and Salpêtrière, which receive incurable children between the ages of four and twenty years. Again, the "Société Lyonnaise pour le Sauvetage de l'Enfance" extends all its privileges to children as old as fourteen years. But eliminating these, we find a good deal of attention being paid to children over twelve years of age. So without attempting a reënumeration of societies and institutions mainly concerned with young children, but accepting, at the same time, unfortunates of a few years

[1] L. Rivière, Mendiants et Vagabonds, 1902.

[2] *Ibid.*, gives an account of societies and institutions for helping children.

older, we shall pass to a consideration of works of charity undertaken primarily to aid young persons.

As early as 1828 there was formed in Paris a society[1] whose aim is to prepare young boys of the poorer classes to make an honest livelihood. Various trades are taught and efforts are made to get places for the boys when they are ready to go to work. The temptation and seeming necessity for many boys to drift into dishonest occupations is thus removed. Great care is taken to learn the particular bent of each boy, and he is trained with that in view. Large numbers avail themselves of the opportunity thus presented each year. The society has a threefold interest in its protégés,—as students, as apprentices and as workers. In order to be admitted to the society a boy must be French, a resident of Paris, and not less than eight nor more than ten years of age. This age is fixed in order that the training may be thorough. At the age of thirteen the boy commences work as an apprentice, returning to the *maison de famille* to spend his evenings and Sundays. In 1899 the Society had three hundred and twenty protégés. It is supported by about 350 titular members who pay twenty francs a year, by subscriptions, and charity bazaars. The Society is controlled by a council of twenty-six members and a committee of ladies.

It was not until a much later date that the necessity of training poor girls was recognized. "L'École Ménagère et Professionelle Vila" was founded in 1884[2] to fit young girls of the working classes for the multiplicity of duties falling upon the mother in a poor man's family, and in addition to this to teach them some useful trade. The spirit of the school is good and the instruction excellent. Such an institution was much needed, not only to fit poor girls to earn a living, but to enable them with their domestic training to improve home conditions too often lamentably bad. In 1899 there were in the school fifty-five young girls from ten to eighteen years of age, and the accommodations are being enlarged from time to time. The institution is regulated by an administrative council of twelve members elected for a period of three years by the general assembly of subscribers.

A society of recent origin[3] gives a provisional refuge, with food

[1] Société des Amis de l'Enfance pour l'éducation et l'apprentissage de jeunes garçons pouvres de la ville de Paris.

[2] At Chaumont.

[3] Patronage de l'Enfance et de l'Adolescence, founded in 1890.

and clothes, to young vagrants while efforts are being made to procure work for them. These young boys, between twelve and eighteen years of age, are required to give work in exchange for what they have received. In 1899, 731 boys were received in the home.

The "Ligue Fraternelle des Enfants de France," founded in 1885, extends its care to unfortunates up to the age of twenty-one years and is doing a notable work, inasmuch as it has branches and committees operating all over the country. At the present time it is aiding about 15,000 protégés.

In the early years of the nineteenth century thinking people were aroused to the fact that the system of punishment then in vogue, together with society's treatment of discharged prisoners, was demoralizing to young offenders, and some notable efforts were made to correct this tendency.

In 1819 "L'Oeuvre laïque du bon Pasteur" was founded as a temporary home for young girls from fifteen to twenty-three years of age, who were in a hopeless condition after leaving Saint-Lazare. If necessity arose, in special cases, the asylum became a permanent home. In 1833 a society for aiding young men was formed, and this was the first for helping youthful male delinquents. The deplorable conditions existing in the prisons and the appalling number of young men becoming habitual criminals led to the organization of this protective society. It was observed that prison life tended to make criminals of those who were sentenced for the first time, and thus defeated the very object for which such punishment stood. The conviction grew upon those interested that avenues to legitimate employment were practically closed to the unfortunates who had served a sentence for any offence, and so a desire to reform was taken away from them. For the purpose of overcoming in a measure this hardship, an asylum was opened to receive those discharged from prison until suitable employment could be obtained for them, and thus lessen the danger of a second commitment. Before the society commenced its work the number of *recidivistes* was about seventy-five per cent.; now it is not more than ten per cent.

Another organization[1] was founded in 1878 for the purpose of trying to regenerate by means of military discipline young delin-

[1] "La Société de Protection des engagés volontaires elevés sous la tutelle administrative."

quents or morally abandoned youth to the age of eighteen years. In the beginning, the society concerned itself only with those who had been in correctional institutions, but for several years it has been equally interested in the welfare of youth morally endangered in any way. The society aims to find positions in the army and elsewhere for young men who show signs of wishing to lead a better life. The depositing of a certain sum of money is considered by the society a moral obligation which it has a right to exact from protégés. This sum is invested for their future benefit and every effort is made to induce them to economize when once work has been obtained. Numerous other societies are working earnestly to check the tendency among young delinquents to become habitual criminals, and they are meeting with excellent results. The young boys feel that friends are awaiting them at the expiration of the first sentence, and they show an inclination to embrace the opportunities offered them to lead a better life.

From all of this it would appear that philanthropists in France are recognizing the fact that the age between childhood and manhood or womanhood is fraught with many dangers among the poor and viciously inclined, and that aid must be extended if misfortune and crime are to be lessened. The results in all cases bear witness to the value of the efforts.[1]

Protection of Girls.—Senator Bérenger has founded a committee to coöperate with similar committees of other countries to suppress the traffic in "white slaves." An international conference was held in Paris, July 15, 1902, which made plans to secure the aid of various governments.

Religious and secular societies are seeking to provide proper dwellings for working girls in Paris, as the *Cercle Amicitiâ* and the *Syndicat de l'Aiguille*. The Société Philanthropique has opened several houses. The Salvation Army has a popular hotel, and the Israelites have established a home for girls.[2]

M. Preventive Work.[3] *Workingman's Insurance.*—The ques-

[1] See Rapports du Jury International (1900), Groupe XVI, Quatrième partie, classe 112.

[2] Zeit. f. d. Armenwesen, 1903, p. 35.

[3] Annuaire-Almanach de L'Action Populaire (1904).

Rapports du Jury International Exposition Universelle Internationale de 1900 à Paris; Quatrième partie, classe 112; Rapports de la Société Philan-

tion of insurance against illness was first taken up by the Société de Secours Mutuels, and later by La caisse de retraite pour la vieillesse and Les caisses de secours et de retraite des ouvriers mineurs. The various principles relating to insurance against sickness and old age advocated by these societies were embodied in the law of June 29, 1894. In general a certain per cent. of the wages received is given and in the case of the miners, insurance is open to people over fifty-five years of age. Accident insurance is still new in France.

The social value of conciliation and arbitration in trade disputes was recognized by law in 1892, but the success of this method of settling difficulties has not been phenomenal. In the year 1899, 190 disputes were considered by boards constituted for this purpose, but only 59 of them were settled in accordance with the law of 1892.

Factory Laws.—The first French factory act dates back to 1841, but this was ineffectual because unenforced. After a struggle lasting half a century the enforcement of the law was made a duty of the factory inspectors (1892). The act as it now stands applies to "all labor of children, female minors and women in workshops, factories, mines, quarries, yards or premises belonging to same of whatever nature, whether public or private, lay or ecclesiastical, or whether the establishment is industrial or philanthropic in character." The vital principles of the act are: (1) That no child under twelve years of age may be employed. (2) Inspectors may examine any child under sixteen where his physical fitness for work is in question. (3) In orphan asylums and similar institutions no child under twelve may be given training in manual labor more than three hours per day. (4) No child under sixteen may work more than ten hours per day. (5) No child under thirteen years shall be permitted to work in theatres and music halls. (6) No woman over eighteen may labor more than eleven hours without at least one hour's rest. Women and others under eighteen shall not be permitted to work between 9 P. M. and 5 A. M., with a few exceptions in special cases. (7) Parties specified in the law as stated in the foregoing clauses shall not be permitted to work more than six days per week. In addition to this the sanitary regulations are good.

Employment Offices.—Many of the philanthropic institutions of

thropique, 1896-1900; United States Bulletins of Labor, 1900; Bödiker, Arbeiter Versicherung in den Europäischen Staaten; Zacher, Die Arbeiter-Versicherung.

France see the necessity of furnishing work to persons whom they have helped, and have opened employment offices in response to this need. Such offices, of course, are conducted on a small scale, and secure work for a limited number of persons. But besides the bureaux we find many institutions devoted entirely to securing work for those seeking it. This valuable service tends to lessen the numbers of the unemployed. The municipality of Paris has established free employment bureaux in the different arrondissements. These are supported by municipal subventions, donations and membership fees. The administration is divided between members of the municipality, administrative officers of bureaux of charity and delegates from the body of subscribers. The bureau of the sixth arrondissement was founded in 1889, and since that time has placed 22,777 applicants. The results of these municipal offices are most satisfactory. Prominent among the private employment offices is one established in 1871 by a manufacturer. This is practically the same in aims and methods as the offices under public control. Since its inception work has been secured for about thirty thousand people. During the year 1899, 1,034 persons were placed satisfactorily.

Aid for Discharged Prisoners and Their Families.—Societies to aid discharged prisoners are a rather recent development in France. Although early in the last century efforts were made to improve the conditions of prison life, it was not till within the last generation that public attention was called to the hardships of those who had completed a previous sentence. Such unfortunate persons encountered difficulties on every side; they were met with aversion and suspicion, and this rendered their return to a life of honesty extremely hard.

The "Société Générale pour le patronage des libérés," founded in 1870, attempted in a small way, at first, to extend sympathy and material aid to this class of people. It now maintains homes for discharged prisoners, both men and women, until work can be secured for them. A rule of 1889 requires each person received in the homes to contribute to the society four full days' work without pay in return for efforts made in his behalf. Any discharged prisoner is received without question, and may remain four days. The more worthy ones are allowed to continue in the employ of the society, and are enabled to learn a useful trade. The moral aid given to the persons in whom the society is interested is incalculable. Many return to their families honest men and women because of the helping hand extended in

the moment of need. The society is administered by a council under the presidency of M. Bérenger, and is supported by subscriptions accorded by the Minister of the Interior and the general councils of the departments; the sale of work done under the direction of the society; subscriptions and gifts. During the year 1899, 3,775 persons were assisted; 134 of these were women and 3,641 were men. Of the total number 3,100 were admitted to the homes, while 675 were aided without seeking admission to the asylums. The "Oeuvre des libérés de Saint-Lazare," organized at the same time and for a similar purpose, is doing much good. Such work is of inestimable value to society, and is meeting with generous recognition in France.

Dwellings of the Poor, and Building Societies.—La Société philanthropique has been interested in model tenements for some time on account of the deplorable housing of the poor in Paris. The great needs are more space, more air and more light. In 1888 the society erected its first model house with accommodations for thirty-five families at rue Jeanne d'Arc, 45. This was so signally successful that the society was encouraged to still further efforts and now owns three houses with forty-five flats at boulevard de Grenelle, 65; and 63 flats, avenue de Saint-Maudé, 3, and 58 flats, rue Hautpoul, 19. In addition to these, there are three new houses in course of construction at rue d'Alsace, 23 and 25, to furnish accommodations for 67 families, and at rue de Clignancourt, 77, for 38 families. The dwellings consist of two and three-room flats with kitchen, closets, water and gas. The rent varies from 169 to 377 francs annually, and is paid quarterly in advance. The net revenue is capitalized and will be used to build other houses.

Sanitary Preventive Measures.—The factory act of 1892 has excellent sanitary regulations referring to all places designated in the act. The city health departments, too, insist upon the observance of sanitary rules. The Commission des Logements Insalubres is a permanent body of experts whose business it is to wage war against unsanitary homes. The commission receives complaints and then investigates. Its reports go to the municipal council for confirmation. The members are unpaid, with the exception of a small attendance fee for each meeting and a fee for written reports. The lives of thousands are protected every year through the efforts of this commission. The Conseil d'Hygiène et de Salubrité is a board of health which dates back to 1802. It is presided over by the prefect of police, and

has as members some of the ablest men in France. Its function is largely advisory, and it has the coöperation of twenty local boards of health. The members do notable work in the prevention of the spread of contagious diseases, and they report cases of unsanitary tenements. There is also a central sanitary bureau in the prefecture of police. Numerous agents see that the health laws are enforced. Within the last twenty-five years the municipal disinfecting service has become highly organized. There is ample machinery in France to prevent unsanitary conditions, but dangers can be eliminated only by the most untiring vigilance.

Vegetable Gardens.[1]—In France, as in many other countries, it has been found wise and helpful to provide poor families with a plot of ground, and, if necessary, furnish seeds and tools, for the production of vegetables. This movement is in reality a kind of return to the mediaeval custom of keeping tracts of land in common for the cultivation of poor families. In France charitable persons and societies have organized the efforts of the poor to add to their scanty income the products of their little gardens. The Society of Vincent de Paul has made good progress in this direction. Municipal councils, charity bureaus, societies of mutual aid have coöperated with benevolent individuals in furnishing vacant lots and providing necessary superintendence. A society has been formed in France and in Belgium to foster this movement,—La Ligue du Coin de terre et du Foyer. At the Exposition of 1900 the subject was discussed in several sessions. In October, 1903, there were reported 134 "works," with control of 6,592 gardens having a total area of 269 hectares, 26 ares, 72 centiares, and it is estimated that about 40,000 persons have received benefit. These figures do not take account of numerous local works which are never reported to a central office.

The successful administration of these gardens depends upon the wise and energetic leadership of a central committee of influential persons, whose agent is a competent superintendent who knows how to manage people and teach them the art of horticulture. The plots are assigned in order of application or by lot to persons who sign the articles of agreement.

The material result of the garden is thought by M. Rivière to be

[1] Louis Rivière, La Terre et l'Atelier Jardins ouvriers, Paris, 1904, an interesting account of the movement in Europe and America.

a return of 20 to 40 francs for a gift of 5 francs; while in direct relief the poor family would simply have the 5 francs. But there are other advantages: the family learns the art of horticulture under a skillful teacher, and enjoys a variety of food which improves the health.

To these material advantages may be added the moral: energy is evoked, self-respect is restored, the family is held together, old people rejected by industrial employers can make themselves useful, a spirit of sociable coöperation is awakened, gratitude is called out for benefactors, communistic sentiments are counteracted by the possession of a little property, the saloon is not so much visited, young children have a place to play in the open air, tuberculosis is less prevalent, the habit of saving is formed, support is gained in times of industrial depression, a taste for rural life is stimulated, a genial and hopeful view of the future is gained. With careful planning, wise legislation and improved means of transportation this movement will probably be greatly promoted and become an important factor in the prevention of pauperism.

Religious Missions.—The Catholic churches are found in every locality where a need exists, and so the mission does not appear. The work done, however, is of the same character as that undertaken by Protestant churches in their branches or missions. The Anglican church has a number of missionary stations in forlorn parts of Paris, but a people dominantly Catholic do not readily respond to Protestant effort. The Salvation Army carries on its work in France as it does in other countries, and its evangelistic efforts meet with response from a class but little affected by evangelization which emanates directly from a church.

CHAPTER X.

ITALY

BY CHARLES RICHMOND HENDERSON

Historical Origins of the Modern System.—Italy presents the longest record of charitable endeavor of any of the countries studied in this volume. In the first century the Jews had their societies of mutual succor, and the early Christians imitated them and copied many features also from the Italian associations. But it was the Christian congregations which developed the institutions of charity in their highest and widest forms. Thus in Italy, as in no other land, may we study all the historical phases of charity,—congregational, diocesan, monastic, orders, hospitals, union with the civil government, separation of functions, conflict with the government and modern attempts to secure a division of labor and a common understanding. The former ages have handed down vast endowments for benevolence, many buildings, rich traditions of heroic and self-sacrificing devotion, but also many errors and defects which must be corrected by wise statesmanship and patient patriotism.

In Italy, as elsewhere, the charity of the church began with the free offerings of the congregation, and the bishop, within an ever-widening territory of authority, was the responsible officer of relief. To assist him the church developed a series of offices and functionaries. With the union of the Christian Church and the Roman Empire the bishops were charged with the general oversight of the poor and large resources were placed in their hands. In the course of time, by the side of the parish or congregational charity, grew up the monasteries as centers of relief and refuges of the weak and distressed, and various orders came into existence whose purpose it was to manifest the benevolent spirit of religious people.

While the parish method of helping destitute families never entirely ceased, the hospital came to be the most characteristic and general form of beneficence. The mediaeval hospital was an asylum for

all kinds of misery, and only gradually was it specialized in response to needs and intelligence born of experience.

The Council of Trent gave an authoritative form to the principles of ecclesiastical charity of the Middle Ages. Its central effort was naturally directed to the regulation of the hospitals, where were found the aged, the feeble, orphans, forsaken children, cripples, and the sick. Relief was also sent to the habitations of the destitute from the same center. Wanderers in search of employment were temporarily sheltered and sent on their way. The decisions of former councils were confirmed, as those of Vienne. The administrators of hospitals, unless they belonged to some order of knights or others under the papal approval, were subjected to episcopal direction. The bishop might censure such administrators for faults, and, if they refused obedience, suspend them from their functions. If they wasted the income of the institutions, they were required to make restoration. Unless the hospital was limited by its charter to a certain territory it must shelter and aid all the needy who applied, the destitute and the sick. If the income of a hospital was not required for its own territory, it might, under episcopal order, go to help other useful ends. The administrator must render an annual account to the bishop, and the bishop had the right of inspection at any time. The loan associations were under the same direction and control. Any person who should squander the funds devoted to charity fell under anathemas and must make restitution. The bishop must not only regulate existing charities, but also positively take upon himself all the concerns of the poor, must be their advocate and representative.

Ratzinger remarks that the council did not make regulations in respect to the restoration of the ancient parish system because the means were lacking. The parish had lost its tithe, and the church relief was dependent on the funds of hospitals or endowments. Provincial and synodal bodies were directly responsible for carrying out the law.

Among the bishops who best illustrated the working of these laws was Charles Borromeo, bishop of Milan. He not only sought to bring order into the ancient institutions, but also to enlarge their resources, to establish parish relief on a good basis, and to inspire all administration with the devotion which marked his own character and conduct.[1]

[1] G. Ratzinger, Geschichte der kirchlichen Armenpflege, pp. 463 ff.—John How-

Coming nearer to our own times, we find that the Italian church developed its relief agencies in the lines marked out by the Council of Trent. The popes, in many instances, built up hospitals and encouraged their endowment. Sixtus V. sought to put an end to begging and provided for the helpless the hospice of Ponte Sisto. When it had been enlarged, Innocent XII named it the hospice of the Apostles. The poor and the orphans found refuge in its walls. The manufacture of woolen goods was carried on to give employment to the inmates, and at one time 800 persons were employed and they made 30,000 yards of cloth annually. Pius VI founded in 1815 the hospice of Santa Maria degli Angeli, and other popes enlarged and enriched it. Here also adults and children of both sexes were received and work was furnished those able to labor. It employed not fewer than 450 men and 500 women. Two orphanages existed at Rome, one founded in 1541, the other in 1784. A school for instruction of poor children in agriculture was established in 1841, and also an asylum for the insane and a home for the deaf. A foundling asylum, founded in 1198 by Innocent III, was enlarged by Benedict XIV in 1750, and at the close of the administration by papal authority had 3,150 children in its care. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the church had established institutions for every form of distress:[1] for orphans and neglected children; for youth in moral peril; for pilgrims and wanderers visiting the sacred city; for relief of the poor who were ashamed to beg; for widows and for those who needed legal advice and defense; for discharged prisoners and their families, and for burial of the dead. There were brotherhoods and sisterhoods devoted to the pious task of securing funds and ministering to personal needs. Monasteries afforded shelter to strangers.

At the same time all ecclesiastical leaders who were acquainted with the facts saw that there were many and serious defects: there was persistent and incurable mendicancy; there was excess of income at certain points and no provision whatever for the destitute at others.

ard, The State of Prisons, etc., p. 107 ff., describes hospitals in Italy at end of eighteenth century.

[1] A statistical survey of these institutions, with descriptions of their objects, is given in the monumental works: Atti della commissione reale per l'inchiesta sulle opere pie, and in the Statistica della opere pie. In Vol. I, pp. i-vii, of the latter work is given an account of the appointment, organization and method of the Commission, and Vol. VI of the "Atti" the list of 185 questions sent to institutions.

Many persons gave themselves up to indolence and lived upon chance alms. Part of the fault was due to the economic conditions of the time, part to the oppression of land-owners and capitalists, but part to the absence of central supervision and control of the charitable institutions. Into the general political and economic causes of suffering we cannot here enter, but it is our task to consider the steps taken to reform the abuses of the system of relief and then bring it into line with modern needs and modern science.

In all modern countries, including not only the Protestant nations like Germany and England, but also France, it has been found necessary for the government to intervene in an increasing measure in the administration of relief. In Italy this movement is also observed, although, as was natural, it was modified by the peculiarities of the social situation. Italy was the country where the church of Rome had its center, and, up to recent times, this church was also itself a political power. Church and government were in one state united. The clergy had been, from time immemorial, the almoners of relief. They had been instrumental in securing the foundation of numerous wealthy charitable trusts whose income was enormous, and whose institutions (*opere pie*) were found in all parts of the peninsula. Governmental supervision and interference, at the best, would necessarily be regarded by a large part of the people, especially by those devoted to the church, with suspicion and opposition. Yet statesmen were sustained by the nation in the determination to bring these numerous trusts into harmony with the requirements of modern society.

Governmental action has taken three forms: repressive, as in the suppression of vagabondage; regulative, as in the supervision of voluntary and church charities; and supplementary, as where local and general governments have furnished subsidies.

Very much of the merely repressive action of governments came under the criminal code and police regulations of health and safety, and do not form a part of our study of the poor law.

Governmental Intervention before 1890.—Previous to the unification of the kingdom the tendency to bring charitable enterprises under political control manifested itself in various states, as in Sardinia, Lombardy, and quite radically in Romagna in the laws of 1859; while Tuscany in the same period did not attempt any general regulation, but left the charitable societies to be governed by their

own statutes. In the Neapolitan provinces in 1812 there were constituted *Consigli aegli ospizii* for the management of most of the endowed charities, and these arrangements were for the most part retained in the legislation of 1845-58. The drift toward state care of all indigent citizens was distinctly recognized years before the consolidation of united Italy (March 17, 1861). Thus Count Cavour, in his speech of February 17, 1851, said: "I believe that there exists a great prejudice against legal charity, yet it may be predicted that every community, when it arrives at a certain stage of development, must of necessity recur to legal charity. Experience will show in a not distant future how legal charity, well administered, governed by wise rules, may produce immense benefits, without the evil effects which some fear." Cavour, while quite young, had studied carefully the famous report of the English Poor Commission of 1834.[1]

The Law of 1862.—The first national legislation affecting charity was distinctly regulative, and not supplementary and direct and this feature appears plainly in the very title: *legge sull' amministrazione delle opere pie.* There had already been, in some states, an organ for centralizing the different relief agencies (*congregazione di carità*), and this idea was assimilated into the new law. To the legal organ were subjected various charities, and also the care of the insane and of foundlings, since these were matters which most frequently required prompt use of civil authority. In 1888 the communes were required to furnish medical relief to the destitute sick. When a commune had too small an income for the purpose, or too few patients, it might unite with adjoining communes to provide a corps of physicians, surgeons and midwives. The law of June 30, 1889, on public safety, went further and obliged the communes to aid all poor persons who were unable to labor. Not only was mendicancy forbidden, but positive measures of relief were provided for those who, without personal fault, were compelled to beg. Existing funds were to be drawn upon to meet the cost. If the commune could not bear the expense without raising its tax rate, the state agreed to help it. These regulations of provincial and communal law, of public safety and health, remained in force even after the poor law of 1862 was displaced by the new law of 1890.

Inadequacy of the Reforms Before 1890.—There were very great

[1] Odoardo Luchini, Le instituzioni pubbliche di beneficenza, p. xxviii, Introduction.

funds with large income from existing charities previous to 1890, and these were steadily growing. And yet complaints of defect came from many sources. Minister Depretis said in 1879, in the Chamber of Deputies, that there was no proper and complete record of property, and that neither accounts nor reports were reliable.

By royal decree of June 3, 1880, a commission of notable specialists was appointed to make a scientific study of the whole situation, to report the statistical facts and descriptions and to make recommendations to the national legislature. This commission held 118 sessions and was dissolved in February, 1889. Its report[1] belongs to the classics of the subject, and is a mine of valuable information and wise suggestions.

In all Italy there were counted 21,764 foundations, whose value at the date of the report was estimated at 1,724,000,000 lire.

To understand the development one must take into account the facts which shaped it:[2] the former absence of national unity in the Italian peninsula; the warm climate, especially in the southern states, which renders it less imperative to have a thoroughly organized public administration with abundant and regular income; and the unhappy conflicts between ecclesiastical authorities and men of state, which make coöperation of public administration with private charity more difficult to secure and maintain. The political ambition of the nation was to secure national unity, and their hope was fulfilled, but at the same time there was the desire of ecclesiastics to retain and of other parties to secure the ascendency in administration.

The poverty of many of the people of Italy is indicated by these facts: the annual income is £7 16s. 8d. per head of population; while in Great Britain it is £ 31, in France £26, in Saxony £20 7s., in Prussia £17 2s., in Austria £8. The wages of artisans and laborers are low, the usual rates for unskilled labor being 16-29 cents per day.[3] Signor Ferrero is quoted as saying: "Italians have been used for two centuries to live on half-rations." Taxes are heavy and fall heavily on the poor. The income tax was 17 per cent. in Italy, as compared

[1] Atti della Commissione Reale per l'inchiesta sulla opere pie, Roma, 1884-92, 9 vols. already published.

[2] Art. by F. S. Nitti in Economic Review, Vol. II, 1892.—The Nation, Feb. 20, 1890, "The Patrimony of the Poor in Italy."—Special consular report on Vagrancy and Public Charities in Foreign Countries, Washington, 1893.

[3] Bolton King, Italy To-Day (1901), p. 126.

with 12 in France, 8 in Germany and 6 in England. There is much advance since 1860; wealth has increased 17 per cent., although taxes have risen 30 per cent.

A. The Present System of Relief, under the Law of 1890.

Funds. The Customary Almsgiving.—Italy is not singular in the matter of indiscriminate almsgiving and its manifestations in mendicancy, although there are reasons for its being more general and persistent than in some other lands. The gifts of individuals constitute a constant but irregular and unmeasured source of aid. It would be impossible to secure reliable statistics, as to the amount thus spent, with good intentions but with unhappy results, in the entire country.[1]

Associations and Boards of Trust receive gifts and care for endowments, and it is these funds, some of them established centuries ago, which require our special attention. From piety and fear, from pity and pride, from patriotism and ostentation, as everywhere, these funds have flowed a mighty and deepening stream; our reverence for humanity compels us to hope, where we are incompetent to judge, that moral motives have been the chief inspiration of these contributions in the past and present ages. The purposes of benefactors and founders are usually more easily discovered than their motives, for the former are stated in the deeds of gift, the wills, and other documents which have been preserved.

The third source of funds for relief are the subsidies furnished by communes, provinces and the central government to supplement the other sources of charity.

The total resources of Italian charity were estimated in 1901 at about 150,000,000 lire, of which subsidies from provinces and communes constituted, in 1880, 52.2 million lire and 64.7 million in 1895. The larger part of the income goes to medical relief (13.5 million), foundling asylums (9.9 million), care of insane (7.8 million), hospitals (6.15 million), and Boards of Charity (1.9 million). The provinces bore the entire cost of caring for the insane and a great part (5.97 million) for foundling asylums; while the communes bore almost all the cost for outdoor and indoor medical relief.

The state expends a large sum for the relief of the unemployed, but seeks to reduce this expenditure as far as possible. The state

[1] Letter of W. D. Foulke, Outlook, Feb. 20, 1904.

derives 15 to 16 million lire annually from charitable corporations, for their buildings are not exempt from taxation.

Geographical Distribution of the Funds.[1]—In the investigation made for the basis of the law of 1890 it was found that the charitable resources were very unequally distributed in the Italian peninsula. Generally speaking, the urban centers were better provided for than the rural communities, and the dense population of the northern states and provinces had larger endowments than the scattered peasants of the southern districts. This was an inevitable return of a purely voluntary charity. Only under a complete state system can there be anything like an equal distribution of the benevolent contributions of a people, and a uniform state system is possible only by national unification. That this inequality still exists and is likely to continue for some time in the future will be apparent from the recent statistics, which will be given at a later point in this discussion.

Defects.—The possible dangers to which such funds are always liable are diversion, waste, perversion, neglect, duplication at certain points, absence of supplies at other places.

Administration of the Funds by Boards of Trust and Associations.—The modern legislation very properly took account of the traditional methods because they were hallowed by tradition and based on legal decisions. The "pious works" had come into existence apart from governmental initiative and had grown out of the customary ways of founding and conducting benevolent enterprises. Corporations of many kinds existed when the recent laws were passed, and, while the government of united Italy sought to control them, it respected their forms and purposes. In the study of the present conditions we shall at the same time gain insight into the ancient forms of organization which have been assimilated into the new.

Legal Regulation of "Public Works of Charity."—The law of 1890 was carried into effect by means of administrative regulations (*Regolamento amministrativo*), of records and accounts (*Regolamento di contabilità* 1891), and Ministerial orders (Sept. 26, 1896) relating to accounts of funds, and by royal decrees of 1893 and 1896.

(*a*) *Legal Definition of "Public Works of Charity."*—They are

[1] Statistica della opere pie, Vol. X, 1897, p. xxxiii.

those agencies which offer aid to the poor, whether sick or well, or they provide facilities for education, training for some craft or profession, or in some other way work for the moral and economic welfare of the poor. Where a trust or board is charged with the administration of funds for the benefit of a particular family, or where the association has merely commercial ends, it comes under the civil and commercial codes, and not under the poor law. There are "mixed" institutions which do come under this law, those works (*"opere pie"*) which have at least in part for their end a benevolent purpose.

Examples of benevolent activities which are subject to the poor law are: aid to the poor or the insane; general hospitals or hospitals for special diseases or for the injured; hospices for exposed or abandoned children, orphanages; hospices for young pupils; aid to discharged prisoners; furnishing nourishment for infants (*allatamenti degli infanti*); institutions for the deaf, the blind; infant asylums; gratuitous schools for the poor; pawning societies; benevolent associations for aiding the poor in their homes; medical relief; providing food for the destitute; schools of trades, etc.

The legal evidence of the nature and purpose of an institution is furnished by the acts of foundation, testaments, charters, etc. But the actual method of administration shows the character of the work, and common notoriety is regarded as part of the evidence.

(*b*) *The Motives of Governmental Intervention.*—In the discussions of experts and in the debates in the national legislature the designs of statesmen have been fully expressed. They may be succinctly summarized as follows: to safeguard the purposes of the original donors of the funds; to encourage benevolence by securing the effective carrying out of the benefactors' desire; to prevent abuses and perversions of income and property, as by excessive expenditures on administration; to see that all poor citizens are assisted; and through all to promote the public welfare by preventing mendicancy, idleness, and other vices.

(*c*) *The Stages of Intervention of Government.*—In former ages the government acted in the matter of pauperism chiefly through its criminal law and police regulations, and that repressively; the positive work of charitable relief being left to the church and voluntary associations. These associations were, except in cases of violation of civil or criminal law, left to themselves, unless ecclesiastical authority,

armed with legal powers, supervised and controlled. The steps taken during the last century were the actions of the separate states previous to the formation of the united kingdom, the law of 1862, and the present system adopted by the legislation of 1890.

(*d*) The present law as a measure of governmental intervention includes several elements which may be designated as consolidation, re-grouping, supervision, control, and subsidizing, with provision for popular action in lodging complaints.

Respect for the Autonomy of the Works of Charity.—The spirit of the legislation is one of respect not only to the original purposes of the benefactors, but to the self-government of the several boards and associations to whom the administration has been confided. Therefore the corporation is free to choose its own administrators, in accordance with its own statutes and regulations (Art. 4, law of 1890). When other provisions are wanting the trust must still not fail of its object, and the Board of Charity (*congregazione di carità*) is charged with the duty of administration.

The Board of Charities (Congregazione di Carità).—In the conception of the law this is the body for administering public charity, except in so far as the benevolent works are already regulated by their own statutes and charters. The law requires that there shall be a Board of Charities in each commune, which represents all the interests of the poor in the commune. It looks after the legal rights of destitute orphans, minors, abandoned children, according to Arts. 241, 262 and 34 of the civil code, and it assumes provisional care of them in cases of vagrancy. The Board of Charities is composed of a president and of four members in communes which have a population of less than 5,000 inhabitants; of eight members in communes with 5-50 thousand; and of twelve members in others (Art. 5). The president and members are chosen by the communal council at the autumn session. In order to prevent the communal council from furnishing too large a part of the Board of Charities, the law prescribes that not more than one-half of the board can at the same time be members of the communal representation. The reason given for this clause is that a too large intrusion of the communal council into this institution of public charity might disturb the procedure and render nugatory the surveillance which the communal council exercises through the laws relating to institutions of charity in general and the Board of Charities in particular. The president of the Board

of Charities continues in office four years. The other members are changed one-fourth each year. The members cannot be re-elected without an intermission, more than one time.

The donor of a fund, or a person named by him, or the founder of a work of public charity, which is administered by the Board of Charities, or his representative chosen in a manner indicated in the articles of foundation, may be admitted to the Board of Charities for the discussion of matters which concern his trust, regard being had for the nature and amount of the gift. When the condition of the gift or legacy is that the benefactor or his representative shall have a part in the Board of Charities, it must be respected. The deliberations of the Board of Charities which admit for the purpose the benefactor or founder require the approval of the communal council or of the provincial administration (Arts. 5, 10).

Administration of Institutions of Benevolence Other than the Board of Charities.—In general the statutes and articles of each fund or association determine who may be administrators of these funds, the autonomy of each trust being a guiding principle which is regarded by the law. All citizens who are competent have a right to be selected for membership in the Board of Charities and in any other institution of benevolence.

Incompatibility.—But the law must recognize the fact that not all citizens are actually competent to administer a charity, and hence the restrictions must be legally defined. The exclusions come under one of the following descriptions:

Persons who have been condemned for idleness, vagabondage, mendicancy, until they have formally been restored to civil rights, are excluded. Those who are under admonition and surveillance of the police, and for one year after release from such control, are ineligible. Those convicted of criminal associations, of theft, receipt of stolen goods, fraud, abuse of confidence, or other act condemned by the criminal code, until their civil rights are restored, must be excluded. Next the persons legally incapable are: the illiterate, those under interdict, and bankrupts while their affairs are in litigation. Other citizens are declared to be entirely incapable because of economic or personal condition: the inmates of charitable hospitals, and those habitually dependent; officials, sub-prefects, provincial administrators, employes in offices, the syndic of a commune and the employes of communal administration; persons declared by the pro-

vincial administration to have shown irregularities in their accounts of funds entrusted to them; those who are in litigation with a charity or are in debt; near relatives of the treasurer of the institution of benevolence.

One of the most difficult points is the partial exclusion of ecclesiastics and ministers of worship from a share in administration of public charities. The motives for this part of the law must be sought outside of the law, in the parliamentary discussions[1] and in the historical facts of the relation of the state to the church in Italy. A foreigner may well be careful about making any generalization as to these motives. It is safer to state the facts of the law itself. Incapacity for membership of clerical persons in charity boards extends only to the administration of the *congregazione di carità,* although clergymen may be appointed on committees appointed for service by this Board of Charities (Art. 2). Ecclesiastics may also form part of the Board of Charities when they are benefactors or founders of an institution which is subject to the administration of such board.

The law fixes a penalty of 50-1,000 lire for one who assumes an office for which he is not eligible, or illegally continues in the duties of such office.

Women are admitted to membership in the *congregazione di carità* and other institutions of charity, but they must, if married, have the consent of their husbands. The reason given by Persico (p. 36) is that the Italian law has established the principle of the personal responsibility of the administrators of institutions of public charity, and has prescribed that a married woman shall not assume a task which may have grave consequences in relation to family property without the permission of the husband, who is the legal head of the family (Art. 131 of civil code).

Even members of the Board of Charities or of any administrative board are excluded from acting in matters in which they have personal interest which may warp judgment or tempt to injustice; as when one's relations or partners have an interest in contracts made with the board. The penalty for violation of this law may be loss of the office, a fine of 50-1,000 lire and dissolution of contract.

Neglect of Administrators.—The law goes upon the principle that charity funds are for the relief of the poor, and if trustees neglect to

[1] C. Lessona, La Nuova Legge sulle instituzioni pubbliche di beneficenza (1890), p. 69 ff.

attend to their duties they may be displaced and the funds may be otherwise administered according to the intent of the benefactor.

The religious and political creed of the dependent person must not be made a test of a right to receive help from public charity. Humanity is above confession or partisan differences of opinion. Only when the articles of foundation absolutely limit the advantages of the gift to persons of a certain creed or party can the administrators propose a test of this nature.

Enforcement of Responsibility of Administrator.—Art. 29 of the law of 1890 provides that the provincial administration, on its own motion or at the request of a prefect, may enforce the responsibility of a member of a board of charity: (*a*) when he has not observed the forms established by the law or by the statute and regulations of the institution; (*b*) when the fund has suffered an economic loss; (*c*) when there is an evil design or grave fault on the part of the administrator involved. The aid of the courts is invoked to secure action concerning the interests of the trust.

Employes of Boards.—The duties of treasurer, auditor, secretary, etc., are arranged by law. Security for funds is required. (Art. 22.)

Records and Accounts.—One condition of the existence of a charity trust is that it have resources. Inventories, balance sheets, budgets, accounts, and reports are required by law and the exact forms are stated. Exact inventories of all property, real and movable, must be kept, and records must show all changes and transfers, losses and gains.

Organs of Governmental Intervention and Methods of Administration are communal, provincial, central, and by popular action (complaint).

Supervision and Control of Public Charities.—Experience has shown the necessity of intervention. The chief matter requiring supervision is the administration of a trust in accordance with the purpose and regulations of its foundation.

The provincial administrative commission (*giunta*) is the agent for this function of oversight (*tutela*). It is composed of eight members elected by the provincial council, in addition to the president. Thus, while responding quite promptly to the popular will, the commission is one remove from its caprice and so in a degree independent and adapted to inspire confidence.

The actions which are subject to the supervision of the commis-

sion are: the budgets and estimates of the institutions, the accounts of expenses of administration, contracts for the acquisition or alienation of real estate, acceptance or refusal of gifts and legacies; in brief, all acts which may affect property, as borrowing on mortgage, pensioning of employes and serious cases of litigation.

Powers of Supervision Exercised by the Minister of the Interior or by a Prefect.—When an institution of public charity is partially maintained by the state, the right of supervision over such institution is exercised by the Minister of the Interior. In case of mixed institutions, that is, those which connect charitable functions with others, the Minister exercises supervision. The aid given by the state to entitle it to this right must be continuous, guaranteed by law or decree, and serious in amount. The Minister may delegate his powers to prefects. The institution in any case is required to furnish all necessary information. No association can secure corporate powers without approval of the government. But the Ministry must respect the statutes of existing corporations. The ordinary representative of the Ministry is the prefect, and this officer may appoint a counsellor for the purpose. The counsellor investigates and reports all irregularities, abuses, accounts, so far as is necessary for administrative decisions.

The law gives to the political authority the right to demand a copy of the proceedings of administration in any institution; to order visits of inspection; to order changes necessary to fulfill the purposes of the institution; to reduce the expenses of administration; to require the voiding of contracts improperly and illegally made; to see that urgent cases of misery are not turned away without help.

The public authority may suspend or dissolve an administration when it is violating the regulations of its foundation or acting in a way contrary to law and injurious to general welfare. The dissolution of a board is effected by royal decree upon the recommendation of the provincial administration and the Council of State. Legal arrangements are made for the proper care of a fund when the board is dissolved, and this by the communal authorities or by a commission. The Ministry presents each year to the Senate and Chamber of Deputies a list of all the boards dissolved and a statement of reasons for dissolution.[1]

[1] In the summer of 1904 an important legal and administrative advance step has been taken. A bill introduced in 1903 was discussed and enacted into law

Popular Action.—In order to facilitate the presentation and hearing of complaints of private parties who may learn of abuse or neglect of administrators, the law provides that any citizen who belongs to a commune or province to which a charity belongs may enter a com-

providing for a central state board (*Consiglio superiore di assistenza e beneficenza pubblica*). This board is to consist of 24 members, of whom some are members by virtue of their office,—the directors in the Ministry of the Interior, of Public Instruction and Justice, and the General Director of Statistics,—while the other 18 members are chosen by royal decree. This *Consiglo superiore* is required to make recommendations in respect to matters submitted to them by the Ministry of the Interior relating to the organization and working of public poor relief. The Council is also to be heard in relation to bills affecting poor relief, international agreements, model statutes; and the reports of provincial boards are submitted to it. The Council is to be aided by four general inspectors. Under the general council stand provincial commissions (*commissione di assistenza e di beneficenza pubblica*) with 5 members, the prefect being president. The provincial commission is to examine the balance sheets of the public institutions of charity, confirm the administrative orders of benevolent establishments, decide in respect to the appointment and retirement of employes, make recommendations about dissolution of administrations of endowments, incorporation, statutes of societies, etc. The provincial commission is also required to promote coöperation between the agencies of charity and to supervise the transactions of the *congregazione di carità* and the trustees of funds. Neglected children are entrusted to their oversight. Annually they must report their affairs to the Ministry of the Interior. It is too early to speak of the results of this state central supervision. Opposition, as already explained, continues, and it will be a long time before the numerous societies, brotherhoods and trustees adjust themselves to modern methods and strict regulations.

This note is based on an article in the Zeitschrift f. d. Armenwesen, July, August, 1904. On p. 240 are given references to recent documents: Camera dei Deputati, Disegno di legge presentato dal Ministro dell' Interno (Giolitti) Instituzione di Commissioni provinciali, di un Consiglio superiore e di un servizio d' ispezione della pubblica assistenza e beneficenza. Seduta del 30 maggio 1903, 18 p.—*Ibid.* Relazione della Commissione sul disegno di legge presentato dal Ministro dell' Interno (Giolitti) nella seduta del 30 maggio 1903. Seduta del 31 maggio 1904, 19 p.—Senato del Regno. Disegno di legge presentato dal Presidenti del Consiglio Ministro dell' Interno (Giolitti) nella tornata del 23 Giagno 1904. Approvato dalla Camera dei Deputati il 21 dello stesso mese, 9 p.—Ministero dell' Interno. Direzione Generale dell' Amministrazione Civili. Relazione sui Provvidimenti di Concentramento, Raggruppamento, Transformazione di Statuti della Istituzione Pubbliche di Beneficenza dal I luglio 1902 al 31 dicembre 1903, ed Elenco delle Amministrazione Disciolte 75 p. Roma, Tipografia della Camera die Deputati, 1904.—Circolari normali, lettere di massima, ecc. tuttora in vigore sulle istituzione pubbliche di beneficenza dal 1862 a tutto il 1903, 99 p. Roma, Tipografia della Mantellate, 1903.

plaint in the interest of the fund or of the poor for which the charity is designed. Security must be given by the complainant.[1]

B. Administration of Outdoor Relief. (*a*) *Law of Settlement and Its Interpretation.* (*Domicilio di Soccorso*).—The law of 1890 treats this subject in Chap. VII. Not all the poor of a district can claim help from a charitable institution, except where urgency overrides all other considerations and rules must yield to humane requirements (Art. 76). Sometimes the regulations and statutes of a charity require that the funds be expended only on persons who have residence within a certain area. Thus arises a necessity for a legal definition of the persons who may claim aid on these grounds. The Board of Charities in each commune, having the duty of caring for all the poor, must know what it can legally require of each institution. The law now in force has carefully defined the rights of settlement, not only in relation to the statutes of institutions, but also in respect to judicial rulings affecting such action, obligatory relief, reimbursements of expenditures, relief, etc. Such definition was all the more necessary inasmuch as the theory of domicile in the civil law (Art. 16 of Cod. Civ.) is entirely inapplicable to this situation. In the law of 1890 *domicilio di soccorso* was defined so as to fix the obligation to help when an institution of charity requires as a condition of aid the possession of a residence (Art. 72 and Art. 109 of administrative regulation). The *domicilio di soccorso* is acquired by the poor person when he has lived without serious interruption five years in the place. This domicile, once acquired, is not lost except by the acquisition of a new domicile in another commune. In case the pauper has not been able to acquire a domicile by a residence of five years, he will have a legal settlement in the commune where he was born, without regard to the legitimacy of his birth. In case he has not acquired a settlement by a residence of five years in a commune, and was not born in the kingdom, his settlement is to be the place of his habitual abode, and the proof of such abode is in the fact that his residence is not casual and transient, but permanent (as defined in Art. 16 of the civil code). The married woman and the legitimate or recognized minor children under fifteen years have the settlement of the husband or of him who exercises the paternal power (Art. 73). If the woman is married only with a religious ceremony, the Council

[1] G. Persico, Il Diritto Italiano sulle instituzioni pubbliche di beneficenza, p. 139.

of State has ruled that she has the settlement of the husband, since living with him shows her purpose to fix her domicile in the place where he resides. If the married woman has lived habitually, for any cause, more than five years in a commune other than that of her husband, her settlement is determined independently. The settlement of persons over fifteen years of age is determined independently of that of the father or of him who holds the paternal power. Time passed in the army, in a hospital, in a charitable institution, in a prison or house of correction is not counted as an interruption of residence. The rule of settlement is applicable in all cases in which the communes, the provinces or local institutions are under obligation to bear the costs of relief, as for expenses of material help, care of the poor insane, exposed children, etc.

Begging.—The law regulates relief of those unable to work (Arts. 80-84, law of July 30, 1881, relating to public safety). Begging in public streets and places is forbidden where relief stations are provided; where these are lacking or inadequate the local board shall give the poor persons certificates that they are unable to work and shall provide for them in a suitable way. The state, in case the commune of settlement is unable to carry the burden without increasing its tax levy unduly, agrees to supply the means. Hospitals which receive the sick, and other benevolent institutions without special objects, are treated as relief stations.

Relief of Aliens.—The cost of relief of foreigners is at the charge of the state. Generally this matter is the subject of treaties calling for reciprocity in this matter. Treaties existed in 1901 between Italy and Austria-Hungary, Germany (1873), Belgium (1880), Spain (1897). Without such express treaty stipulations an understanding to the same effect exists between Italy and France, Switzerland and Russia.

Results of the Legislation of 1890 and of Recent Administration.—It is not possible to form a very exact judgment, even if one studies the situation in Italy, because the data are imperfectly reported. This defect of reports is itself a proof that the purpose of the law has not been satisfactorily attained. Whether it can be attained without serious changes in the law itself remains to be seen. Certain very well informed experts express this judgment: that the poor law of Italy was drawn up after the most scientific and comprehensive investigation; that its provisions were admirably adapted to Italian condi-

tions; that ample means were provided, although they were not equally distributed nor economically administered; and that the cause of complaints, so far as justified, lies in the lack of a sufficient number of competent administrators.[1]

Italian Criticisms of the Law of 1890.—On the liberal side there are conservative men who think the law went too far in subjecting all the forms of charity to state control. They fear that private charity will be discouraged if it is left little freedom of choice as to object and method.

The admission of women to the councils of charity is opposed by some writers on the ground that women have not the experience and training which are necessary to fit one for dealing with affairs of business, politics and legal opinions.

While the clerical party sometimes affirm that clergymen were excluded from the councils on account of secularist prejudice, there are conservative men who explain the exclusion by declaring that the duties of ministers of religion are inconsistent with the administration of affairs which frequently involve debate and litigation.[2]

The exclusion of clergymen from the charity councils is given as a cause, in many instances, of their failure to perform the task of such bodies with efficiency, since in many of the small and rural communes the priest is the most competent and reliable adviser of the poor and of their friends.[3]

In 1901 Münsterberg repeated his remark of 1898 (and Reitzenstein's remark of 1895), that the provisions in the law of 1890 in relation to combination (*concentramento*) were merely on paper, and that little use was made of them in practice. Certainly, by the testimony of Italian experts, there has been much delay and neglect in enforcement of these parts of the law. The obstructing causes seem to be such as those mentioned by De Martino in the Chamber of Deputies, December 17, 1900: indolence of local boards, opposition of members of small trusts, antagonism of the clergy to a law which excluded them in great part from participation in administration, inactivity of higher boards, financial straits of the state and political plots. The local authorities decline to send in reports as required by the law. The Ministry remains ignorant of the degree to which the law is car-

[1] Article in Zeitschrift für das Armenwesen, March, 1903, p. 70.

[2] See Q. Querini, La Beneficenza Romana, p. 425 ff.

[3] G. Saredo, Codice della Beneficenza Pubblica, pp. xvi-xvii.

ried out. Combination (*concentramento*), rearrangement (*raggruppamento*) and transformation (*trasformazione*) were applied in 6,190 reported instances involving a total income of 6,600,000 lire, over against trusts with an income of 135 million lire. The central government itself sought to avoid carrying the law into effect and endeavored to escape certain financial burdens which it imposed. De Martino expressed the judgment that the optional feature of the law was an error; that a compulsory law should be put in its place; and that transformation should be required within a specified time. He proposed the erection of a special bureau of the Ministry of the Interior (*direzione generale della pubblica beneficenza*) with three divisions: for poor relief, instruction and medical relief; and the erection of one or more *istituti di pubblico soccorso* in each province, which should administer charity funds, while the Boards of Charity should remain the organs of local administration. A bill was drawn up embodying these ideas.[1]

Expenditures of Income.—In 1880 it was stated that the total sum of funds in the kingdom[2] was 1,716,481,592 lire, belonging to the *opere pie;* in the period up to 1899 (20 years) 312 million lire were added, a proof that benevolence is vital and energetic in Italy. But valuable as the statistics are, we need still to learn more of the condition of inmates of institutions, the success of the treatment, the relative numbers of persons assisted out of the total population, and a comparison with the figures of former years.

The statistics do tell us that between 1880-1897, 18,705 gifts were registered for benevolent purposes, of which 1,207 fell to new establishments, while the remainder were given to already existing funds.

[1] See Rivista della Beneficenza, 1900, p. 807, 1899, p. 337. Paper by E. Stiatti in Riv. Ben. Pubb., March, 1903, pp. 176-184. Zeit. f. d. Armenwesen, Aug., 1904.

The most recent available statistics show that *combination* has been obligatory in the case of 6,691 *opere pie* with a collective income of 4,527,000 lire; although only 5,475 of these, with their income of 3,329,000 lire, have actually been subjected to the process; while 1,216, with an income of 1,288,000 lire, remain. Rearrangement (*raggruppamento*) has been applied to 331 endowments, with their income of 6,400,000 lire, while 151 endowments, with 1,255,000 lire, remain unaffected. Transformation (*trasformazione*) was applied to 1,208 establishments, with 1,238,000 lire. Up to December 31, 1903, revision has been applied to statutes in 3,692 cases, involving 5,577 establishments.

[2] G. Saredo, Codice Beneficenza Pubblica, p. xlix. Annuario Statistico Italiano, 1900, pp. 142 seq.

A very large number (3,972) of small contributions were made to objects of worship and benevolence, while the large gifts went generally to hospitals and orphanages. The northern and middle provinces have the largest funds: Lombardy, 70,000,000 lire; Piedmont, 56,000,000; Liguria, 39,000,000; while Calabria and Abruzzi had only 1,200,000 and Sardinia 1,800,000 lire.

Hospitals have 80,000,000 lire; orphanages, 56,000,000; local charities, 18,000,000; instruction, 2,500,000; establishments for rachitis and scrofulous children, 2,300,000; seaside resorts, 1,600,000 lire. The figures show a growth in popular intelligence in relation to modern methods of relief: in 1880 the establishments for rachitic children had a property of only 211,236 lire, and the sanatoria for children were not mentioned in the statistics. Infant asylums, having 723,507 lire in 1897, possess more property by 220,000 lire than in 1880. On the whole, no form of charity is entirely neglected.

The statistics of hospitals, which name includes not only institutions for the sick, but also other forms of indoor relief, divide the institutions into 16 classes, and the medical institutions, hospitals for the insane, orphanages, work-houses, lying-in hospitals, institutions for the feeble-minded, blind and deaf are distinguished in the usual way. In all, 3,188 institutions were counted, of which 464 serve more than one purpose, and in which on Jan. 1, 1898, there were 272,615 persons, of whom 128,309 were male and 144,576 were female; in the course of the year there were added 538,440, while 536,207 persons went out,—70,221 discharged by death,—so that on Jan. 1, 279,848 (129,576 males and 145,272 females) remained.

The burdens of administrative costs are very significant in relation to the charity funds. Thus payment must sometimes be made out of these funds for acts of worship and various ceremonies; 70 per cent. of the burdens of cost are paid out for this purpose, while the remainder goes to life annuities, etc. The rate for such costs varies between 5, 8, and 10.3 per cent. of the total income,—in Sicily being as high as 15 per cent. Other costs vary from 15-20 per cent., while the administrative expenses proper vary from 16-21 per cent. Therefore the entire deduction which must be made before the relief fund is reached amounts to 40-45 per cent. of the income, with exceptions above and below. It is worthy of note that in Piedmont these deductions are only 32.5 per cent., of which only 12.03 per cent. go to expenses of administration. It is evident that these expenses are ex-

cessive, and it is said by well-informed persons that there are many sinecure positions connected with the charity trusts, and that those who occupy them naturally oppose any form of consolidation which might create vacancies and abolish their useless offices. The subordinate officers and clerks seem to be poorly paid. Recently a movement has been started to place the employes of the *opere pie* on an equal footing with the officers of state and communes. In order to make an impression on the government, a meeting of delegates of these officers took place in the early part of the year 1901 and planned an agitation.

In connection with the expenditures upon ceremonies one must mention the brotherhoods which take some part in the charitable work, but for the most part are devoted to ritual. So far as they engage in charity they are subject to the law of 1890. In Italy they number 10,644 and they possess a property worth 179,000,000 lire, which yields an annual income of 9,400,000 lire, from which 1,700,000 lire go to administrative expenses (18 per cent.), while 5,000,000 (75 per cent. go to ceremonies, and 1,700,000 to charity. Generally these are small associations with about 500 lire annual income.

For several decades there has been a growing tendency to reduce the amounts used for ceremonies and ritual observances and to devote as much as the law would permit to relief of the indigent. Wealthy laymen and taxpayers naturally wish to diminish the burden of relief which falls upon them and secular influence upon administration is increasing. Perhaps there is less faith in the beneficent effects of ceremonies and more in substantial relief of pressing wants of the poor. State supervision also has the effect of keeping the accounts separate and of insuring the proper direction of charitable donations.[1]

C. Private Charity.—In a certain sense very much of the relief we have already considered comes from private sources; but the endowments have become so vast that they are now being combined into a system and are legally called "public beneficence." We must therefore confine our study at this point to individual and associated benevolence and also reserve for special consideration that charity which is conducted by ecclesiastical agencies, parochial and others.

Private Charity Associations.—The report of the Paris jury in 1900 says of the society named "La Croce Verde," founded at Lucca

[1] See Atti della commissione reale sulle opere pie, Vol. V, p. 5, Rome, 1887.

in 1893: "Up to recent years all the charity of Lucca was administered by certain powerful religious brotherhoods with a degree of partiality worthy of past ages. Some young people desired to see the exercise of the virtue of benevolence free from divisions and hatred in the ancient Tuscan city. At first the society encountered hostility, open or covert, but has succeeded in securing a firm place. It succors all forms of distress without distinction of creed or nationality." The annual income is about 7,000 to 8,000 lire. Honorable mention was made of the society of public relief of Spezia (Gênes), founded in 1889.

Italian Benevolent Society at Paris.—The colony of Italians in France organized in 1865 a society for the relief of their countrymen who meet misfortune far from home. It gives aid in money, orders for bread, meat, milk and medicines. It supports a dispensary and provides physicians for poor Italians in each of 20 arrondissements of Paris. In 1899 it aided 1,739 persons at an expense of 36,437 lire. On Dec. 31, 1899, the society had a productive endowment of 667,175 lire. Gifts and legacies are invested, with the exception of those given for immediate needs.

An interesting method of raising funds for a charity has been used at Rome and Milan,—the collection of waste and its sale for the object of benevolence. Bones, paper, rags, etc., are systematically gathered, sorted and put into condition for marketing. This reminds one of the "salvage corps" of the Salvation Army and of similar devices. The rejected articles are saved as a means of saving delinquent children.[1]

D. Ecclesiastical Charity.—The essential features of ecclesiastical charity are treated under other heads.

E. Co-operation, Conferences, etc.—Many important conferences have been held in Italy for the discussion of charity topics, that at Venice in October, 1900, being specially worthy of mention. Others have been held at Bologna, Florence, Genoa and Turin. The *Rivista della Beneficenza* treats all these subjects with vigor and intelligence.

The International Congress of Public and Private Assistance will be held in Milan in September, 1905, and the subjects selected for discussion will naturally and properly be closely related to the problems

[1] Riv. Ben. Pubb., 1903, p. 88-95.

most interesting in Italy. But since these problems are in their essential elements precisely those which concern all civilized countries, the discussion will by no means be narrow and local.

The Charity Council (*la Congregazione di Carità*) of a city is easily transformed into a central bureau for the organization of urban philanthropies. For example, the Charity Council of Florence, founded at first upon the basis of the law of 1862, and made a corporation after the enactment of the law of 1890, brought under a single administration 36 different charitable funds, and, in 1900, had a capital of more than 9,000,000 lire. The objects for which the funds are set apart are of varied character: aid to infants, payments to nurses, care of the sick, surgical appliances, furniture for poor families, clothing, food, and employment for the able-bodied. The central administration is aided by committees, reinforced by sections of workers in the various parishes of the city.

La Società Umanitaria at Milan has proposed the introduction of a central organization similar to the English and American Charity Organization Societies, and the argument reveals the same difficulties of conflict, duplication and defect which are found elsewhere. On the other hand, leading writers think a better way to correct these evils would be to improve the *Congregazione di Carità,* which is already loyally recognized and is adapted to Italian conditions.[1]

F. Indoor Relief.—The number of institutions in Italy is very great, yet there is a serious lack of provision for almshouses for the feeble and of suitable workhouses to test and help able-bodied beggars. One of the causes of the notorious evils of mendicancy is precisely this absence of provision for those really or professedly unable to work.

The difficulties of exterminating street mendicancy are well illustrated by the experience of the *Associazione di Beneficenza per la Repressione dell' Accattonaggio* of Naples. This society appeals to the civic pride of those citizens of Naples who realize the disgrace of tolerated begging, and asks them to combine to suppress a plague which they feel injures the morality and prosperity of the city at home and its fame with strangers who come to see its natural and historical glories. The policy of the society is to employ agents to offer beggars an asylum in places of refuge and induce them to cease

[1] Rivista Ben. Pubb., Feb., 1904, p. 95 ff.

from public mendicancy. But, as the world knows, this is a stubborn tribe, parasitic habits are inveterate, and the traditions of indiscriminate almsgiving are deeply rooted. The report complains that the society has only the powers of a voluntary, private association.[1] The police will not make arrests, under the penal code, unless it can be proved to them that there is an almshouse to which those arrested can be sent, and the asylums of this society are not yet recognized as legal asylums within the meaning of the code. Only about 1,200 subscribers could be found to aid the society, whose expenditures in 1902 were 41,819.72 lire. The income was derived from membership fees, special gifts, proceeds of charity entertainments and subsidies from the government. The report complains of public apathy and of the general scepticism as to the ability of voluntary associations to improve the situation. Various charitable societies compete with each other for gifts and coöperation has not been organized. These confessions are painfully appreciated by all who have to do with voluntary charities, and many of us understand the declaration that the subscriptions are "non sempre spontanee nè facili."

At Faenza the report of the *Ricovero di mendicità* for 1901 shows that there were, on Dec. 31, 118 male and 85 female inmates; the average expenditure per inmate was 239.40 lire.

G. Vagrants, Beggars and the Unemployed.—The relief of persons unable to labor (*inabili al lavoro*) is regulated by the law of 1890 and by a former law of public security of 1881. As stated elsewhere, begging on public streets is forbidden where stations of relief are provided, and where local aid is deficient they are certified to higher authorities to be properly relieved. But this regulation is very imperfectly administered. The prescriptions are not clearly expressed and the relation of the communes to the State is not explicitly stated. At first the 400,000 lire placed in the budget of state for the purpose was thought sufficient, but the communes sought to throw as many cases as possible on the state, and the sum apparently required rose to 6,000,000 lire, so that in 1897 the government struck the item from the budget, and the Boards of Charity and voluntary benevolence had to carry the load, and for this they were not prepared.

In 1900 De Martino declared in his report that of the 100,000 persons unable to labor (an estimate evidently very low), more than

[1] Reports for 1901-3, kindly sent by Count De La Field at the request of Dr. Bradley Davis. See Arthur Symons, Cities, p. 91 ff, 1903.

40,000 lacked suitable care. About 62,000 were assisted, but many very imperfectly. The statistics of January 1, 1899, gave the number of persons resorting to the beggars' stations (*ricoveri de mendicità*) as 35,417 (18,229 males and 17,188 females), most of whom must have been unable to work; and the report shows that the mortality in these institutions was 65 per cent., because the persons aided were mostly broken-down invalids, and they rarely left the house except by death.

In 1903, Dr. E. Stiatti writes of "the plague of begging, which is a disgrace to the entire country, a disturbance to the people and a national economic injury, even where it does not assume at times the form of a menace to public order and security."[1]

In 1899, Comte Stellenti-Scala declared that Italy presented to the world the sorry spectacle of a nation which, after an experience of ten years with this branch of the law, declared itself that far bankrupt, since the act of striking out the item from the budget could not be otherwise characterized; and he demanded, on political, moral and administrative grounds, that this objectionable attitude should cease. The Minister of the Interior, Pelloux, answered this attack with good will, announced a new bill, and admitted that the nation should escape from this condition as soon as possible, since it could not continue without shame to all (*una specie di vergogna per tutti noi*). The Minister Giolitti and his successors took the same position, but without definite progress. A friend of international peace might interject the remark that it is difficult to care properly for the poor, the laborer and schools, and build warships for the Triple Alliance at the same time.

A law of April 6, 1879 (*sulle Congrue dei Parrochi*) was passed to carry out the law of 1866, which required the income of certain properties of cloisters to be paid over to the communes for aid of public instruction, hospitals, and care of persons unable to labor. The value of this property was estimated at 25,000,000 lire; the quarter belonging to the communes would be 6-7 million, and the annual income of this part about 200,000 lire.

It is thought by many experts that the State cannot undertake the entire expense without leading the communes to shirk their burdens and increasing the number of beggars. Local authorities are usually

[1] Rivista Ben. Pubb., Jan., 1903, p. 31. Cf. March, 1903, p. 181.

much less careful if they think the general government will pay the bills. The Congress of Charities at Venice, in October, 1900, discussed this subject and reached the conclusion that there was pressing need of regulation, and recommended the establishment of a fund in each province which should be composed of contributions from the charitable funds, the communes, the provinces and the state. The communes should contribute according to the number of their settled citizens who were incapable of work, while the provinces should give one-tenth, and the state one-half of the contribution due from the commune. With the help of communes and private benevolence some attempts have been made to furnish work, but as yet these efforts have been few and those chiefly in cities. The statistics for 1898-99 showed that there were 23 workhouses (*case d'industria*) caring for over 5,000 persons (two-thirds men and one-third women). Most of these workhouses give only work and not lodgings.[1]

Homeless Men.—At Turin, in 1888, an asylum for lodgers was established. The structure and furnishings have cost 60,000 lire. It has a capacity for 50 persons, and receives persons of both sexes and all ages. From its opening to 1899 it had received 37,909 lodgers for 87,412 nights, an average of 30 persons each night, with two nights of entertainment. The annual receipts are 9,000 lire, and expenses about 8,000 lire.

At Milan, in 1901, was opened the *Albergo Popolare,* or Lodging House, whose idea was suggested by the Rowton House which was established in London in 1893, and which was imitated in the Mills Hotel in New York and in other cities. The rules prohibit smoking in the sleeping rooms, late hours and gambling, but provide for cheap baths, clean beds, good plain food at low prices, amusement rooms and all that is necessary for decent and comfortable living.[2] A visitor to this establishment has criticised its administration on the ground that it does not help the persons for whom it was originally designed, the very poor; and that it is treated as a comfortable, cheap hotel by travelers who like its luxury and are abundantly able to pay more than its low rates. This visitor says that the customers do not wash their own clothes in the free laundry, but hire it done; nor do they go to the trouble of cooking their own food in the free kitchen, but take meals at the restaurants. It seems to be admitted

[1] See Florian and Cavaglieri: I Vagabondi, 1900, I, 530 ff; Statistics in II, 96 ff.

[2] Riv. Ben. Pubb., June, 1901, p. 498.

that smaller and cheaper lodging houses must be provided to meet the needs of a still lower stratum of wandering men.[1] The *Primo Alloggio Popolare* at Trieste, erected by the general Council of Charity, has provided a beautiful lodging place at a cost of 30 centesime each night, or even 24c. if paid a week or a month in advance.

H. Medical Relief.—The union of science and charity in the cure and prevention of disease finds beautiful and impressive illustrations in Italy. In 1898, including 20 children's hospitals, with 4,130 patients, there were counted 1,208 general hospitals with 426,766 patients. In 1885 there were 1,117 institutions with 335,255 patients. The rate of mortality fell in the same period from 11.7 to 10.1. The hospitals are very unequally distributed: the largest number is at Rome,—34.8 patients to 1,000 inhabitants; Tuscany, 24.5; Lombardy, 21.99; while Abruzzia had only 0.14, Basilicata 0.15 and Campania 0.26. In rural communes there is great lack of hospital service. In lower Valtellin there is only one hospital to 25 km.

For maternity cases provision was made in 1898 in 13 special establishments, in addition to 18 foundling asylums and 104 maternity wards in general hospitals. The total number January 1, 1898, was 870 inmates, and in the course of the year 16,567 entered (15 in 1,000 of confinements). But averages are misleading, if taken for very wide areas, since in the southern provinces there is little provision for maternity cases. The mortality rate is 1.6 per cent. in the hospitals and 0.31 outside, but the report partly explains the fact by saying that a very large proportion of the women who go to hospitals have reason to expect difficult confinement, or are unmarried mothers whose situation is peculiarly depressing and trying.

In the spring of 1900 the Minister of the Interior proposed the draft of a law which should require the hospitals to receive sick persons without circumlocution or delay. Out of 1,197 hospitals he stated that 893 receive patients without regard to their residence, and the bill proposed to require all hospitals to do the same throughout Italy. The mayor or police could give order for the reception of destitute patients, and in emergency cases the hospital might receive at once and secure formal order afterwards. The cost of care of dependent patients was to be paid to the hospital by the commune where the patient has legal settlement; and the bill defined a legal

[1] Riv. Ben. Pubb., 1902, p. 447 ff and p. 716.

settlement for this purpose as the place where the person has lived for two years, or the birthplace, or the habitual residence. The Congress of Venice in 1900 approved this bill. The bill did not provide for increasing the number of hospitals. The report accompanying the text showed that the accommodations for the sick are more meagre than in other advanced countries. In Italy there were 13.8 receptions to 1,000 inhabitants; in Prussia, 18.08; in Bavaria, 21.96. The rates of mortality were 9.9, 6.9, and 4.2, the reason for the higher rate in Italy apparently being that the institutions were inferior, and that the space being inadequate, only those dangerously ill were taken to them.

The municipality of Padua in 1902 sought to extend relief of the sick in their homes by furnishing medical advice, medicines and sick diet. The results were satisfactory and the pressure on hospital facilities was reduced. The municipal authorities were able to make proper arrangements with druggists as to price and quality of medicines.[1]

The hospital Maria Vittoria was the first to be established in Italy for diseases of women and children. It owes its foundation to the initiative of Dr. Joseph Berruti, seconded by the generosity of Prince Amédée of Savoy, duke of Aoste. The hospital was opened to the public in 1887 with only 12 beds and without endowment, but the intelligent work of the surgeons soon brought the institution to the attention of the community and improvements were made. The establishment has come to possess seven groups of buildings with 80 beds for women and 40 for children, and its property is over 500,000 lire. Both charity and pay patients are received. There are three grades of payment for those who are able to pay: those of the first class pay 10 lire a day, those of the second 5, and those of the third 3. In the period between October 10, 1887, and December 31, 1899, the hospital received 4,837 women and 946 children. More than half of the sick persons were operated upon, and with such happy issue that the mortality has been less than 3 per cent. All the halls for the sick in the pavilions are provided with arrangements for surgery, with the best modern appliances; and nursing, general supervision, laundry, kitchen are under the care of sisters. Consultations and medicines are furnished gratuitously at the hospital for those who may be cared

[1] Riv. della Ben. Pubb., Jan., 1903, p. 46.

for at home. The expenses in 1899 were 91,728 lire, and these expenses are met by voluntary contributions and payments of patients. The institution was approved by royal decree of February 26, 1887. It is administered by a council of nine members. The business manager is directly responsible to the president of the council of administration.

Tuberculosis.—Italians have entered with commendable zeal and intelligence into the movement to combat the ravages of consumption. Before 1899 there was one sanatorium at Nervi, in addition to sanatoria for children. By a ministerial order of May, 1897, the isolation of tuberculous patients in hospitals was required. In 1899 the National League against Tuberculosis was founded by Professor Giovanni under the presidency of Baccelli, with its central office at Rome, and it carries on its work through publications and discussions. The Minister of the Interior, May 15 ,1899, requested the prefects to aid all such efforts, and early in 1900 he offered a prize for the best plan of a model sanatorium adapted to the needs of 100 patients, 50 men and 50 women.

The Congress of Hygiene which met at Como in September, 1899, discussed the topic; and the Congress of Charity in 1900 urged the erection of sanatoria in all the provinces. Funds have been provided for hospitals, and at Padua one was built with 30 beds and one for 100 incurables. In Milan a public subscription secured the erection of a large institution, and for Naples the Sanatoria Filangieré was built.

Red Cross.—The international agreement of Geneva (August 22, 1864) was approved by royal decrees in Italy September 23, 1865. It provided for a distinctive uniform and flag for the protection of persons engaged in caring for the wounded and sick in war. The law of May 21, 1882, provided for the incorporation of the Italian Association of the Red Cross, relieved it of the ordinary supervision of charitable societies, placed it under the control of the Ministry of Army and Navy, and gave it free use of postal, telegraph and railway service in time of war.[1] By decree of May 31, 1896, the government established a commission for deciding questions relating to the privileges of agents of the Red Cross and abuses of these privileges. The Red Cross Society in Italy in 1899 had 24,000 members, 363 subcommittees, 682 communal delegates, a property of 6,474,674.23 lire

[1] G. Saredo, Codice della Beneficenza Pubblica, pp. 432, 627.

(capital of 4,188,917.98 and materials of the value of 2,285,756.27 lire). In the war between Spain and the United States, in South Africa, and in China, this society has carried on its healing mission. In times of peace it has improved hospital service, trained nurses, and helped the victims of malarial fever.

The need for instruction in first aid to the injured created the Samaritan School first at Turin in 1883, which was transferred to the Red Cross Society in 1889.

In 1901 the *Cassa Nazionale infortuni* reported 20,247 accidents to laborers, with 230 cases of death, 711 of permanent disablement, and 19,306 of temporary disablement, and the fund contributed aid to the value of 1,748,645.48 lire. Perhaps as many more, not connected with this fund, suffered from accidents. These figures are an argument for the organization of classes in methods of first aid to the sick and injured, and they have been influential in this direction.[1]

Two great plagues of Italy are the diseases of pellagra and malaria. The government as early as 1888 passed a law forbidding the sale of the defective maize (*granturco*) which causes the malady of pellagra and increases pauperism by destroying industrial efficiency. Paoli Doneti declared that the two diseases arise from a common cause; that the immature, innutritious, easily decaying maize grows in the low, swampy places where malaria also originates; and he declares that the government could best strike both evils at once by draining and redeeming the soil and restoring it to agriculture.[2]

By a law approved March 30, 1902, the government made arrangements to furnish quinine gratuitously, or at reduced cost, to laborers living in malarial regions and suffering from the fever, the distribution to be made through communal officers and charity councils.[3]

J. Care of Defectives. *The Blind.*—The friends of the blind have protested against the laws which classified these unfortunate members of society among the incompetents, and have sought to give them the juristic position of normal persons, unless serious mental defects are proved in addition to loss of sight.[4]

[1] Riv. Ben. Pubb., 1902, p. 156 (address of Dr. C. Calliano).

[2] *Ibid.*, 1902, p. 229.

[3] *Ibid.*, 1902, p. 429 ff.

[4] Action of the IVth Italian Congress for the Blind; Riv. Ben. Pubb., May, 1901, p. 357 ff, 414.

The approved subjects of instruction are those given to normal children, with special training in reading with the fingers according to modern methods. All are to learn music and those who reveal special ability are trained professionally. Industries in which the sense of touch can be relied on for guidance are preferred for the trade school. The telegraph and telephone have opened new callings to the blind.

At the Paris exposition, 1900, a medal of gold was awarded to the institute for the blind at Milan directed by the Abbé Vitoli. It is described as a splendid establishment and of ancient origin. Among the products of its industries shown were basket work and elegant embroidery.

The institute of the Prince of Naples, at Naples, was founded in 1873 and recognized by royal decree of November 9, 1885. It receives both boys and girls and teaches them trades. The articles manufactured were shoes, blinds, baskets, bindings, printing, embroideries, all finely executed. A special appliance for writing and copying music was shown, the invention of the director, M. Martuscelli. The house has about 85 pupils, and the annual expenses are about 40,000 lire. Support comes from gifts and subsidies.

At Florence is the Institute of Victor-Emmanuel II for young blind persons, which was awarded a bronze medal; while honorable mention was made of the Society of Patronage of Niccolo Tommaseo and to M. Victor Montrucchio of Turin for the invention of a writing machine.

Deaf.—In 1800 there were in Italy only two schools for the deaf; in 1900 there were 47. All but one (that in Catania) are boarding schools. They are supported mainly by voluntary gifts. A few receive subsidies from the government on condition of giving instruction to a certain number of pupils. Ordinary school subjects are taught. The school period is 7-10 years. The number of deaf children of school age in Italy in 1898 was about 4,000, of whom 2,299 were in schools.[2]

Three institutes for the deaf made exhibitions at Paris in 1900, all under the Minister of Public Instruction, one at Naples, the others at Rome and at Sienna. The institute at Milan was founded by a Frenchman, Antoine Heyraud, in 1805. It is now administered as a

[1] Zeitschrift für das Armenwesen, June, 1903, p. 167.—Storia del R. Istituto Nazionale pei Sordomuti in Genova, 1901, by D. Silvio Monaci.

national establishment by a council of five members, of whom the principal is one. There were 48 pupils (36 boys and 12 girls), who were taught elementary studies and a trade. There is a school for training teachers with 18 students. The annual expenses are about 78,000 lire, which are furnished by gifts and by subsidies; 16,900 lire were given for the support of 24 dependent children.

The institution at Rome was the first in Italy for deaf mutes, and was founded in 1784. In 1870 it received the name of the Royal Institute for Deaf Mutes, and now has 105 pupils, of whom 58 are boys and 47 girls. The instruction is in elementary branches and technical training. The council of direction is composed of seven members, of whom four are named by the government and three by the council of the province. The annual revenues are about 30,000 lire. The Minister of Instruction grants 27,000 lire a year. The total receipts are about 81,000 lire annually, and expenditures 75,000 lire.

The Pendola institution at Sienna was founded in 1828. It is governed by a council of five members, the president being named by royal decree. The number of pupils is 86, of whom 48 are boys and 38 girls, all boarders. The instruction is the same as at Rome. The resources flow from the annual income of funds and from government payments. The total receipts are about 74,000 lire and the expenses 71,000 lire.

At Milan is an institute for deaf mutes founded in 1853, with 193 pupils, 106 boys and 87 girls. Almost all are supported and taught gratuitously. The oral method is employed and teachers have come from France to study it.

There is a school at Naples and one at Lecce, which are mentioned in the prize lists of the Paris exposition of 1900.

Insane.—There has been marked progress in provision for the insane: there were in 1878, 57 hospitals with 15,173 patients and in 1898 there were 128 institutions with 34,802 patients.

S. Luigi Lucchini recently stated in the Chamber of the national parliament (Feb. 9, 1904) that in the last 25 years the number of the insane has increased from 20,000 to more than 40,000, and that the capacity of the asylums is too small for the latter number, lacking accommodations for 4,000 who require them. This means unsuitable treatment, crowding and neglect, as we see only too often in other countries.

The Vth National Congress of Charities, at Venice, in 1900, voted a declaration of judgments which indicate the tendency of competent opinion and at the same time reveal the conditions. The care of the insane is the duty of the provincial administration. The resolutions approve the custom of placing the quiet insane, and even idiots, cretins and epileptics, if harmless, in poorhouses, but favor family care under the direction of physicians. Endowed hospitals for chronic sick are urged to relieve the commune of the cost of caring for the quiet incurable insane, if permitted by their regulations and their income. Private establishments should not be permitted to care for the insane without official authority, and the director should be upright and professionally trained. There should be in a hospital for the insane one physician for 120 patients and a nurse for 12 patients. Provisional admission of a patient should be on the certificate of a physician and the authority of a pastor. A provincial council, under legal direction, decides within a fortnight whether the patient shall remain or be discharged. Every hospital for the insane should contain, in addition to the ordinary sections for the several classes, a department for observation, a division for those engaged in outside work on farms, a division for infectious diseases, a section for those sent by courts for examination. The expenses for the buildings and grounds should be met by the province, and those for maintenance by the province and the commune where the patient has a settlement (*domicilio di soccorso*). The repayment of cost by the family of the patient is to be regulated by the provincial authorities. The Minister of the Interior should inspect all hospitals and control their administration.[1]

The House of the Insane of Saint Lazarus, at Reggio-Emilia, is a good illustration of the best tendencies. This asylum was awarded a medal of gold at Paris in 1900. It is directed by a medical superintendent, who is assisted by an administrative commission. It was founded in 1820. In 1822 it had only 20 inmates, but it has steadily increased in importance, and the recent average number annually has been about 1,300. The receipts in 1899 were about 780,000 lire. The institution received a silver medal at Milan in 1881, and one of gold at Turin in 1884.

K. Children. *Foundling Asylums.*—A clear distinction should

[1] Riv. Ben. Pubb., Feb., 1901.

be made between the foundling asylums (*brefotrofi*) and the orphanages (*orfanotrofi*); the former had a very early origin and were founded by charitable persons. In 1898 there were 113 foundling asylums, which cared for 100,418 children, a few in the asylums, but most placed out for care in families. During the year 21,307 were received, while 21,504 were discharged,—not less than 10,127 of them died. On Jan. 1, 1899, 100,221 children remained under care. In 19 provinces there are no foundling asylums and in these places the communes care for foundlings. The mortality is very great; the average mortality in 1893-96 was 39.4 per cent.; in 1897, 35 per cent.; in 1899, 36 per cent.

Public attention has been fixed upon the foundling asylums in consequence of discoveries made at Naples. Two questions have been vigorously discussed,—the principles underlying such asylums and the actual methods of administration in those which exist.

The principle of anonymity in the care of foundlings was generally at the basis of the earlier asylums, and the means of securing it was the revolving crib (*ruota*), an arrangement for receiving the infant without seeing the person who brought it. The wretched mother could come at night, lay her unwelcome babe in the cradle on the outside, give the wheel a turn, and at once place it in a world of tenderness and care, cut off from its shameful relations. The argument for this method was that the unmarried mother might thus be prevented from shame and despair, and would not be driven to suicide or infanticide in the hour of suffering and desertion. The opponents of this measure declare that, by relieving the mother of responsibility, a premium is placed on immorality and the dissolution of family ties. Moreover, the argument for prevention of infanticide is very weak, since the statistics show that the rate of mortality with children deserted by their mothers is exceedingly high.

Thus Dr. Romani[1] arraigns the *ruota* system as murderous in effects. In the Napoleonic period, of 618 infants admitted at Marseilles, only 18 survived; at Toulon, only 3 out of 104. In France, from 1816 to 1841, 794,831 (or 880,639 if we count those in asylums at the end of 1815) were received and of these 484,127 died. In Naples, in 1895, out of 856 infants only 3 survived one year. In Rovigo, in 1886 (the year before an important reform in methods

[1] In Rivista Ben. Pubb., Feb., 1903, p. 65 ff.

there), 74 died out of 142 (52.7 per cent.). In Padua, in 1876, out of 374, 275 died. In Milan, in 1898, 44.61 per cent. died. In Genoa, in 1900, 35.37 per cent. died. In Florence, in 1899, 55.59 per cent. died. In Padua, in 1901, 27.73 per cent. died. The author well says: "The unmarried mother who abandons her babe and refuses it her breast multiplies its chances of death three times."

Medical men note the danger of syphilitic communication from illegitimate infants to nurses and from nurses to infants. In 1889-1898, in Milan, from 4.30 to 11.83 per cent. of infants were syphilitic and from 8-31 per cent. of nurses were infected. This danger is itself a strong argument in favor of requiring unmarried mothers to nurse their own infants.[1]

Another source of mortality with illegitimate and all abandoned infants is the neglect of those who carry them from the cities to the country nurses. Romani quotes a description of Monod's "De l'industrie des nourrices": "All who travel on the line from Paris to Lyons to go to Auxerre or Mombert, or on the line from Paris to Nevers, may any day verify this picture. These poor little creatures are one month, six weeks, at most two months old. It may be intensely cold or tropical with heat; they quit the bosom of the mother, and, instantly, without preparation, they pass from the sweet maternal life to cruel experiences. It is a terrible spectacle, the poor infants packed upon each other, crying, for the nurses to save expense travel third class. Add one detail to this sad picture. Some of these women, for the purpose of stilling these importunate cries, administer to the feeble creatures narcotic drinks and procure artificial sleep, sometimes the sleep of death." And Romani adds: "Can we believe that our [Italian] intermediaries, rude, ignorant and mercenary, are better than the *meneuses* of France?"[2]

The method has been employed in various countries and was officially recognized in France as late as 1811. But of late illegitimate children have come to receive better care, and the revolving cradle has generally diasppeared. At the beginning of the kingdom the system of the *ruota* was general in Italy, and these were used in 1179 communes. Gradually it was abolished, not by law, but by the action of provincial authorities; 57 communes had abandoned the method before 1860; 193 others between 1860 and 1869; 256 between 1870 and 1879;

[1] Riv. Ben. Pubb., Feb., 1903, p. 101.

[2] Cf. Zola, Fécundité, 1896.

105 between 1880 and 1889, and 42 after 1890. In 1893 there were still 526 communes in which the *ruota* was in existence, although only in 462 was it used.[1] To a great extent the *ruota* has been abandoned in Italy also, and the infant, which is never refused admission, even if no information is furnished by the person who brings it, is received openly. But in 306 communes of Italy it was reported that the *ruota* was still in use. It has been learned that the *ruota* has been favored much more to secure the care of the child than to hide the shame of the mother by a secret surrender. When unmarried mothers came to know that they would receive care and their infants be provided for the number abandoned decreased. The province of Rovigo in 1888 introduced a new system and promised mothers who would acknowledge their babes at first three years' support, and later reduced the period to one and one-half years.[2] Dr. Oliva declared that this revolutionary change aroused determined opposition. But he was able to prove for the period 1878-1897, on the basis of testimony from over 100 physicians to whom he sent inquiries, that the new system was satisfactory. Whereas in the decade 1878-1887, 1,358 children were received (an annual average of 135), of whom 249 were acknowledged by a parent, during the period 1888-1897, 1,414 children were received (an average of 141 annually), which were all acknowledged by their mothers. And while of the 1,358 children of the former period, 531 died under one year of age, 131 under two, and 787 in other age classes, during the latter period only 99.81 and 180 in the same age classes died. The expenditures decreased from 640,690 lire to 583,937 lire; and the reduction is still greater for recent years: in the three years 1885-87 the annual cost was 65,000 lire and in 1895-97 only 35,000 lire annually. The assistance given to mothers was 9 lire monthly for the first year and 5 lire for the following months; but the majority of the physicians consulted advised giving 12 lire monthly for three years, and they urged careful supervision. In 1899 the Charity Congress of Turin declared in favor of the Rovigo system, the abolition of the *ruota,* the encouragement of mothers to acknowledge their infants, and the condemnation of foundling asylums. At the same time many writers are urging not only that mothers should acknowledge their offspring, but that, as in Germany, Switzerland

[1] Statistica della Assistenza dell' infanzia abbandonata, Anni 1890, 1891 e 1892, Roma, 1894.

[2] L'Assistenza all' infanzia illegitima abbandonata.

and the United States of America, a legal investigation of paternal responsibility should be made in each case (*ricerca della paternità*).

A bill was proposed in the national legislature to make the Rovigo system general. This bill as drafted made the care of abandoned children obligatory on each province. The care was to be confined to infants, foundlings in the strict sense, and children of unmarried mothers. The expense was to be divided between the province and the communes concerned, with the exception of communes where existing arrangements for the purpose were sufficient. Where there are no foundling asylums assistance is to be given to mothers, and rooms furnished for the first reception. Without affecting the rules for reception in existing foundling asylums, the administrators are to secure information about the antecedents of child and mother, and this information must be kept secret. Only mothers who have acknowledged their children obtain a right to receive information about them afterwards. Supervision by medical men is provided for children up to 10 years of age for boys and to 12 years for girls; suckling infants are to be inspected once a fortnight up to three months and afterwards up to the seventh month at least once a month. The observations of visits are to be recorded in a book. A medical director is to supervise the inspections in and outside the institution. Within a period of one year after the passing of the law all existing establishments must adopt the regulations and accept certain hygienic and sanitary prescriptions. It has been urged as an objection to this bill that it was too timid and limited in its scope; that it protects existing arrangements too carefully; that it cares only for a limited number of children, the foundlings and the illegitimate, and neither requires the acknowledgment by the mother nor asks about the father. But the law once enforced would at least mark progress. Even without legislation progress has been made in some provinces beside Rovigo. The report on the *Casa dell' Annunciata di Napoli* was made by G. Pucci, who administered the house two years in order to correct abuses and introduce a better system; and on the whole he was quite successful; but the report indicates a fear that after his departure some abuses returned. Information is given in respect to the uneconomical methods of administration, the unhygienic condition of rooms for children and nurses, the dirty clothing, the lack of isolating rooms, etc. When Pucci undertook the administration there were 96 nurses and 224 children; all kept in 4 rooms, in each of which there were

23-26 nurses, and 68, 55, 64 and 27 children, while each nurse had to give nourishment to 3 children. In the milk supply adulteration was discovered, and half of it was water. Still worse was the care of children in the families of peasants, who were paid 8 lire monthly. 144 lire were paid for the care of 18 months, and the child was left to its fate without supervision, while no scrutiny was made in the selection of families. It was found that not less than 965 children had died, 172 were sent out of Italy, 226 to other communes, while nothing could be learned of 102. Of children sent to families in Naples, of 595 children born in the years 1890-96, 190 could not be found, 75 were reported dead, and 115 removed to other homes. Not less unhappy was the condition of the older children and of inmates who were brought up in the houses and still remained there, 413 in number. But here the complaint was not of hard treatment but of such excessive comfort that the inmates were unwilling to go out and work for their own support. The luxurious meals and complete freedom to come and go, robbed the institution of its original character as a charitable establishment. Habit had become so inveterate that opposition to improvement was obstinate, and Pucci could do nothing by orders, requests and threats; the inmates went so far as to mutiny. By determined effort Pucci effected a complete change, restricted the liberty of going and coming at pleasure, required the pupils to work in the house, abolished unnecessary luxuries, etc. But some of the girls said to his face that they would remain, in spite of his strict measures, because there would soon be a new superintendent and he would restore the old order.

Pucci proceeded in his reforms by reconstructing the buildings so that there should be a larger number of rooms and fewer nurses and infants to each room; he provided rooms for isolating cases of infectious disease; ordered medical supervision and improved the quality of the milk. Medical visits, previously much neglected, were required twice a day, and the condition of nurses and children was carefully studied. Cleanliness in rooms, bedding and clothing was strictly enforced. The results were at once manifest in the diminished death rate of infants, which in 1896 was 41.55 per cent., but in 1898 had fallen to 30.12 per cent.

The care of children outside the house was improved by inspection and selection of families. Pucci emphasizes in this connection the necessity of the coöperation of local communal officials, physicians,

clergy and of special *comitati di patronato.* But in his judgment it is also necessary to have a constant supervision by salaried persons. Physicians of the institution were charged with the oversight of the nurses.

The conditions on which foundlings are received have a strong influence on the numbers presented, the cost of care, and the morality of the parents. Thus at Milan in 1896 the infants abandoned to the Foundling Asylum (*Brefotrofio*) numbered 1,177; in 1897 the number was 1,097; in 1898, 962; in 1901, only 823. The cost fell from 343,000 lire in 1890 to 281,000 lire in 1901, although prices had increased. The principal cause of these changes seems to have been the introduction of a rule that only illegitimate infants should be received, and these must be of mothers residing in the province. Under this rule married mothers cease to cast off their babes and nursed them themselves, securing charitable assistance if necessary; and unmarried mothers ceased to come from other provinces to throw the burden of support upon the city.[1]

Foundlings.—The Hospital of the Innocents at Florence was founded in 1419 and cares for foundlings. A council of administration of five members with a permanent director conducts the institution. In 1899 the number of infants sheltered was 6,637. The expenditures were 620,000 lires and the receipts 644,750 l. At the Paris exposition of 1900 an album of photographs represented the office of reception of foundlings; the gallery of ancient pictures, including a fresco by Foncetti representing the Massacre of the Innocents; an infirmary with arrangements for feeding the children with milk; an isolation room; an infirmary for weaned children; a vaccination laboratory, from which is supplied vaccine for Tuscany; and a school for sick children. Very instructive and interesting is the work of the *Spedale di Santa Maria degl' Innocenti di Firenze,* which gives the history of the institution from its foundation to the present time. The former conditions of the foundling asylum were not favorable, and here also were found the crowded rooms, defective medical supervision, uncleanliness, etc. The mortality was naturally enormous; in the period between 1755-1774 the average rate was 70 per cent. In recent times the institution has been quite reformed. The old buildings were abandoned and new houses on the pavilion plan were

[1] See resolutions of the congress of representatives of provinces at Turin, 1898, in Riv. Ben. Pubb., 1902, p. 239.

erected in the extensive gardens of the place; so that instead of dark and ill-ventilated rooms the children are kept in lighted rooms with only a reasonable number to a room. The children are now received in a quarantine room until they can undergo a medical examination. The beds which formerly held two infants now have but one. Sucklings are ordinarily retained 14 days in the house and are then sent out; but if they betray defect or weakness they are retained for treatment. Formerly goat milk was preferred, but now sterilized milk of cows is used, and this milk is furnished to private persons at cost. The special supervision of nurses is in the hands of a sister assisted by six grown pupils of the institution.

Outside care is given to women of blameless lives and good health, generally women who have given suck to their own children (*sono come suol dirsi, di secondo latte*). Still it is confessed that it is not easy to find suitable persons, because such women prefer to go to private service where they are better paid. The price which the hospital pays acts as a kind of regulator, since private persons go a little higher than the rate of the institution. Physicians inspect the milk of the nurses, if necessary by analysis. Local physicians are informed in respect to the giving out of children and a clergyman and physician of the locality are also informed.

There is also a paid overseer in the neighborhood, who is particularly careful to secure knowledge of those from whom nothing has been heard for some time. The rate of payment is low, and is only 10-12 lire monthly for the first year, 8 in the second year, and falls to 4, 3, 2 lire to the tenth year; after the tenth year only 1 lira per month is paid for girls up to the 14th year. It is understood that children in the country are useful after the 10th year, and a few are sent back by foster parents. Families who keep boys until they are 18 years of age or girls till they are 25, receive a premium of 50 lire. To girls a gift of 200 lire is granted. For sickly and defective children the payment is higher. Very favorable is the influence of agricultural labor, and, while formal adoption is not frequent, the children generally remain members of the family. The institution does a work of large extent. At the end of 1899 it had under its care 6,393 pupils, of whom 2,552 were boys and 2,841 girls; the annual additions on the average are 700. The total number received since the *ruota* was abolished has greatly diminished; there were about 9,000 to 10,000 after 1850 and 7,000 to 8,000 after 1870. The rate of mortality is high. Another

illustration may be given in the monograph on *L' ospizio provinciale degli esposti e delle partorienti di Udine,* a relatively small establishment. In an accurate description we find the same effort to substitute for the ruota the proper assistance of mothers, if they acknowledge their children.[1] This movement began in 1873 and entered on a new stage in 1895 with a new administration. The number of infants acknowledged by mothers steadily rose under the new system, from 11.82 per cent. in 1885, to 51.77 per cent. in 1895, and 47.82 per cent. in 1897; it is somewhat higher with older children than with infants. At the same time the number of abandoned children decreased, from 203 in 1885 down to 69 in 1897. The assistance given correspondingly increased, from 969 lire for 12 mothers in 1885, to 30,160 lire for 432 mothers in 1897. The cost of maintaining a child outside the institution in the last period was 70.80 lire against 30.19 lire in the beginning of the century; while the cost of institutional care, in which general expenditures are included, rose to 605 lire, a proof that family care is not only better but cheaper than that in institutions. The rate of mortality was formerly very high; in 1754 it was 90 per cent.; in 1819-21 it was still 60-70 per cent.; while at the same time in family care it was only 1-6 per cent. Of late it sunk from 67.80 per cent. (1880) to 35.62 per cent., which is by no means satisfactory, although it is well understood that the mortality of illegitimate children is necessarily greater than that of others. The institution, in accordance with its new statute of 1894, receives, in addition to foundlings and illegitimate children, also legitimate infants, if the communes or other authorities pay for their care. The administration exercises oversight of boys until they are 18 years of age, and of girls until they are 21. When the ordinary income is insufficient, the province gives a subsidy. The local authorities share with the administration the task of supervision.

Dr. P. G. Bevilaqua has published a valuable study of the mortality of abandoned children in the commune of Lanciano. In the period 1875-1899 the number of children on record was 1,061; 516 male and 545 female. In the last decade the number diminished, a fact apparently due to more favorable economic conditions. Of those received, 16 were dead, while 569 died after reception, 290 under one month, and 206 under one year, a rate of 56 per cent. The author thinks that the lack of maternal nourishment is not the only reason for the high

[1] See article in Riv. Ben. Pubb., March, 1903, pp. 156, 163.

rate of mortality. Such children are born under conditions which, even under favorable circumstances, must cause death. Uncleanliness in the vessels used for artificial food, in the handling of the newborn infant, and defective sanitary conditions of the institution are mentioned.[1]

A very interesting example of child saving work, which reminds one of Dr. Barnardo's work in London, is the Little House of Divine Providence in Turin, which was founded by Don Cottolengo in a poor little cottage of two rooms, which he gradually extended, so that today there is a village of over 3,000 poor, sick, sisters, brothers, who are divided into families in accordance with age, form of need and occupation. There is one family of deaf-mutes in which the sisters instruct about 80 girls, born deaf, in speaking, reading, writing and needlework. As soon as the children can make themselves understood they usually return home, but may, if they prefer, remain in the house. If they dedicate themselves to a religious calling, they find in the home a congregation whose duty it is to take care of the altars and consecrated objects in the 13-14 chapels of the institution. There are also families of the feeble-minded, insane, epileptic, etc. Each family has its own living and sleeping rooms and a chapel. The so-called "university" of the Little House provides instruction from the elementary school up to the university. The beginning is made in the children's asylum in which, at the last report, 90 children dwelt in a spacious chamber, slept and received instruction, while in a great court they played and had gymnastic exercises. From this division the more gifted pupils proceed to the higher grades. The instructors for the 100-115 cloister pupils all dwell in the institution and are there for the most part educated for the work. The "Thomas School" for philosophy and theology is the culmination of the system. The pupils of this division attend the schools and lectures of the city under the care of a teacher, and return to the house after the lessons, and there enjoy the use of a library and room for work. In this family the teachers, confessors and priests of the Little House are trained, and some of the younger theologians devote themselves to missions in other places. Sisters are also educated here as nurses, druggists, teachers of deaf mutes, etc. There are technical schools for bookbinders, woodworkers, saddlers, painters; and employment is secured for deaf mutes, cripples and feeble-minded. Tailoring and shoe-

[1] Rivista di Beneficenza, 1900, p. 497 ff.

making are taught, and those who are trained supply the wants of inmates of the Little House, while those who are weak and undeveloped are thus furnished occupation. Sisters and brothers assist in instruction, care of the sick and labor of household and kitchen, all with cheerful consecration. Especial mention may be made of the Cottolengo hospital, which is visited by physicians of Turin and does not exclude any form of sickness.

In order to procure means of support for the Little House the pupils march in processions, by sections, through the city, and beg for it. There is no effort to procure permanent endowment. All productive property is turned into cash and used for current expenses. The residents of the Little House will trust their fate with firm confidence to the hand of Divine Providence.

Italy has carried very far the work of providing sanatoria for children. While summer outings are less needed and less common than elsewhere, and care for only about 1,200 children, there are 21 sanatoria for poor scrofulous children, which in 1898 received about 8,029 children for a period of 40-45 days.

Societies for Preventing Cruelty.—In Italy the *Società Nazionale Pro Infantia* was founded at Rome in 1897. It has for its task the protection of children under 16 years of age against cruelty and maltreatment, the resistance against introducing children to immoral and hurtful occupations, the prevention of mendicancy and vagabondage, and the furtherance of education. To promote these purposes the society maintains a permanent service and has personal relations with parents, guardians and local authorities, in order to assist the children which come under its protection. When the parents are very poor the child may be aided at home, or placed in an asylum or hospice for a time or permanently, or with a family in the country, where it is watched over by the society. In this association are not only members who pay but also others who, without payment, make themselves useful by service. The means of the society are not large: the last accessible report gives only 9,000-10,000 lire annually.

Children.—In the field of child saving work, Italy shows the greatest progress. While advance is everywhere limited, the necessity for improvement is recognized and in many branches of administration noteworthy reforms have begun, especially in connection with hygienic and social measures. Very earnest efforts have been put forth to secure a thorough knowledge of actual conditions. Compre-

hensive statistical investigations, numerous monographs, various bills for legislation and discussions of them in the national legislature have interest in the charity world.

Orphanages.—These establishments care for destitute, abandoned and neglected children; and of these there were in 1898, 1,005 institutions with 43,590 children, most of whom were in the larger cities; 69 cities furnished 27,333 children.

Of institutions for youth under correction (*riformatori*) there were in 1898, 45,—9 belonging to the State, 36 were private,—in all 6,859 inmates. Little progress has been made in these institutions in recent years. There are no provisions for compulsory education of neglected children who have not actually committed a crime, although the Charity Congress of 1900 earnesly advocated this measure.

Assistance of School Children.—In Italy, as elsewhere, it has been found that many pupils are prevented from attending school on account of the inability of their parents to provide for them suitable shoes and clothing. In many cases the children are so ill-fed at home that they are too weak to study continuously, the power of attention being dependent on nutrition. Several methods of meeting this acknowledged need have been proposed: municipal grants, increase of school tax for the purpose, public relief, private charitable associations. Some socialistic leaders are demanding that all children alike be fed at school, so that none shall be disgraced before their companions as objects of charity. Against this extreme measure the financial argument seems decisive, for the communes of Italy are already excessively burdened with taxation. The general opinion seems to be in favor of meeting the want in cases when it arises by special forms of charitable assistance, either at the school or in the home.[1]

K.-L. Children and Youth.—The Society for the Protection of Children, of Milan, was founded in 1879, and recognized as of public utility by royal decree of October 21, 1881, and has for its object the protection of children abandoned or maltreated. These children are collected in the institution, or are given gratuitously shelter, food and instruction in elementary studies, drawing, music, gymnastics and manual training. The society secures for them an opportunity to learn a trade suited to their aptitudes and tastes. The director of the institution supervises the work and sees that the children are properly treated in the factories. Half the wages

[1] Article by Paolo Doneti, in Riv. Ben. Pubb., Jan., 1901.

earned by the child are deposited in his name in a savings bank and the other half goes to the society. At eighteen years of age the youth has a trade and can make his living and has a little capital of 200 to 600 lire. The director takes pains to see that the guardian of the youth after his eighteenth year is proper and reliable. The person may not draw from his savings account without permission of the director, until he is of age. The new guardian assumes from the society responsibility for the subsequent care of the youth. The pupils show affection and gratitude toward the institution in after years and seek advice of the director in their affairs. The average annual expenditures of the society are about 24,000 lire.[1]

The *Comitato per la difesa giuridica dell' infanzia e della fanciullezza obbandonata* in 1902 declared that there were in Italy 30,000 children entirely abandoned; that every year on an average 14,000 children between the ages of 9-14 years are convicted; that of minors over 14 years about 64,000 are annually convicted; and that about 40 per cent. of children in the great cities lead a more or less vagrant life,[2] and that these evils are increasing. This committee insists that the former policy of seeking to correct children in reformatories is costly, wasteful and futile; that it is more economical and hopeful to anticipate crime and not wait for the offense in order to lend the helping hand of the State.

The *Pio Istituto pei Figli della Providenza,* incorporated in 1887, has for its programme: Assistance of the still innocent abandoned child and punishment of those guilty of the act of abandonment. The founders of this society believe that private charity is not able to defend the minor from the injustice of its neglectful parents, and that the law must be improved and its help invoked. A premium of a medal of gold and 1000 lire in money was offered for the best essay on the subject; it being required that the essay should exhibit the causes working to increase the evil and the best methods of making the existing laws more effective and the wisest amendments.

In 1897 the Minister of Education made an appeal to the communal and municipal authorities for the support of the *Comitati di Patronato,* and it has been heeded. At Rome the commune grants

[1] For an account of the institutions for the care of children and youth in Rome, see La Beneficenza Romana, 1892, by Quirino Querini, p. 420 ff.

[2] Riv. Ben. Pubb., 1902, p. 564.

annually about $10,000, at Turin $4,000, and at Cremona $3,600.[1] Closely related to this movement is the work of vacation schools which have already done excellent service in preventing the pupils during the free time of autumn and summer from becoming wild and losing the advantages of school training.

The first national Congress of friends of neglected children, *Pro Infantia,* met at Turin, September, 1902. The discussions led to the following principal conclusions: The teachings of science in respect to the food of infants: that a microscopic examination of milk is important; that the age of the infant of a wet nurse must be considered in assigning a foster infant to her for nourishment; that artificial food may be used if it is scientifically prepared and administered; and that hired nurses, especially among the poorly fed, are inferior. Asylums for nourishing infants who have not proper maternal care were approved. The example of Turin was held worthy of imitation, since there one finds a *Cassa per la Maternità,* a fund to which women may contribute and which gives them right to rest and care before and after confinement.

This discussion of assistance to illegitimate infants elicited the fact that there is a great army of the nameless in Italy, about 150,000 in all, upon whom are spent annually not less than 15,000,000 lire; that the immoral *ruota* still exists in more than 300 communes; and that in many provinces about one-half of all illegitimate infants die within the first year. It was voted to approve the inquiry as to the mother, and most seemed to approve the search for the father as well; and by all means to encourage the mothers to give nurse to their own infants.

Kindergartens were approved, and manual training in public schools. The congress divided on the proposition to feed ill-nourished pupils at public expense, many thinking this should be done by private charity.

The addresses on care of defective and feeble children revealed the fact that Italy does not provide adequately from public funds for their education, training and asylum.

Perhaps the most enthusiastic and unanimous votes were taken on the judicial care of neglected children and youth, abandoned, maltreated and delinquent minors, the duty of the state to safeguard the young without waiting until they have forced themslves upon the notice of officers of law by some crime.

[1] B. King, Italy of To-Day, p. 227.—Riv. Ben. Pubb., 1902, p. 377.

Attention was called to the "Union of Women" in Milan for the purpose of maintaining a central office of information for poor people who do not know how to apply for aid among the numerous "pious works" of a great city.

The plan of having a federation of all the agencies which care for children was dicussed and referred to the councils of charity and the syndics of the principal cities for their judgment.[1]

Cavaglieri says that Italy does not provide for the moral protection of youth until they are already proved guilty of some offense. They may be in surroundings where they are likely to fall into evil ways, but the state permits them to go on until the vicious habit has taken possession of them. The regulations of prisons (1891) permitted arrested and convicted youths to be placed in families, but in practice they are retained in institutions of correction.[2]

Attention has been called to the fact that street playing is a cause of disorder, moral peril and ultimately of crime. A beginning has been made in some cities of confining the children and youth to certain open spaces where they can be supervised, the rougher leaders prevented from becoming dominant, and yet where recreation is free and joyous. Simple gymnastic appliances are provided and the younger and weaker children are protected from intrusion and injury.[3] The civil code provides for guardianship of minors, but for three-fourths of them it is a dead letter. Saredo suggests that the communal administration be charged with this duty.

M. Preventive Work.—*Pawning Agencies. Monti di Pietà.* —For many ages, in different races, the very poor borrower has been the servant of the lender. Borrowing to meet the demands of consumption is essentially different from borrowing capital as a means of increasing business profits. The usurer has gained an unenviable reputation because he represents the pressure of necessity and distress, and there has always been a tendency to give over this kind of business to a class of men who were not sensitive to social contempt. The church developed a doctrine on the subject which assumed very definite form during the middle ages and influenced custom and legislation, as well as church discipline. In the second half

[1] A. Canelini, in Riv. Ben. Pubb., 1902, p. 771 ff.

[2] Florian and Cavaglieri, I Vagabondi, p. 527 (1897).

[3] G. Saredo, Codici della Beneficenza, Int. p. xviii.

of the fifteenth century, in consequence of a strong preaching crusade at Perugia directed against usury by a monk named Barnabus, certain rich citizens contributed to the foundation of a bank for the poor (*Monti di pietà*), which has served as model and inspiration for many later establishments. Whether Italy was the country of origin or not may be uncertain, but it is unquestionably the classic land for development of this form of relief. From the beginning the movement had the powerful alliance of the church, and various cities of Northern Italy founded institutions of this kind, notably Milan, Florence, Bologna, Verona, Sienna and Vicenza. From Italy the movement extended into France, Holland and elsewhere. In Italy the pawnshops are regarded as "mixed" institutions, partly charitable and partly for credit.

A good illustration is the *Monti di pietà* at Milan, founded in 1496. The minimum loan made is 2 lire; the maximum is not limited; the time for redemption is six months for certain kinds of security and a year for valuable articles. The rate of interest is 5 per cent. on sums of 10 lire or less, and for sums above 10 lire it is 6 per cent. plus 5 per cent. for marking and 2 per cent. for storage and packing. The depositor of more than 300 lire must pay a government tax. In 1896 there were 387,132 articles pledged and 7,988,369 lire lent.

The establishment at Rome was founded in 1539 and in 1898 lent 15,000,533 lire on 1,066,146 articles. It had a capital of 3,549,535.24 lire. In accordance with a new law of May 14, 1899, this bank collects interest even on small sums, whereas previous to this law sums of less than 5 lire were lent without interest. The rate is from 4 to 7 per cent. according to the value and nature of the security. This is the largest bank of its kind in Italy and has a branch at Tivoli and 14 auxiliary bureaus.

The bank at Bologna was founded in 1473 by Bernardin de Feltre. In 1899 it had a fund of 1,041,051 lire, it lends on sums from 50 lire to 300 lire, and the rate is 7 per cent. plus a fixed rate rising from 10 lire to 2 lire. In 1896, 2,389,567 lire were lent on the security of 208,040 articles.

The *Monti di Pietà di Paschi* has united with its lending on pawned articles a large credit business, with savings bank and other branches.

In 1897 the Minister of Agriculture made an investigation of the

condition of the *Monti di pietà.* From this inquiry it was found that at the end of 1896 there were in Italy 555 such institutions with a capital of 169,376,799 lire, or, deducting obligations, 71,986,698 lire.[1]

Savings Banks.—The government has a method of promoting the collection of small amounts in connection with the Postoffice Department. Teachers of schools and agents of societies for mutual benefit can deposit these savings with expense for fees, and the government pays interest on the deposits. The lowest sum which is received is 5c. (1 cent). Directors of schools inscribe the amounts deposited in little books and in a record and represent the pupils with the postal authorities.[2]

The postal savings banks were established in 1876 by virtue of the law of March 27, 1875. In 1895 they numbered 4,777, had issued 2,938,402 books, and had deposits to the value of 462,413,311 lire. On December 31, 1899, there were 3,664,618 books credited with 628,000,000 lire of deposits.

There are also ordinary savings banks which are regulated by the law of July 15, 1888, and July 17, 1898, and royal decree of January 21, 1897. They acquire special privileges with incorporation; their statutes must be approved by the government; and they are inspected by agents of the central administration.

In 1895 there were 402 ordinary savings banks, with 1,588,424 books, and deposits of 1,343,720,018 lire. In 1899 there were 1,630,678 books and deposits of 1,430,816,003, and a capital of 200,296,271 lire.

There are also coöperative societies which act as savings banks. These had on December 31, 1898, 297,990 books and 233,841,979 lire deposits.

The ordinary societies of credit also had in 1895 100,570 books and 66,016,667 deposits.

The interest rates paid was in 1886, 3.5 per cent.; in 1899 it had been reduced to 2.88 per cent.

The schools are agencies for extending the use of savings banks; the number of depositors among school children increased from 11,933 in 1876 to 65,062 in 1885, and to 102,832 in 1888. There was a temporary fall to 90,974 in 1890.

[1] Annuario Statistico Italiano, 1900, p. 155.

[2] G. Saredo, Codice della Beneficenza Pubblica, p. 346 ff. Annuario Statis. Ital., 1900, p. 827.

Mutual Benefit Societies.—Legal arrangements are made by law of April 15, 1886, by which workmen may form associations for the purpose of providing help to their members in sickness, infirmity, old age and death. Such associations may become corporations by conforming to the regulations, and the law exempts them from certain fees and taxes, in recognition of their beneficent features. A consulting commission was created by royal decree (July 22, 1894) to consider legislation relating to savings banks and mutual benefit associations. A law of 1896 further regulated the incorporation of societies of workingmen.

There are two classes of mutual benefit societies, those "recognized" and having corporate powers, and those which exist in fact but have no jural rights. In 1895 there were reported in both classes 6,725 societies, of which 6,587 reported a membership of 994,183.[1]

Reformed Prostitutes.[2]—By royal decree of October 21, 1891, the office of public security is required, in case it discovers a woman of ill-repute who wishes to return to an honest life, to give her encouragement. The officer is commanded to bring to her help the service of benevolent associations formed for such rescue work; and the prefects, and other representatives of government are asked to promote the establishment of such societies. Young girls under sixteen years of age may be placed under the supervision of relatives or other suitable guardians.

Societies for Aiding Discharged Prisoners.[3]—In the communes, districts and provinces of the kingdom private citizens are encouraged to take the initiative in giving counsel and assistance to persons who wish to return to honesty and industry after a period of incarceration. The rules of the society must be approved by the Minister of the Interior. Six months before the day of liberation of a convict, who has made a request to be placed under the care of the society, the president designates a member who is to care for him, and from that moment he is permitted to communicate with and visit the person to be liberated, so that he may become acquainted with his condition. The central administration may grant a subsidy in case a society opens an asylum or offers employment to those under its protection, or supports a Bureau of Employment, or assists the fami-

[1] G. Saredo, o. c., p. 340. Ann. Stat. Ital., 1900, p. 830.

[2] *Ibid.*, op. ci., p. 356.

[3] *Ibid.*, o. c., p. 351. C. R. Henderson, Modern Prison Systems, pp. 305-306.

lies of convicts; and the interest on certain funds and the proceeds of certain legacies may be devoted to the same purposes. The society of patronage may accept the responsibility for the conduct of minors entrusted to them, in order to avoid prolonged imprisonment.

The expense of maintaining an aged person in the Pio Albergo Trivulzio, which entertained about 800 people, was about 1 lira per day. If a workman began to contribute 12 lire a year from the time he was 30 years of age he would at 70 have to his credit more than 1,500 lire, which would give him a right to shelter for his remaining days, under the coöperative plan of a savings bank at Bologna.[1]

As early as 1859 the eminent statesman, Cavour, made plans for insuring Italian workmen, but the time was not ripe for carrying them into effect. One is reminded of that other founder of a united nationality, Bismarck, who lived at a moment more favorable for the realization of the idea of national care of its toiling citizens. The Cassa Nazionale is not compulsory but voluntary, and provides for invalidism or old age.[2]

At Verona, in 1901, a Labor Bureau was established with the object of bringing employers and employes together, furnishing information in regard to the demand for labor, a medium of conciliation in case of disputes, a fund for the unemployed, and other means of assistance to laboring men. Both capitalists and laborers were admitted to membership and given representation in administration.[3]

It is claimed that each Italian Parliament has considered some aspect of the conditions and needs of workingmen. As early as 1850 Camillo Cavour offered the draft of a law on pensions for laboring men. But the crowding political events of the following years connected with the unification of Italy absorbed attention and made the plan financially impracticable. Meantime the wage workers and Socialists have come to be a much greater power than in former years, and, with the development of industry, the need of better provision for old age has become greater and more apparent. Charity itself begins to see the meaning of Ricardo's saying, that the best means of helping the poor is to place them in a position where they do not require assistance. Poor-relief necessarily offends against the dignity of human nature, no matter how well it is ad-

[1] Riv. Ben. Pubb., March, 1901, p. 323.
[2] *Ibid.*, March, 1901, p. 314.
[3] *Ibid.*, June 1901, p. 494.

ministered. After long discussion, much conflict of opinion and careful investigations, on March 17, 1898, the Parliament passed the bill, under the leadership of Luigi Luzzatti and Francesco Guicciardini, in favor of men injured at work; and on July 17, 1898, the Cassa Nazionale di Previdenza was established. It was admitted that, without the help of society, subsidies and administrative direction, the multitude of unskilled laborers could not save enough to provide for the absolute necessities of old age and the unfitness for labor which comes with disease and increasing liability to discharge from the workshop. Under the new law, which marks the beginning of a national policy, the state encourages thrift by adding to each man's savings as much as he contributes to the national fund. There were already many mutual benefit societies which kept securely the voluntary deposits of wage earners; but now that the state offers to double these sums, many of the associations have made their members also participators in the advantages of the *Cassa Nazionale.* Both men and women are admitted to these privileges, if wage workers, and receive an old age pension, beginning with the age of 60 years, if they have been contributors for 25 years. But if they have been made incapable of labor through sickness or accident they may receive a pension even before they are 60 years of age, if they have been subscribers for five years. The rate of pension is determined by the amount one has paid in as premiums; but he may not give more than 100 lire annually nor less than six. The payments must not be less than 50 centesimi monthly. If, indeed, they choose to pay less than six lire in a year they do not secure the additional state subsidy. The capital of the fund is large and growing. Originally the state contributed to it 10,000,000 lire, and continues to pay in the sums arising from certain extraordinary sources of income.[1] The interest is divided among the contributors.

There are two forms of subscriptions: that of *Mutualità* and that of *Contributi riservati.* Under the contract of *Mutualità* the workingman requires that, in case of his death before reaching the age of 60 years, the money paid in by him shall go to pension those who, being on the same list with him, have reached the age of 60 years. Under the contract of *Contributi riservati* the workingman secures

[1] The fund in 1902 was 14,000,000 lire, and, counting other funds devoted to the purpose, 20,000,000 lire. Article by Azio Samarani, Riv. Ben. Pubb., 1902, pp. 75-87.

a pension for surviving wife, minor children, parents or grandparents, if he dies before his own claim is valid. Carefully itemized accounts are kept with each subscriber. While the calculations vary with circumstances an approximately correct statement of benefits would be: A workingman who begins to subscribe at 20 years of age and pays 6 lire annually in the list of *Mutualità,* at 60 years of age will receive about 180 lire per year; by paying 12 lire annually he will secure a pension of 260 lire, and by paying 18 lire will secure a pension of 350 lire. On the plan of *Contributi riservati* the pensions will be, respectively, 150, 208, and 265 lire. In a private company the workingman would have to pay in 40 years 1,000 lire to secure a pension of 85 lire, and the security would be inferior to that of the state. Thus it is possible for the workingman to look forward to a serene old age, undismayed by the prospect of the humiliation and disgrace of dependence on charity, and of hearing his own children pray that he may die so that there will be one less mouth to feed.

But the system is voluntary, as distinguished from the compulsory system of the German Empire, and it remains to be seen whether the laborers of Italy, especially the poorest who need it most, can be induced to make use of the system. Perhaps it is too early to form an opinion; but at present the outlook is not very bright. In 1903 a very small number had inscribed their names, only about 20,000 persons. Private persons join with the government in persuading wage earners to become subscribers to the fund. Registration is made without a fee, and payments may be made at any postoffice or local office of the fund.[1]

Factory Laws.—A law regulating the labor of children and women was approved by the Chamber of Deputies March 23, 1902. Children under 12 years of age may not be employed in factories. In certain unwholesome and dangerous occupations the minimum age is 15 years, and a medical certificate is required showing that such persons are able to do the work. Night work is forbidden in the case of persons under 15 years, and women are hereafter to be kept from night work. Fines collected for violations of the law are paid over to the old age pension fund.

[1] References on old age pensions and accident insurance: Bolton King, Italy of To-Day, p. 216 ff. Report of Industrial Commission, Vol. XVI. Rivisti Ben. Pubb., March, 1903, p. 210; Jan., 1901, p. 60-63; 1902, p. 498 ff.

Housing.—An exhibit was presented at the Exposition at Paris, in 1900, by the Committee on Houses for the Poor at Florence, which was established in 1885 and opened a lodging house for needy persons without distinction of nationality or creed. In 1886-7 they cared for 15,760 persons, of whom 257 were foreigners. In 1887-8 they entertained 16,002 persons, 335 of whom were strangers. Since then the committee has built 6 houses for the poor, with 3 apartments in each; each apartment has 2 to 4 rooms, with bath and water closet in each apartment. These apartments are rented by the week or month, and contain 176 families with 901 persons. The capital is 540,000 lire in real estate. Its principal revenues come from annual sales and festivals of charity. This may be taken as an example of the movement which attracts wide interest in Italian cities.

CHAPTER XI.

BELGIUM

BY EBEN MUMFORD, A. B.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.—The poor laws of Belgium, at first based upon the German system, were supplanted by the French laws during the connection of Belgium with France. But the French system was not in harmony with the spirit of the people of Belgium, and with the separation from France there began a movement directed toward the former system.

The first step in the reorganization was the reinstatement of the law of 1818, relating to settlement. It provided for relief in the commune in which the person was located at the time and if it happened that this commune was not the legal settlement of the person, then the commune in which relief had been given was entitled to recompense from the proper commune. The law also lengthened the time for gaining a settlement to four years. A provision in the law of 1825 charged the communes with the cost of the maintenance of vagrants in the almshouses, with a reservation making it the duty of the state to share the expense.

After the separation from Holland, the system of equalization was taken up again. It related to children and provided that one-half the expense of the maintenance of foundlings, abandoned children and orphans whose parents are unknown should be defrayed by the communes in which they were exposed, abandoned or found, and that the other half of the expense should be borne by the provinces.

The law of 1836 contained two provisions relating to equalization. The first provided that the expense of the care of the insane poor as well as the poor in almshouses should be defrayed by the communes. The second provided that the communes should defray the expense of the care of children and of the deaf mutes with the reservation that the state or provinces should

grant assistance in case the regular services of the communes were inadequate.

In 1845 the period for gaining a legal settlement was raised to eight years. The objection was made that the former period had given rise to many arbitrary arrangements of the burden of relief. However, the reform did not bring any permanent solution. Complaints arose in regard to the severity of the application of a law for such a long period and also from the heavy burdens which it placed upon the communes.

After many changes, the law brought about a condition that may be called a codification of the laws up to this time. It included the following subjects: (1) The place of settlement; (2) methods of relief; (3) the duty of the communes in relation to the provinces and the state as well as plans for the establishment of an equalization of the burden of relief and the treatment of difficulties relating to it.

By the law of 1876, the obligation of the communes to lend pecuniary assistance to the hospitals,[1] and bureaus of charity in case of the inadequacy of income of the last two was extended to include all kinds of public charity. The law of 1876, also, provided for relief in the communes where need for it occurred, in case it was urgent; the commune which gave aid being entitled, however, to remuneration from the commune in which the individual had his legal settlement. But his commune could demand that he be sent home if his condition would permit or if he was not receiving special treatment in hospital or other institution. The legal settlement upon which the title to relief depends is, first of all, in the commune in which the person is born. By the terms of the law of 1876 the time for acquiring a new settlement was five years.

The law of 1891 related to public relief, medical relief and the repression of vagrancy and beggary. The judgment as to the efficacy of the law varied greatly and only the part concerned with vagrancy and beggary received wide support. The legislation of 1891 does not abandon the basis of optional poor-relief on which it has always stood. In accordance with this law, the hospitals and bureaus of charity defray the expenses of poor-relief as far as possible. However, there was a noticeable tend-

[1] Very nearly equivalent to our English "home" or asylum.

ency toward public poor-relief in two directions:[1] (*a*) the obligation of the communes to make the required contributions in case of the inadequacy of the means of the hospitals and bureaus of charity; (*b*) in case of the incapacity of the communes, the larger divisions of the state must share the expenses. The division of the expenses of charity was upon the principle that the place of settlement should assist though in a limited manner in comparison with the German system. The commune in which the individual became indigent was under obligation to give him aid but in case it was not his legal settlement, it could demand his transference if the condition of his health permitted. The commune had a right to recompense for the outlay incurred in aid only for the following cases: (1) orphan children under sixteen; (2) persons over seventy; (3) those received and cared for in the hospitals. Foreigners were given aid in the communes in which need for it occurred, but the communes had the right of recompense from the state.

The system by which the larger divisions of the state shared in the burden of charity was built up comparatively early in Belgium as in France. By the law of 1891, the earlier system of the common funds was retained and to it was assigned the expense of the care of the insane, the deaf and dumb and the blind. To these funds the state and the provinces each contribute one-fourth and the communes one-half. However, the hospitals and bureaus of charity share in the contribution of the communes if they are able.

In 1891, the period for acquiring settlement was changed to three years. The law of 1891 made it the duty of the commune to provide medical service for the poor, either by the establishment of hospital service in the institutions for the poor or by an agreement with hospitals or private institutions. The law of 1891 concerning the suppression of begging and vagrancy, belonging in part to the province of criminal law, was chiefly with

[1] Perhaps a clearer expression would be "toward pecuniary assistance on the part of the communes, provinces and state." The relief offered by the hospitals and bureaus of charity referred to here was not private charity in our sense, but a sort of semi-public charity, the financial support coming from (optional) endowments, but the organizations were under the control of the government, and the aid was obligatory.

reference to adults able to work and to the compulsory education of youth. The government was required to establish three kinds of institutions, known as institutions of correction. They were: (1 workhouses (*dépôts de mendicité*); (2) houses of refuge (*maisons de refuge*); (3) schools of charity (*écoles de bienfaisance*). The first were for those adults able to work but dissolute and lazy, the last were for neglected young people, while the houses of refuge furnished a sort of intermediary form between the workhouse and the poorhouse, that is to say a home for those who were compelled to beg on account of age, sickness or other cause of inability to work. It is in relation to these institutions that the principle of having the larger divisions of the state share in the expense of caring for the poor is especially brought out, the expense of maintaining these institutions being divided equally by the state, provinces and communes.

Conditions Confronting the Commission of 1895 and Its Method of Procedure. — We have seen that of the new laws enacted in 1891—that is in regard to public assistance, medical relief, and the repression of vagrancy and beggary—only the last was in some measure satisfactory and that the attempt to carry them into practical effect left much to be desired. For this reason a commission was appointed in 1895 for the purpose of considering methods of reforming these laws. This commission held several meetings from February, 1897, to April, 1900, and in the course of the year 1900 submitted a report to the Minister of Justice, which treated of the entire charity system and of the means for its amelioration. The treatment of the problems submitted was upon the basis of the latest results of science and its application both in Belgium and in other countries. The report both in form and content was much superior to the usual parliamentary report and may be considered as a compendium of charity methods which in many respects is to be strongly recommended to the closer study of charity workers. The author of the report is Cyr. Van Overbergh, director-general of higher instruction in science and letters. The president of the commission was the Duke of Ursel; the total membership was twenty-four. The report shows a very liberal and broad comprehension of the subject and of the social needs of Belgium, and it is free from political and religious prejudice.

The problem as it presented itself to the commission was not to make a *tabula rasa* of the past and to attempt to construct some kind of an ideal system for the future. It saw the many faulty elements in the existing system, but realized also that it was the result of a slow growth with relation to the historical needs of the country and that if the work of the commission was to have any practical value, it must have its foundation in this development of the past. The deliberations of the commission as set forth in the report show a constant desire to maintain a proper equilibrium between the existing system and the proposed innovations, and the experience of other countries is always considered with reference to the customs and traditions of Belgium.

The condition confronting the commission was that of a semi-public charity system, which, as in France, was carried on by means of hospitals and local bureaus of charity—semi-public in so far as aid was obligatory within the limits of the means at hand, and in that the communes, provinces, and state were under legal obligations to give assistance. There was also a law of settlement for adjustment of the expense of relief among the different communes, according to which, however, the duty of refunding or compensation was very limited in comparison with the German law of settlement. The principal part of the law was retained, but it was extended to include abandoned children under sixteen years of age, criminals and incurables.

The law relating to the common funds was also retained. These funds serve as a means of equalization among the communes of the cost of poor-relief or as a general fund for aiding the local and intercommunal commissions when it is established that the poor tax of the communes is inadequate to meet the demands imposed upon it. It is made up by special subscriptions, by the balance left over from charity administration, by help from the state, and by a special property tax used as a poor tax.

Statistics.—The commission attempted to get statistical information from every available source in regard to the number and classes of indigent, the methods of relief and the development in the results of charity efforts. The report showed the inadequacy of the statistical resources and one of the first recommendations of the commission was for a complete reorganiza-

tion of the statistical service concerning the indigent. The lines along which the recommendations proceeded were as follows: A clear definition and classification of the indigent together with the construction of tables for securing information upon all particulars relating to their condition and care. These tables are to be filled out by the various charity organizations in order that information may be secured as to the moral and material situation of the poor, their number, the quantity and quality of relief given, the part contributed by each of the social forces concurring in the alleviation of poverty, and the work of both private and public charity. In order to secure such statistics the commission recommended the establishment of a committee of information comprising members of both private and public charity organizations with a legal personality so that they might be required to furnish the desired information.

From 1828 to 1850, the population increased 33 per cent. and the number of indigent increased 53 per cent. There was, also, a corresponding increase in the number of inmates of the workhouses. But it should be noted that in this period there were two great economic crises, the one in 1836-37, and the other in 1847-48, which accounted in part for the increase in poverty.

The statistics of the indigent, taken by the administrative authorities at the request of the commission, give the most reliable information available at the time of the publication of the report. In order to average the transient disturbing influences, the period for which the statistics were taken was extended from 1890 to 1894. The report included the following classes: (*a*) Those over seventy; (*b*) aged and infirm unable to provide for themselves by work; (*c*) orphans; (*d*) those receiving permanent help; (*e*) those helped during a part of the year; (*f*) those injured while working. The report showed that there was one indigent person for every 14.4 inhabitants, while in 1850 the proportion was as 1 : 5. During this period there was an increase of 50 per cent. in the population and a decrease of 50 per cent. in those receiving the aid of charity. This condition may be compared to that of England and France. In France it was as follows:

1847	3.7	per	100	inhabitants
1871	4.4	"	"	"
1886	4.7	"	"	"

In England:

1849	1 indigent	for	every	16	inhabitants
1850-1859	1 "	"	"	20.4	"
1860-1870	1 "	"	"	21.7	"
1870-1880	1 "	"	"	27.5	"
1880-1890	1 "	"	"	36.0	"

Although the actual proportion between the population and the number receiving aid is much larger in Belgium than in France or England, yet it is evident that the progress in Belgium has been much more considerable. The causes of this improvement were, in part, the marvelous development of private charity and the amelioration of the economic situation and of the methods of public relief.

B. Administration.—The fact that the condition up to this time, apart from the law concerning vagrants, had not been satisfactory was not due entirely to the existing laws, but also to the system of administration. The commission considered three possible systems of administration: (1) the complete centralization of the care of the poor under the authority of the state; (2) decentralization through the assignment of poor-relief to the communes; (3) a mixed system by which the communes incapable of performing their charity obligations would be united with other like communes. The first, often discussed by reformers of charity systems, seemed to the commission to be open to certain fundamental objections making it undesirable. While it has the apparent advantage of a complete equalization of the relationships between rich and poor communes, it has the disadvantage of a much more grievous want in local feeling and sympathy for the needs of the poor. It would, also, result finally in the establishment of a complex system of bureaucratic machinery which the report characterized as "uniform, invariable, indifferent, cold, and pitiless." In this connection the Austrian law of 1893 was called to mind and the movement that was directed against it. Consequently, it was decided to retain the communes as the bearers of the local charity work but also to add the new factor of the intercommunal organizations which makes it possible for several communes to unite in one charity association in the same sense as the German charity law permits the united charity organizations.

One of the chief evils in the system of charity organization at that time was in the lack of reciprocity and unity between the two systems of administration of the civil asylums and the bureaus of charity. Under the old system of administration, outdoor relief was assigned to the bureaus of charity or charity boards, and indoor relief to the civil asylums, the two being under separate forms of administration. In order to prevent the conflicts and duplications arising from this lack of unity as well as to prevent the arbitrarily increased cost of administration and the want of reciprocal feeling between the two systems, the commission recommended the establishment of a unified system of administration under the name of the Commission of Assistance (*Commission d'Assistance*) which should take the place of the Commission of Civil Asylums, and that of the Bureau of Charity. With the exception of rights and appropriation of property legally established, there was a complete fusion of the patrimonies of the civil asylums and the bureaus of charity. This unification of the administrative system also makes possible an oversight of the work of the *hôpitaux* and *hospices*,[1] of which at the time of the publication of the report, there were 452 with room for 30,967 persons. These institutions are very unevenly distributed over the country.

Only those communes are to be free from the obligation to form a common organization with other communes whose charity organization, whether with or without the help of the commune, has sufficient income to perform the required duties. In such cases there is a local commission endowed with a legal personality, which has full charge of the care of the indigent in the commune.

The number of the weaker communes constituting one organization cannot exceed ten. The organization is formed by royal decree, the inspectors of public assistance, and the permanent deputation. Its administration is under the control of an intercommunal commission composed of representatives from the respective communes. This commission, also, possesses a legal

[1] With regard to the hospitals, it may be noted that the Belgian terminology makes a distinction between *hospices* and *hopitaux*. A variety of the former are the so-called *hospices fermes*, that is, the hospitals connected with the cultivation of the soil, where the poor, so far as their strength permits, work on the farm.

personality and can acquire property. Each commune, however, retains certain kinds of property, as, for example, gifts and property received by testament. One-half of the expenses of the organization exceeding its regular resources is levied on the basis of the population and the other half in proportion to the poor taxes, out of which the common funds are supplied. The organization is also granted certain privileges, as the erection of a house of refuge or the establishment of a school of charity. In other respects the organization and functions of the intercommunal associations are similar to those of the local organizations of the separate communes as given below.

The local or intercommunal commissions can unite into legalized associations in order to fulfill better the special ends of charity such as those involved in hospital care or assistance through securing work. The local branches in the system of administration organized under the Commission of Assistance are composed of five members in communes with less than 5,000 inhabitants, six in communes having from 5,000 to 15,000 inhabitants, eight in communes of from 15,000 to 50,000 inhabitants, and ten in communes with more than 50,000 inhabitants. These local branches cannot be composed of a majority of aldermen, and the mayor cannot be a member, though he is authorized to call meetings and to act as chairman, having only an advisory vote. The mayor and aldermen are called upon to superintend the work of the commission. It must include in its membership a clergyman, an alderman and a laborer. With reference to this innovation in regard to the labor member, a precedent for which is found in no other country, the report gives the following: "The presence of a laborer on the commission will result in securing the confidence of the laboring classes, that element of the population having most need of aid. Too often at present there exists distrust and suspicion among the poor in relation to charity work. Nothing can more effectually remove this prejudice and grievance than the presence of laborers on the commission, who may take part in the discussion and have a voice in the control of the proceedings. In addition the laborers will be able to explain to the commission the needs of the poor and also whatever abuse of their privileges there may be. The position as a member of the commission is an honorary one, no salary

attaching to it. Only in the case of the labor member is the noteworthy exception made, to the effect that he can claim recompense for the time given the commission if his employer deducts from his wages because of his absence."

Equally noteworthy is the admission of women to charity work with equal rights and duties. There were some members of the commission who regarded the innovation as dangerous, as contrary to law and custom, and they feared evil to administration on account of it since they claimed that women were not prepared by training for this kind of work. The majority, however, favored the admission of women and pointed out that they had played the most important rôle in all charity undertakings and had often demonstrated their especial ability for this kind of work. *"Les vertus hospitalières et consolatrices sont dans le caractère de la femme."* Each commission of assistance appoints a treasurer who cannot be a member of the commission but may receive compensation for his work. They also appoint a secretary who, when a member of the commission, receives no compensation, only his expenses being paid; but if he is not a member of the commission he may receive a salary. Neither the treasurer nor the secretary can be a tavern-keeper or a retail shop-keeper.

The budget of each local commission is made up yearly and must be ratified by the Common Council and the Standing Deputation, or government officials, who examine all the budgets of the communes. In case the commission refuses to provide for the obligatory expenditure, the Standing Deputation, after giving the commission a hearing, can compel the placing of the proper amount in the budget. In other respects the budget of the commune is completely separated from that for the care of the poor.

Above all these organizations the commission provided for a system of Central Inspection, and a Superior Council of Public Relief. The inspectors are appointed by the King, at least one for each province. Each inspector superintends the service of public relief in his jurisdiction. The service of inspection at the time the report was made was under the control of the general director of the charity organizations and was limited to certain institutions. But the report extends the duty of the inspectors

over the entire charity service and they are to work toward the application of sound principles of charity. The report gives the following in regard to their work: "We are firmly convinced that a staff of active and attentive inspectors, who are conscious of the importance of their task and duties will be competent in a few years to change completely the entire outlook of our charity system."

The Superior Council of Public Assistance is composed of five lawyers, two senators, two members of the House of Deputies, the Director-General of Public Charity, and ten members appointed by the King. This council is associated with the ministry and concerns itself with all questions of relief. Its functions are completely analogous to those of the French Superior Council. It studies and examines all questions referred to it by the Minister and through information obtained from the inspectors acts as an advisory body, making recommendations as to changes or reforms in the relief system.

The commission also expressed the desire that there be established international agreements in the domain of public charity for the reciprocal protection of indigent strangers.

Methods of Relief.—The commission divided the indigent into three classes: (1) those unable to work (children, the aged, sick, weak, defective, etc.); (2) those able to work, but who cannot find the opportunity to work (involuntary indigent); (3) those unwilling to work. To the first class of indigent, or those unable to work, the usual forms of help are granted. However, there is a decided tendency against public outdoor relief. The commission regarded the aid given in homes by public charity as subject to serious inconveniences and to be resorted to only under the most imperious circumstances. Outdoor relief by public charity organizations is to be kept within the narrowest limits, and wherever possible it is to be given over to local private charity. The report speaks of the numerous and glaring misuses of public outdoor relief in all countries and especially in Belgium and of the unsuccessful efforts which have been made to remove these abuses.

The local or intercommunal commissions may, in case of need, encourage the creation of private associations where they do not exist or where their number is insufficient, and, in case of neces-

sity, they may grant them subsidies. If there is a lack of private associations presenting the proper guarantees, the local or intercommunal commissions must take it upon themselves to organize assistance in the homes. They may organize methods of relief in families or special institutions and may take indigent persons from an institution where they are not properly treated and place them in another institution. They may also adopt the régime of the private family in the charity institutions. Each commission must have at its disposal a quarantine hospital for purposes of isolation.

C. Private Charity. — The treatment accorded to private charity by the commission was in harmony with the most advanced position of scientific investigation and practical experience. The extent of private charity in Belgium is very great, providing for at least one-half of the indigence of the country. There is a large number of private associations, religious and secular, and many old and very large endowments for their work. In more recent times private charity has been very active, the expenditures in this direction in the last ten years amounting to almost thirty million francs, the greater portion of which was spent in the large cities. In addition to a recognition of the extent of private charity, the commission also recognized its greater flexibility and power of adaptability to the new forms of misery arising under changing social conditions when compared to the more inflexible forms of public charity. Whenever possible outdoor relief is assigned to private charity. The nature of the help given includes in the first place, lodging, food, clothing, fuel, light, hygienical and medical care, funeral expenses, etc., and in the second place aid in money or in titles to the acquisition of either material or immaterial aid.

E. Co-operation of Public and Private Charity.—One of the chief problems which occupied the attention of the commission was the consideration of the means for the establishment of coherent and fruitful relations between the various branches of public and private charity. The methods adopted for this purpose in England and France were discussed with reference to their bearing upon the condition in Belgium. In the first place it was pointed out that though the system of public charity should be brought to a high state of development, the charity

efforts would still be only half organized since, as we have seen, at least one-half of the charity work is performed by private charity. Both the strong and the weak points in the private charity system were discussed. The commission recognized that if it considered it a duty of private initiative to assist in the alleviation of poverty, then it was also the duty of the state to encourage private charity in every possible way and especially by granting its organizations a legal personality and public subsidies. Previous to this time, lack of knowledge of the work of private charity and political antagonisms had prevented the legal recognition of private charity organizations and, although the commission was divided on the question of granting a legal personality to these organizations, the majority decided that they should act as persons and so have the same right to be endowed with a legal personality as have the commercial organizations. A legal personality is conferred upon every association which fulfills the following conditions, fixed by law: Smallest possible number of members, possession of a constitution, publication annually of its accounts, name and location of the association to be designated in the constitution as well as its particular end and the special class of work it intends to do. In addition to this, each association shall permit inspection of its work and at stated times give any information that may be useful for the promotion of charity work. This innovation called forth a lively discussion in the commission, which dealt largely with the well-known arguments in regard to the surveillance of private charity. The majority saw in the obligation to impart information a preparation for a national organization of private charity. The commission considered this provision so important that they stated explicitly in Art. 87 that it would be desirable to have a joint central committee of information in each local administrative division which should include all private and public charity associations. In this way the Commission would attempt to coördinate all branches of charity activity and through a wider and more accurate knowledge of the conditions of the indigent to make a more economical and effective use of the resources of private and public relief.

G. The Treatment of Vagrants and Beggars.—As we have seen in the historical introduction, of the three laws of 1891, the

one relating to the suppression of vagrancy and beggary has given most satisfaction. It has been brought into connection with the charity system because it is concerned with persons, who, on account of lack of other means of support, justly or unjustly, have claimed a right to help from the charity organizations. This claim has been just on the part of those unable to work, but another class able to work but refusing to do so have misused the institutions of charity. This law, therefore, treats of a matter which belongs in part to the province of criminal law. However, a similar condition is found in the legislation of other countries. That which characterizes the Belgian law is the conscious purpose to strike as hard as possible at the habitual vagrants and beggars, to make harmless, so far as it can, these parasites of human society, and on the other hand to help back again to normal conditions those who have been the victims of unfortunate circumstances. Here, then, is taken a position similar to that on which the introduction of conditional sentence is based, with which Belgium has made such a notable beginning.

By this law it is the duty of the government to establish three kinds of institutions, which are included under the name of institutions of correction. They are: (*a*) workhouses; (*b*) refuges; (*c*) schools of charity.

The workhouses are exclusively for persons able to work but who, instead of gaining their livelihood by work, make a business of begging, and for those who in consequence of idleness and immorality live as vagrants. These persons are brought before a magistrate and assigned by him to the government for imprisonment for a period from two to seven years.

The refuges are a sort of intermediary form between the poorhouses and workhouses and are a home for those who through age, sickness, and other causes of inability to work are forced to beg. A person in such circumstances who is found begging can be brought before a magistrate and then assigned to the Board of Management for a period of one to seven years. Also persons who, on account of indigence, have voluntarily reported themselves to the commune can be placed in these institutions.

The Schools of Charity are only in part what their name indicates, *i. e.*, in so far as the youth under eighteen years of age are assigned to them through the commune. Otherwise they are for

the youth who on account of begging, vagrancy or other misdemeanors are given over to the Board of Management. In general they may be designated as compulsory training schools.

The expense of supporting the inmates of the workhouses and the houses of refuge is defrayed by the state and provinces, each one-third, and the other third by the commune to which the individual belongs. In case the individual has no legal settlement, the expense falls to the province. If it relates to the inmates of the workhouses, the costs are defrayed out of the treasury of the commune concerned, while in case of inmates of the refuges contributions are received from the hospitals and bureaus of charity. The state and the communes bear the cost of the support of the schools of charity except in cases where there is no legal settlement and then provinces assume the share of the communes.

This law was supplemented by the royal decree of 1895 which relates to the principles by which work in the institutions is regulated. These are, in substance, as follows: All able-bodied persons are required to work and must be employed so far as practicable on the kind of work to which they have been accustomed. In order to prevent injury to private industries they are employed as far as possible in the construction of objects necessary to the institutions under the control of the government. The institutions have over 1,200 hectares of land at their disposal.

Compensation so far as possible is in proportion to the amount of work done, a deduction being made proportionate to the cost of maintenance of the individual. The wages for work in the workhouses and refuges, fixed by the minister, vary according to the classification of the inmates which is on the basis of their conduct. In the refuges they range from 24 to 71 centimes in the first class, from 21 to 60 in the second, and from 9 to 27 in the third. The wages in the workhouses are very small, amounting in the highest class to from 15 to 25 centimes. Those unable to work receive an allowance of 6 centimes. The inmates in both classes of institutions are allowed one-third of their wages for their support, while two-thirds is reserved till the time of their discharge. If the total is under five francs it is raised to that amount by the management in case of good conduct.

The principal difficulty in carrying out the law, in other respects, lies in the individualization of the different cases. Infor-

mation is sought in regard to the character of the former life, the nature of the punishment, home relations, etc., and this is taken into consideration in fixing the period of detention. Besides a patronage committee for both institutions has been formed at Wortel and Merxplas whose members help the inmates to secure work and also in other ways.

H. Medical Relief.—The local and intercommunal commissions fix the number of physicians in such a manner as to assure to the indigent the liberty of choice. The report contains very noteworthy remarks concerning the questions over which there has been so much discussion in Germany. It cites the example of the small city of Hasselt with 15,000 inhabitants where the experiment of choosing the physicians was adopted with the result that a much greater demand was made for medical care, and, also, that many more physicians were appointed. Consequently the rate for these appointments was lowered 10 centimes (the pay having been 50 centimes for each visit), which limited the movement somewhat. The report considers the example of Hasselt valuable and worthy of imitation but states that it could be followed with safety only in small towns where control is easy and abuses can soon be discovered. In the large cities the number of physicians is so great and they are so widely separated as to make superintendence impossible. The system of an absolutely free choice of a physician is, therefore, not considered feasible. Certain limitations depending upon the character of the district, are required.

In case the local or intercommunal commissions do not have a properly organized system of medical aid, the permanent Deputation has a right to fix the amount necessary for medical, obstetrical, and pharmaceutical service.

The local and intercommunal commissions are prohibited from making contracts with apothecaries who grant reductions in drugs. The King is empowered, with the advice of the medical commissions, to fix the rate below which the authorized pharmacists and physicians can not furnish medicines and other pharmaceutical materials to the local and intercommunal commissions.

J. Deaf Mutes and Blind.—The first institute was opened at Tournay in 1793, but soon closed on account of national trou-

bles. In 1819 a school was opened at Lüttich. There are 12 separate schools for deaf boys and girls. Children are received at 6 years and discharged at 20 or 21. In almost all Belgian institutions the blind and deaf are taught in the same schools. This is not because the modes of instruction are alike, but because it is felt they need similar protection. Pupils are everywhere trained to handwork, and this form of instruction begins with the 13th year.

There are four asylums for poor adult deaf women at Brussels, Bruges, Ghent, Namur. There are also societies of the deaf for mutual help. In 1900 there were 12 schools, 926 deaf pupils, 139 teachers. There were 3,500 deaf mutes in a population of 6,700,000. After the age of 65 years each dependent deaf person receives a pension of 65 francs annually from the state.

Family Care of the Insane at Gheel.—It is well understood that the insane of certain types are much more comfortably and economically cared for if permitted to live a normal life in a family, with the freedom and familiarity of rural surroundings and occupations. But all the insane need careful supervision and therefore they must not be scattered over too wide an area. Since the beginning of the seventh century, when there was a resort for pilgrims at a saint's shrine, there has been a colony for the insane at Gheel. Early in the nineteenth century this colony was brought under improved regulations and its usefulness extended. The insane, carefully selected from harmless cases, are placed in families and share their life, their pleasures and their labors. They have no distinctive dress or badge. Medical supervision is constant and alert, but not obtrusive. A hospital for the care of the sick and the disturbed is at hand. In 1884 the colony of Lierneux was established for Walloons, as that of Gheel is for Flemings. The expense is paid in part by the province and in part by the state. The daily cost of maintenance at Lierneux is about 1 fr. 40. The insane who have means pay a minimum annual sum of 511 francs. In 1899 the colony of Gheel had 1,954 insane, of whom 1,035 were men and 919 women. Since 1875 the colony has treated 7,762 patients, and 1,256 of these were either cured or greatly improved in health, a ratio of 16.5 per cent. The daily cost at Gheel is 0 fr. .85 for healthy insane and 0 fr. .99 to 1 fr. .25 for disturbed cases.[1]

[1] Rapports Exposition Universelle internationale de 1900, p. 438, Classe 112.

K. Children.—The law of 1895 relating to primary instruction was retained by the commission. This makes it the duty of the commune to see that children not attending the private schools and having the right of free instruction receive this instruction either in a communal school or in an authorized school. The children having a right to free instruction are those in communes with less than 5,000 inhabitants who pay to the use of the state in any way less than 10 francs; in communes of 5,000 to 20,000 inhabitants, less than 15 francs; in those over 20,000 inhabitants, less than 30 francs. The communal council each year prepares a list of children who in accordance with these provisions have a right to free instruction and also the remuneration due to the instructors of the communal and authorized schools. This list as well as the quota of remuneration is submitted to the permanent Deputation for approval. The permanent Deputation determines the part which devolves upon the local and intercommunal commissions in the expense of education of children having the right to free instruction. The part assigned to each commission is placed in its budget and must be divided between the communal schools, the authorized schools and the eligible schools, in proportion to the number of children having the right of free instruction.

M. Preventive Work.—The commission mentioned above announced that hereafter the policy of preventive charity would be closely adhered to and very strongly emphasized.

The local and intercommunal commissions are urged to encourage the organization of industrial schools and schools of domestic economy and in case of need they may subsidize them.

In regard to the second class, or involuntarily idle, the commission considered the assistance given in procuring work as superior to all other forms of aid. It has recently been taken up to a very great extent. The administrative authority is not only urged to pursue this course, but is held responsible for the creation of employment offices or for acquainting itself with the institutions already devoted to this work.

The commission also considered the help given in providing sanitary dwellings for a reasonable rent as very important and adapted to a solution, in part, of the dwelling house problem. "When," as the report states, "the poor receive sanitary dwell-

ings at a reasonable price, they will not only maintain their self-respect by paying the rent themselves, but also, they will not be at the mercy of the landlords in the laboring districts, who often charge exorbitant prices for their unsanitary houses." The problem of providing houses to rent to the poor is under the control of the local and intercommunal commissions.

The report of the commission recommended very strongly the establishment of a general system of workingmen's insurance against accidents, sickness, non-employment, old age and invalidity, similar to that of Germany. On this point the commission was unanimous and took special steps to draw the attention of the government to this need. They pointed out that unless there was an adequate system of social insurance to cope with the risks which menace the working classes public and private charity would be overburdened in their efforts to deal with pauperism.

There were already in existence five classes of institutions for the insurance of workingmen against either accidents, sickness, or old age and invalidity, viz.: (1) The National Savings and Old Age Pensions Bank (*caisse Générale d'Epargne et de Retraite*); (2) the special Miners' Insurance Funds (*Caisses de Prévoyance en Faveur des Ouvriers Mineurs*); (3) the National Aid Societies (*Sociétés de Secours Mutuels*); (4) the National Bank for the Assistance of Workingmen Injured by Accidents (*Caisse de Prévoyance et de Secours en Faveur des Victims des Accidents du Travail*), and (5) Insurance funds organized by the large employers of labor for the benefit of their employes. Of these, the second class furnished an excellent precedent to the Belgian people of the kind of workingmen's insurance that would be desirable for other industries. It had been in successful operation for fifty years, providing insurance for all miners "with the creation of no expensive bureaucratic system, with an extremely low cost of administration, and with a remarkable absence of friction."[1] Under this system of miners' insurance, the country is divided into six districts, "in each of which has been created a central institution for the insurance of miners against accidents, and, to a limited extent, their insurance against old age and invalidity; and secondly, the creation of a special insurance

[1] Willoughby, Workingmen's Insurance.

fund by each mining company for sick insurance. Each miner is, therefore, insured in two funds; against accidents in a central fund, and against sickness in the particular fund of his establishment."[1]

Only comparatively recently has the modern movement for a general system of workingmen's insurance, either compulsory or voluntary, gained attention. In 1890 and again in 1891, bills were introduced providing for the compulsory insurance of all workingmen against accident, but owing to the preoccupation of the country at the time with the question of constitutional revision, these propositions were not carefully considered. However, in 1896 the Parliament took up the question in a more earnest manner. Bills were introduced looking toward the adoption of a more general system of workingmen's insurance than had hitherto prevailed.

While the commission was unanimous and insistent upon the establishment of a general system of workingmen's insurance, it was not in harmony with the view of the *Parti ouvrier,* which desired to transform the organizations of public charity into a system of insurance against accidents, sickness, non-employment, old age and death. The commission did not think that the patrimony of the poor, embodied in the charity organizations, should be used to pay the premiums of social insurance. In case of accidents, the commission considered it the duty of the industry concerned to defray the larger part of the expense of insurance; in case of sickness that the expense should be borne by employers, employes, and society; that the same principle should be applied to the other risks, save, perhaps, old age, when in case of insufficient resources, the local commissions might be called upon to pay part of the premiums.

The commission decided that it should be the policy of the local charity organizations to encourage every appropriate method for the prevention of pauperism, and, in case of need, to take the initiative in the organization of insurance institutions. To this end the charity organizations are to have the power to subsidize individuals and institutions.

Aid for Discharged Prisoners and Their Families.—The societies of patronage, of which there are twenty-nine, attempt to

[1] Willoughby, Workingmen's Insurance.

bring about a permanent moral reform of discharged prisoners "by maintaining or restoring relations with families, procuring assistance that may be needed, and standing by them . . . in order to enable them to enter into free life and secure employment, or, if this is impossible, to assist them to emigrate."

PART III

CHAPTER XII

RUSSIA

BY HANNAH B. CLARK, PH. D.

The vastness of Russia's territory and population would of itself make it difficult to gain a comprehensive view of the nation's charities, even if the people were not, as they are, made up of many different races, living under different conditions, preserving their native customs and institutions, having different forms of local government, and representing different degrees of culture. A brief presentation of the subject must necessarily be inadequate and for that reason inaccurate at many points. Descriptions which are true for one section of the country and one group of people may be quite inapplicable to another, and generalizations become dangerous. It is often impossible to draw conclusions from facts relating to such a diversity of conditions and it is difficult to coördinate the information given in public and private reports. These are published at irregular intervals and show no uniformity in dates, form or use of terms, so that they are generally useless for purposes of comparison. The statistics of authorities often present hopeless contradictions because they use the same general terms to cover different groups of organizations and fail to state closely what localities are referred to. Nearly all statistics regarding the numbers of special classes, such as the blind, are merely estimates and are useful only as suggestions. As the nation is amorphous and socially diversified, illustrating in its civilization the extremes of barbarism, mediaevalism, and the highest modern culture in close juxtaposition, so is public and private charity without plan or uniformity; "its character," says Bravudo, "is wholly occasional."

Conscious, organized charity is almost confined to European Russia and to the neighborhood of large cities. While only 12½ per cent. of the population lives in cities, 83 per cent. of the charitable funds is spent on them. The present population is estimated at 135,000,000, 94,000,000 in European Russia. About 5 per cent. of the whole, or some 7,000,000, are reckoned among the needy, of whom the majority are peasants. Russia's industrial development has been so late that a town proletariate is just beginning to be noticed. The problem of poverty is largely the land problem at present—the difficulties of readjustment that have followed the emancipation of the serfs. The peasants have been slow in redeeming their land, partly because they did not at first understand the necessity of doing so and partly because the terms of redemption were too hard. In some regions the allotments have proved too small and in nearly all the methods of agriculture are imperfect, so that there is no reserve supply of food in the frequent times of floods, fires or pestilence. Moreover, the peasant has inherited the habit of dependence on a master, he is very ignorant, he is accused of laziness and he is certainly prone to drunkenness. Through the latter vice he is apt to get hopelessly in debt and lose his cattle and farm implements, so that he is forced to become a hired laborer, or drifts into a city and becomes a professional beggar.

In the Middle Ages mendicity was considered in Russia less as a social evil than as an occasion offered to the rich of doing a religious duty for the good of their souls (*Kapnist*). Almsgiving satisfied the conscience of individuals, but the monasteries developed some hospitals, almshouses and refectories for travellers. The need of discriminating in some way between the deserving poor and the professional beggar was felt as early as the sixteenth century, and in the time of Ivan the Terrible resolutions were approved looking to a plan for separating the real poor and sick and providing almshouses. In 1670 the first attempt at public organization took the form of the "Asylums Building Board." Peter the Great was so impressed with the growing numbers of paupers that he issued a ukase forbidding almsgiving at the door and ordering that vagrants should be cared for in convents under restraint and that the sick should have separate quarters. He himself founded an asylum for the poor and infirm. Catherine II

carried on the work thus begun. She organized in each province bureaus of charity whose function it was to care for: (1) national schools; (2) orphanages; (3) asylums; (4) hospitals for poor lunatics; (5) workhouses; (6) houses of detention for vagrants; (7) hospitals; (8) homes for incurables. She founded in Moscow and St. Petersburg the foundling hospitals which have been so famous, and she enlarged the asylum built by Peter the Great. Under the Empress Marie Feodoravna (1797-1828) all these institutions were enlarged, many schools built and at her death the various charitable organizations numbered 39. The Emperor Nicholas added to the girls' schools and asylums in country districts and built several orphanages after the cholera epidemics of 1830-31, when many children were left homeless and friendless. Succeeding sovereigns have patronized these charities and they now include under the name of "Institutions of the Empress Marie" 683 educational and charitable institutions and societies. No important changes of administration were made from the time of the formation of Bureaus of Charity in 1775 until local self-government was organized in 1864. Then the functions of the bureaus were passed over to the Zemstvos or local assemblies. There was, however, no noticeable activity along charitable lines until about a decade ago: since then the development in methods and extent of work has been very great. The relief furnished is, however, very inadequate still, and it is very unevenly distributed over the country.

A. Russia has no poor law, only special, occasional legislation on phases of public assistance, or separate classes of institutions, and enabling clauses in the fundamental law of local governments. The Senate has explained that Zemstvos and cities have the right to give assistance but are not under obligation to do so; therefore the poor can present no claim. There are also no poor rates. "Public assistance" forms an item in the national budget as well as in local budgets, but there are no special taxes for poor-relief. There is no law of settlement, but in the rural districts at least the community is considered responsible for its own members.

B. Most of the work of public assistance rests with local administrative bodies, under the jurisdiction of the Minister of the Interior. There is, however, no central organization, no uni-

formity of regulations, no system of general reports. To understand the situation it is necessary to have in mind the general forms of local government in European Russia. The country is divided into 50 "governments" or provinces, each with a governor at its head, and these provinces are divided into from 5 to 15 districts. Each district and province has its Zemstvo, or popular assembly. That of the district, presided over by the marshal of the nobility, is elected by the property owners of the district and in turn elects the provincial Zemstvo. The cities have somewhat similar councils presided over by the mayor. The rural units of government are the volosts or cantons, composed of communes, and the mirs, or communes, which number some 30 to 35 families. Both volosts and mirs have their assemblies. They have charge of the aged, orphans and cripples and of such endowed institutions as exist. These are few in number. Most peasant charity takes the form of almsgiving or family care of an unfortunate neighbor. Upon the Zemstvos and city councils rests the care of schools, hospitals, charitable institutions, public granaries and sanitary service. They appoint special committees of charity administration which work in connection with the heads of institutions. In the provinces which have no Zemstvos, the old bureaus of charity continue to act, less efficiently than the Zemstvos.

In addition to the public assistance thus organized under the Minister of the Interior, there are special forms of charitable works under the direction of the Holy Synod, the Minister of Justice, the Minister of Finance, as well as charity schools under the Minister of Instruction, the Minister of War and the Minister of Ways of Communication. In times of public calamity, moreover, as the last great famine, special commissions are formed to direct and unify the work of relief. It is difficult to learn the amount of outdoor relief given by Zemstvos and cities because it is seldom separated from the reports of indoor relief. Münsterberg estimates the proportion of the poor aided outside of institutions as 26 per cent. He does not say how the aid is given nor how much is medical relief, probably a considerable amount. In 1899 Moscow cared for 393,933 people out of institutions, 18,000 of them in their own homes, but again the proportion of medical aid is not stated. The only special form of

help referred to anywhere is in a general report that says some Zemstvos and cities give pecuniary aid to emigrants and to workmen in search of employment. Bureaus of charity seem to give very little outdoor relief.

C. Private charity is not to be distinguished from public by its forms nor even by a greater spirit of originality, as in Western Europe and the United States. It is true that new lines of effort have been opened up at the suggestion of members of the royal family, to whom Russian charity owes much of its development, but many Zemstvos and cities show a higher degree of specialization in charitable organizations, and more modern types than the private associations. Private charity again is marked by neither more nor less division of labor and absence of an impersonal, mechanical spirit than public charity. Many private societies carry on as great a variety of but slightly related departments of work as the Zemstvos and cities, and like these act through committees, so that they seem equally exposed to the evils of bureaucracy. All private organizations must be authorized by the Minister of the Interior and in many cases, as for example, hospitals, are subject to state inspection. The most conspicuous private charities in Russia are those founded or directed by members of the royal family. The Czar has two special cabinets to deal with such matters. The Cabinet of Benevolence grants pensions, provides pecuniary aid, places orphans in schools and supports a special asylum for widows and orphans of meritorious civil servants (Statesman's Handbook). The second cabinet has charge of the "Institutions of the Empress Marie." This carries out the orders of its director-in-chief and the decisions of the "Council of Guardians." The latter body deals with legislation affecting the institutions, with important economic and financial matters and with the extension of the work. This group of organizations is supported by the income from certain banks, from the sale of playing cards and from the tax on tickets to amusements, and by gifts. Of another type are the benevolent associations directed by Councils of Guardians which usually have a member of the royal family at their head. Such a council is "The Curators of Industrial Homes and Workshops" under the direct patronage of the Czarina. These councils are sometimes made up of the holders of certain official positions, some-

times they are named by the patron. They serve to coördinate in some degree the work of groups of societies and institutions. Many benevolent societies are connected with schools and hospitals. They often confine their work to a certain parish and are composed of both men and women. The St. Petersburg "Ladies' Patriotic Society" is one of the oldest societies of women devoted to educational charities. In many cities corporations or guilds of men, the merchants, bourgeois and artisans contribute to charity funds, but they do not seem to organize institutions.

Aside from the "Institutions of the Empress Marie" the most important private body in Russia appears to be the Red Cross Society. This was one of the earliest organized after the signing of the Convention of Geneva, dating back to 1867. In 1899 it reported 549 stations, including hospitals, asylums, dispensaries, 2,344 nurses and over 20,000 members. It has become very popular throughout the country, M. V. Botzianovsky reports, and has stations so distributed, even on remote frontiers, that it can reach any desired position quickly. In all the recent wars it has done efficient service, offering its services to both contending forces. It aids in all epidemics and calamities, floods, fires, famines; it instructs nurses and sends sanitary missions into rural districts in times of plagues, among emigrants starting for Siberia, and into Siberia itself. Its doctors and nurses are found in leper hospitals. It has an accident corps in cities composed of so-called "Brothers of Charity." For sick wounded soldiers the society provides a hospital as well as care at baths and health resorts. It also supplies artificial limbs, and it has two schools for the children of wounded soldiers. In addition to all these forms of social service it contributes valuable reports to international congresses. In 1898 it expended 4,254,000 rubles. Its efficient provincial organization that enables it in times of emergencies to spread like a network over every district and volost makes it especially valuable in a country like Russia, where so many regions are ordinarily without charity. Private charity is not of course confined to the form of societies. Very much of it is expressed in gifts to organizations and individuals, an amount which it is impossible to measure. In 1893 nearly 2,000,000 rubles were given to the Minister of the Interior, but there is

no report of the amount received by the Zemstvos, cities and private institutions. Very large sums are also given as direct alms. In Moscow alone it is estimated that 1,000,000 rubles are thus given yearly. Often large properties are left by will for distribution among beggars. The peasants, too, in the country districts are almsgivers, as indeed are most of the people in the less developed parts of the empire.

D. Very little information can be obtained regarding ecclesiastical charity. The orthodox church alone receives notice and that very briefly. At the close of the nineteenth century the Holy Synod was reported as having under its charge 3,558 institutions, chiefly for the sick and children. There are parish committees that dispense funds. In 1898 Bravudo reports the sum of 487,834 rubles. Monasteries still exist in an enfeebled condition and are said, with churches, to conduct 198 hospitals, 841 dispensaries, and to have assisted 13,062 people. In so far as these figures are inclusive they indicate that present day charity is distinctly secular, so far as the Russian church is concerned. Conditions may be quite different among the Dissenters, Catholics, Jews and Mohammedans. The really important benevolent work of the Holy Synod comes rather under the head of education than charity, though it is preventive work. The 40,000 elementary schools among the peasants are justly reckoned among the humanitarian efforts of the nation. They will be referred to again. The Salvation Army is the only international Protestant organization for charitable work which has approached Russia and it has not yet succeeded in getting nearer than Finland.

E. As we have seen, public and private relief agencies are occasionally coördinated by means of specially appointed councils of supervision, but the only complete coöperation is found in those cities which have adopted a modification of the Elberfeld system. Moscow was the first to introduce this, in 1894. The city is divided into 28 sections, each with a director, appointed by the City Council, and a committee of from five to ten. Volunteer visitors, usually young men and women, receive contributions and investigate the cases of applicants for relief. In 1897 there were 1,924 helpers who received 250,000 rubles and aided 12,097 people, mostly old and sick. Indoor relief was chiefly

given to children. There is, in addition to this organization, a municipal council of charity and a municipal section of information on charitable affairs. Karoff has a similar system and St. Petersburg, Odessa and Voroniga contemplate adopting it. The charity organization society and national conferences of charity are not yet found in the country. The nearest approach to the latter is in the meetings of special commissions instructed to study the problems connected with the particular charities which they supervise. Representatives of the government and of private societies are also found at the international conferences, often taking part in the discussions.

F. Indoor relief is the usual form which organized charity takes in Russia. Three-fourths of all public and private relief is given through institutions, which are for the most part to be classed under the heads of hospitals, orphan asylums and asylums for the aged. There is no division of labor as between public and private institutions, and the administration is similar for both types. There is either a board, a director or both combined, under the control of the City Council, the Zemstvo or a Council of Guardians according as it is public or private. One-half of all the institutions opened during the last ten years have been private foundations and many which are now under public administration were turned over to the city or Zemstvos by the individual founders. The funds are obtained from gifts, city and Zemstvos budgets and, in many cases, state subsidies. As there are no requirements in regard to reports, there is no uniformity in the time or form of publication and it is difficult to obtain any accurate idea of the number of institutions. Münsterberg gives it as 7,505, but he does not say just what he includes under charitable institutions; whether schools and hospitals are partially in the list or not. The total amount spent on these institutions he estimates at 36,000,000 rubles a year.

In the provinces still having bureaus of charity indoor relief is given almost wholly to the sick and to children, in hospitals and schools. The Zemstvos and cities have developed in addition to these more specific forms of help, such as crêches, lodging houses, workshops, cheap restaurants,—forms which are also found among private institutions. These will be considered

more fully under special topics, medical aid, care of children, of vagrants, etc.

G. The beggar is one of the great problems in the social life of Russia. His characteristics and ways of living afford a most interesting field of study to the sociologist, for in many ways he is unique in Europe. As far back as the time of Peter the Great the extent to which begging was practiced was considered alarming and social reformers find it greater to-day than ever, in spite of the efforts of sundry "Commissions to Control Begging" that have been established at different times. In 1877 one of these estimated the number of beggars at 300,000. To-day, if we take the figures for St. Petersburg as a basis of calculation, there are at the minimum twice as many. Men are much more numerous than women and are younger. The maximum number of the former are between 30 and 35 years of age, of the latter 50 to 55. By far the greater number are found to be strong and able-bodied, though there is a class of cripples, blind and feeble-minded. Naturally the greater numbers of the professional beggars are found near cities where there are crowds and relief funds, but companies of peasants go begging in country districts, especially at the close of the late harvest and in the early spring. In certain parts of Russia, around Moscow and in the southern provinces, whole villages, men, women and children, go out on begging tours when the farm work is over, often covering long distances. Their excuse for vagrancy is that they are seeking work, but in truth they make begging a by-occupation, resorted to regularly. In Vologda, for example, Loewenstimm says that one-fourth of the population live upon alms, so, too, in the vicinity of Moscow. In the government of Pensa 4,000 people in Golizino are beggars, in Voronish 8,000. The gains used to be as much as 100 to 200 rubles a year, but now they are not more than 40 rubles.

Such an extraordinary condition of affairs has naturally led to investigation of causes and some attempt at least, at remedies. Neglecting now the uncertain proportion of deserving poor, temporarily out of work or in misfortune, the majority are set down as professional beggars, become such on account of: (1) Lack of sufficient charitable relief. The convalescent and the feeble-minded are often forced to beg for food and shelter, because

there is no place for them in asylums and they are not strong enough to work. (2) Deportation. Exiles in Siberia are often penniless when their terms expire, and they beg for means to get home. Prisoners marching overland used to beg their food and clothing, but better care and railway transportation have nearly stopped this practice. (3) Vagrants without passports, or those who wish to avoid the notice of officials beg their way through country districts. (4) Great calamities force many into beggary. War, floods, plagues and the burning of villages so common in Russia, combine with the failure of crops to reduce hundreds of people to pauperism, for which there is inadequate relief through organized channels. (5) Permanent economic causes. In many cases the father's allotment of land proves too small when divided among a number of brothers; in others the rent is so high that agriculture becomes impossible for an ignorant peasant and he gives it up. Factory labor, often turned to as an alternative, frequently weakens the workman physically and morally, and he finds begging the easiest means of supporting life. (6) Ethnical traits. Certain peoples like the gypsies seem to be beggars by nature. (7) The love of wandering in search of luck is characteristic of Russian peasants, especially those in the southern provinces and around the Black Sea. The nature of the country helps to develop this—a boundless plain without natural barriers; and there is also a native spirit of fatalism which is a powerful factor. (8) Customs and beliefs. Russians are naturally sympathetic, quick to pity sorrow and misfortune, and so it is the national impulse to respond to an appeal for aid. Then, too, the church has always taught that almsgiving is meritorious, bringing spiritual reward to the giver, and has never questioned the desert of the beggar nor the social value of the gift. To refuse alms is to sin. The custom of giving alms in a general distribution on certain days of the week, on festivals and such occasions as royal birthdays is very common. The Old Believers are especially keen about observing this custom and recall some of the Catholic nobles of the Middle Ages whose gates were thronged with mendicant clients at the regularly appointed hours for alms. Great sums are often left by will for general distribution among the beggars of the city. One man left 10,000 rubles in this way; another 50,000 rubles. Something of almost sacra-

mental virtue appertains to gifts or aid to beggars. Many of the people cherish a legend that Christ was a beggar and some of the religious sects follow his supposed example. The beggars have been classified as church and cemetery beggars, false pilgrims or "Jerusalem folk," "Sevastopolers," travellers on the railroad, collectors at houses, fire beggars, letter writers, women with mutilated children or dolls to imitate children, cripples, church collectors and the peasant companies. Many of these are common forms among professional mendicants everywhere, but some are peculiar to Russia. The "Jerusalem folk" haunt the shrine and pilgrim routes, often disguised as priests or monks. The "Sevastopolers" claim to be old soldiers. The fire beggars appear after a village fire, often in numbers greater than the whole village population, and represent themselves as having lost everything. The notice writers take advantage of the custom of describing specially needy cases in the papers to draw contributions to themselves. Church collectors ask aid for the erection of a village or city church. The amount of money given to these different classes has been estimated at 2 rubles for each of the population. Most of it is worse than wasted, being spent in drink and licentiousness. But the beggar is not only a great cost to the country in money, he is also a center of disorder and a spreader of disease.

The remedies for this social evil which have been suggested by the commissions are, restriction of the sale of liquor, better industrial training, more care for the deserving poor, together with greater sternness in repressing professional begging, and, above all, the stopping of indiscriminate almsgiving. This latter practice, however, is so strongly entrenched in the customs and beliefs of the masses that one fears that it will scarcely pass away for many generations. The problem is likely to be of long standing.

The present means of helping vagrants and the unemployed is the organization of workhouses and workshops, cheap lodgings, night refuges, public tables, etc. The modern form of workhouses dates from 1881. In 1895 there was formed the Society of Curators of Industrial Homes and Workshops whose functions are to found industrial homes and support those already existing, to help people discharged from hospitals and prisons, to

prepare children for self-support. It has an unlimited membership of four kinds: elective, chosen for three years by the Czarina; honorary, members of the royal family; benefactors, those contributing 100 rubles yearly or 1,000 rubles at one time; associates, those contributing 10 rubles yearly or 100 rubles at one time. The honorary members and benefactors serve as inspectors of the workhouses and report on them. The support is from the state funds and from gifts. The administration is in the hands of the Czarina and a committee of ten members, together with a vice-president, secretary and treasurer. The society meets yearly. Since 1898 it has published a monthly review (Troudovaia Pomocht), "Industrial Assistance." This paper in 1899 contained a report on the number of workhouses and the persons assisted. According to this there were 109 houses, 101 in European Russia. The common form is that for all ages and both sexes. This has separate workrooms for women with girls and men with boys. There are also separate workhouses for men, women and children, with common dining rooms. Those in St. Petersburg not only provide work, but also teach trades, in order to develop skilled workmen in wood and iron. There is also in the capital a house for intelligent women of good birth, who, after confinement, can only work a little and who need nourishing food. One hundred and five of the workhouses have room for 8,678 people, 96 of them actually aided 13,633 people in a year (1897). There is thus twice as much help offered, apparently as is asked for, a fact which would give color to the conclusion stated above that the majority of the beggars are professionals. Besides the work of this group of industrial homes there is that of the Imperial Society of Charity which has cheap lodging houses, night refuges and people's kitchens. Many of the Zemstvos and cities make similar provisions for the unemployed and in addition aid emigrants and those travelling in search of work.

For homeless old men and women there are a number of "homes" of different degrees of cost. Those in St. Petersburg and Moscow are the best. The former city has three. The Widows' or Old Ladies' Home occupies the old Elizabeth palace and the cost per inmate is 280 rubles a year. Of this the widows, who have separate rooms and their meals served in them, pay

250 rubles. Spinsters, who are placed two in a room and use a common dining room, pay 200 rubles. The deficit is paid from the funds of the "Institutions of the Empress Marie."

The Old Women's Home is for working women, who pay part of the cost. The deficit is made up from charity funds. The Municipal House, founded by Catherine II, has 3,000 old women and 800 old men, a few of whom pay. The most beautiful of these houses is the Heier Home in Moscow, which accommodates 33 women and 33 men at a cost of 180 rubles a year. The Boew Institute has room for 300 men and women at a lower rate, 120 rubles, and a third is intended for vagrants and has something of a correctional character about it. Russia has not yet opened colonies for the unemployed, but Finland has a number of them. They were originally intended for the able-bodied alone, but now there are special rooms for the sick and insane and asylums for children. The government makes loans to communities to start such colonies and has made 50 in the last 10 years. The colonies are on farms and the aim is to keep them small.

H. Medical relief has long been a common form of charity in Russia, though it is not adequate to the need even yet. The general system is under the direction of the Minister of the Interior, working through the Department of Medical Affairs. Hospitals, which belong to Zemstvos, cities and bureaus of charity, are under the immediate jurisdiction of the governor of the province and the prefect of the city. Each province has its medical inspector and special sanitary service, as have the districts and cities. In 1900 the Zemstvos controlled 1,300 hospitals with 30,000 beds, *i. e.*, one bed for 2,000 people, and had one physician for 25,100 people. Twelve bureaus of charity have one bed for 7,663 people and one physician for 77,296 people. The pharmacies numbered one-half as many as the hospitals in 1887. Their establishment is authorized in hospitals having over 100 beds. Most cities and Zemstvos have physicians for the poor whose service is gratuitous. There are also midwives and "feldshero," both men and women, who have had a slight medical training and are able to be of service in country districts where physicians are few. The medical service in St. Petersburg is probably the most highly developed in the country and therefore

merits description. The city has a "Municipal Sanitary Commission" which directs the sanitary corps. It is composed of 12 members, chosen by the City Council for four years, one from each ward. These name curators for the quarters of the city. There is also a consulting council of physicians from different medical institutions, and a physician-in-chief of the prefecture. The commission directs the sanitary inspectors, the city physicians, the medical school inspectors, the city maternity hospitals, the municipal laboratory, the disinfecting plant, the inspection of cemeteries and night work. The city physicians, 24 in number, are each in charge of a district and give free service to the poor with orders on the city pharmacy. Fourteen of these physicians are women, as are many of the medical inspectors of schools.

Private medical relief is given by almost every charitable society, especially by the Institutions of the Empress Marie and the Red Cross. Like those in the public service the physicians have the reputation of being very well trained. Medical colleges are all connected with universities except the Medical Academy in St. Petersburg, which is a separate institution. Nurses, in public and private service, come chiefly from the Red Cross classes. These form a semi-religious body, not bound by life vows, and they are of both sexes.

Both public and private hospitals are divided into general and special hospitals. There are maternity hospitals, children's, orthopaedic, ophthalmic, as well as hospitals for infectious diseases, but the most common form is the general. There are numerous maternity hospitals in charge of private societies, the Institutions of the Empress Marie, and of cities and Zemstvos. The children's hospital of Prince Oldenburg is over 30 years old. It is described as being finely equipped and administered in the most perfect manner.

Payment in the hospitals is usually graded according to the patient's means, the very poor being admitted free. In large towns a hospital tax is levied upon working people and servants who are entitled to free treatment. Out-patients pay unless they present certificates proving their poverty.

In 1892 there were 3,969 hospitals under the Ministry of the Interior, 62,453 beds in general hospitals, 11,790 in special hos-

pitals and 21,924 for special classes of people, as factory employes.

Like the rest of Europe Russia suffers severely from tuberculosis and her physicians are constantly studying methods of cure and prevention. The royal family has led the way in practical efforts to combat the evil. In 1891, through the suggestion and with the support of Alexander III the first sanitarium was built at Halida near St. Petersburg. It is considered in every way a model. There are two wards, one of which ("Section Marie") holds 50 beds, the other ("Section Nicholas") has 32 beds. Dr. Gabrilowitch is its director. The success of this hospital led Nicholas II to found another in 1895 which was, however, not opened until 1900. It is situated at Taectzi. It contains 50 beds, 20 of which are free. A third sanitarium with 30 beds was located at Massandra on the Crimea and a fourth is under construction by Prince Oldenburg at Gagry on the Black Sea.

The work of the Red Cross Society in sending sanitary missions among the peasants in time of epidemics and its efforts to prepare girls to become nurses are the only form of educational work among the people to which reference could be found. The sanitary inspection practiced in St. Petersburg with a view to preventing epidemics, and the visits of physicians to schools, constitutes all that can fairly be called preventive medical service, except the use of vaccination which is somewhat general. Preventive medicine is, however, the subject of study and discussion among physicians.

J. With rare exceptions all care of defectives is private and is very limited in extent. The blind were the first to receive any attention and this by the formation, in 1881, of a special society which was later made one of the "Institutions of the Empress Marie." This has charge of 23 schools for children in some dozen cities, with over 600 pupils, of trade schools for adults, of 3 refuges, 7 hospitals and 33 missions of oculists for country districts. It publishes two periodicals and expends 203,000 rubles a year, funds obtained from its own members and from gifts. The total number of blind is to-day estimated at some 200,000, so that the pitiful inadequacy of the relief offered is very evident. There is not even an estimate of the number of deaf and dumb,

and until very recently there was no care taken of them. There is now a society similar to that which cares for the blind. This has a school with 230 pupils, 137 boys and 93 girls, both boarders and day scholars. They are taught by the oral method as well as by sign and manual, reading, arithmetic, religion and trades. According to the report of the Commissioner of Education (U. S.) for 1890-91 there were then 13 schools in all for deaf mutes and one for idiots.[1]

The feeble-minded are carefully distinguished in legal definitions from the insane, but they are kept in the same public institutions. The only separate asylums are private. There are two of these in St. Petersburg and there are also special wards in the Alexander Hospital and in one in Moscow. Yolsk on the Volga has a school for backward children of the military schools. No further details are obtainable, and we can only infer that these unfortunate ones are practically neglected. It is known that they are found in the great army of beggars.

Epileptics also receive little care. They are frequently found in insane asylums, but the rule is to receive only those who are mentally diseased. The treatment of the insane has followed much the same course as in the rest of Europe. During the Middle Ages if they were cared for at all it was in the monasteries. They were thought to be possessed by evil spirits as they still are among the peasants. In 1677 a law was passed guarding the property of the insane, and Peter the Great announced others on the same subject, including regulations for the examination of the supposed lunatic. Catherine II had special wards or houses provided for the insane and these were placed in charge of the bureaus of charity. Now, like other hospitals, they are under the general direction of the Minister of the Interior and the Medical Department. Private hospitals must be sanctioned by the Minister of the Interior. This minister names a medical

[1] From another source we learn (1903) that it has been estimated that there are 200,000 deaf mutes in the empire, of whom about 40,000 to 50,000 are of school age. In 1901 there were 885 pupils in the schools. There are 20 schools for the deaf; St. Petersburg has 162 pupils, Warsaw 170, Moscow 158. The imperial institute at St. Petersburg lays great emphasis on industrial training. In Moscow there is an asylum for deaf girls after school years, and a benevolent society to care for adults. Warsaw has a Sunday school for the instruction of deaf handworkers.

director. Each Zemstvo has a permanent commission on asylums composed of the president and two or three other members, and also a medical director named by the commission. The City Council names the city director. Outside of the Zemstvos governments there are but three separate insane hospitals. The Zemstvos have 10,000 beds, some in general hospitals, some in those which separate chronic and acute cases. The hospitals are classified as state, departmental, municipal and military. In some places the insane are simply kept in separate wards of ordinary hospitals, and the country hospitals are very few and small. According to law the hospital for the insane is a walled-in building and has a military guard, but the latter provision is often a dead letter. The physicians are trained alienists and their aids are good, but the attendants, chiefly peasants, are very poor. They are quite illiterate and untrained, receive wretched wages and have bad living arrangements, so that the service they render is necessarily very unsatisfactory.

The estimates of the total number of the insane are of doubtful value. There are said to be 64.4 men to 38.6 women and some 18,000 are reported in hospitals.

In 1886 Dr. Bajenoff first introduced family care of mild, chronic cases. His plan, which is being gradually adopted in different parts of the country, is to place about ten patients in a village either near a large hospital or so located that a small hospital could be erected as center for several colonies. There is not room enough in the hospitals for all cases and he believes the patients are happier where they can see and share in home occupations. He hopes to thus colonize 20 per cent. of the patients. Admission to hospitals is gained by direct application through parents or the police to the physician in charge. In the country parents apply to the medical director of the district and he makes the arrangements with the director of the asylum. Examinations of the supposed insane are held in the presence of the officials under whose jurisdiction the patient is, the Governor, the president of the district court of law or judges, and, if he is a noble, of the marshal of the nobility of the district. The examination may be held at his house if the patient cannot well be moved. It is conducted by the medical director or his representative. The governing senate passes on the find-

ings of the examination in order to appoint guardians of the property, except in the case of the peasants for whom the district authorities act. The heirs usually have charge of the property until the person is cured or dies. Property is restored upon order of the senate or in the case of a peasant, when he has been two years without a relapse. Release from the hospital is obtained upon cure or at the demand of parents or responsible friends.

Criminal lunatics *must* be confined in asylums of the prison. They are examined by the medical inspector or assistant and two physicians in the district court while the judges are in session.

Most of the treatment in hospitals for the insane is free, as is made necessary by the fact that 80 per cent. are needy peasants, 15 per cent. bourgeois and only 5 per cent. rich.

Cripples receive no special attention and their numbers have never been estimated. There are said to be great numbers of them among the beggars, some of them the victims of accidental injuries, others purposely mutilated in order to excite pity. The cripple children of the poor are sometimes given to beggars to be brought up in what seems for him the most profitable profession. The Foundlings' Hospital of Moscow, which gives pensions to its cripples, finds that they often become beggars in order to add to their incomes.

K. The Council of Guardians, formed to extend the work of the cabinet which administers the "Institutions of the Empress Marie," has under the Minister of the Interior the most extended oversight of the "work of protecting and educating poor children." The state does not assume to stand *in loco parentis* to dependent children nor has it passed any general legislation in regard to them. There is no children's court, but a law of 1897 declares that children under ten years of age are not subject to judicial procedure. If arrested the judge sends them home to their parents or places them with responsible people.

The real social care of the child begins long before this. The oldest institutions for children are the Great Foundlings' Hospitals of St. Petersburg and Moscow, established by Catherine II. In 1899 the former cared for 33,366 children, the latter for 39,033. The Moscow hospital is the more famous. It is intended for illegitimate children, but a few others are admitted if the mother

is dead or too sick to care for the child. For the illegitimate, certificates of birth are required. The mother is asked to come in and nurse her child, receiving 7½ rubles a month if she does. Otherwise well children are kept in the hospital but two weeks in summer, three in winter and are then put out to nurse in a peasant's family in the neighborhood. The weak and sick are also boarded out if places can be found for them, but many remain permanently in the hospital. The nursing staff in 1891 included 60 superintendents, 150 nurses and 950 wet nurses. The latter were apt to leave at the time of festivals and then the mortality among the babies sometimes rose as high as 60 per cent., but recent changes are said to have removed these evils.

The children placed out are paid for at the rate of 3 rubles per month for a year; the amount is then gradually lessened until for a girl of from 10 to 15 years and a boy from 10 to 17, only 1 ruble is paid. There is a system of inspection for these children and Moscow has 41 districts, each with an inspector, usually a physician who pays at least six visits a year to the children. The hospital has over 100 primary schools and offers prizes to the peasants for the child that passes the best examination.

The department of children's asylums, also among the Institutions of the Empress Marie, has for its primary object that of feeding and caring for the children whose parents are at work all day. It has under its charge 146 infant schools, 11 baby homes and a children's library in Moscow.

Under the same institutions are a number of orphanages in Moscow, St. Petersburg and Gatchina for girls alone and for girls and boys. There is also a home for half orphans. There are of course schools in connection with these asylums and considerable attention is apparently given to health. Open air exercise is required and a system of medical gymnastics is employed in at least one place.

Crêches are a common form of aid in large cities. They are supported by the cities, by Zemstvos, by the curators of industrial homes, by the Red Cross and by other private associations. Day nurseries for slightly older children have also been opened in some places.

Elementary charity schools which usually have manual training in some form are supported by many different societies, some

of which, like the Elizabeth Society, aid the child with food and clothing. The Zemstvos in their endeavor to make the primary schools available for children in sparsely settled regions have opened night shelters and lodging houses.

For sick children there is the medical inspection in St. Petersburg schools, the Foundlings' Hospitals, the general hospitals and one or two devoted especially to them. Two special sanatoriums and a ward in another have been opened for the use of delicate girls.

L. Children between 10 and 17 years of age when arrested are adjudged either with or without discernment. If the latter they are sent back to their parents or to responsible people, in extreme cases, to a correctional home. Those with discernment are sentenced either to a correctional home or to prison.

The older children under the care of the Foundlings' Hospitals are selected for higher teaching. In 1898 there were 1,500 in Moscow learning trades. The girls generally remain in the country and learn housework.

Nearly all assistance offered to youths is educational. There were 596 societies at the close of the nineteenth century which aided scholars, usually by means of purses or prizes and there are many schools for special classes of youths, soldiers' orphans and those of members of the civil service and children of railway employes, which are wholly or partly free. The curators of industrial homes support workshops for apprentices which are trade schools as well as shops.

M. Preventive. Educational institutions are to be classed as most important preventive agencies in the country where ignorance and poverty are so closely connected. So, too, are the ordinary schools. Most of these are under the jurisdiction of the Minister of Instruction, but all the other ministers as well as the Holy Synod have also organized schools. Those of the Holy Synod are peasant schools and aim to develop good citizens and orthodox Christians. They teach religion, reading of Church Slavonic and Russian, writing and arithmetic. They number some 40,000.

There are 84,544 public schools, out of which number 40,131 are under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Public Education, 42,588 under the jurisdiction of the Holy Synod, and the remainder under other departments. Of the pupils, 73,167

were adults, 3,291,694 boys, and 1,203,902 girls. The teachers number 72,000. The maintenance of all these schools costs more than $25,000,000. The average school tax for city schools is $9.50 and for village schools $5 per pupil.[1]

The Zemstvos have some elementary trade schools and in nearly all of the schools conducted by private societies manual training is taught. Thus the school for the children of railway employes teaches woodwork, domestic science, nursing and the care of children. The schools of the St. Petersburg Ladies' Patriotic Society give instruction in sewing, embroidery, lace making, porcelain painting, embossing on leather and other semi-artistic trades.

One of the most interesting illustrations of this tendency to make the schools practical in the true sense and adapted to the needs of the people and country is found in the agricultural schools of all grades which numbered 107 and had 5,996 pupils in 1896. In 1898 there were 110 lower schools. The instruction covers all branches of agriculture, horticulture, sericulture, dairying, etc. School gardens have also been introduced to a limited extent and serve for considerable elementary instruction.

Along the line of more specific preventive work we find some social and factory legislation. Marriage with an imbecile or an insane person is forbidden, but how the law is enforced is not stated anywhere.

Factory acts have sprung up ready made and compare favorably with those of countries much older industrially. Those affecting child labor date back to 1882 and 1885. No child under 12 years of age can be employed in factories or industrial establishments. Between 12 and 15 they can be employed only 8 hours a day, exclusive of meals and only four hours continuously. They must not be employed in any dangerous or exhausting occupation. In textile factories night work is forbidden to youths between 15 and 17 and to women, and underground work is forbidden to the same classes. Any child who has no certificate of primary studies is to be given the opportunity to attend school 18 hours a week. For railways, steamboats and factories there are employer's liability acts and in government works there are

[1] Samuel Smith, Consul at Moscow; Mon. Con. Rep., 1904, p. 847.

relief funds formed by taking 2 to 3 per cent. of wages and by owner's contributions.

The industrial regions are divided into districts, each of which has inspectors and a labor board. There are laws governing contracts between employers and employes, which aim to guard the workmen against injustice and loss, as, *e. g.*, payments must be in money and once a month if the engagement is for more than that time, once in two weeks if it is indefinite. Medical aid is to be furnished the workman and he may break his contract if the work affects his health. The employer of agricultural labor is likewise bound to pay in money to provide food equal to that used by the peasants of the neighborhood and to care for the sick at home or in the hospital.

The Peasants' Banks, established in 1882, have done good service in enabling the peasants to redeem and stock their land. The original rate of interest proved too high and it was reduced in 1894 to 7½-6½ per cent. for terms of from 13-15 years.

There also exist many Mutual Loan and Savings Banks. In 1893 there were 764 in all; 662 of these had 211,400 members, capital of 9,118,000 rubles, and borrowed capital of 12,343,000 rubles, and made loans of 18,271,000 rubles.

Rural banks loan up to 200 rubles a year to their peasant founders and are allowed to do a commission business for them.

Somewhat similar assistance is rendered by the curators of industrial homes, who provide funds for buying cattle and tools. Another very necessary and characteristic aid is fire insurance. The "red cock" crows so frequently in the wooden, straw-thatched villages that special legislation has become necessary, prescribing the distance between houses and requiring that all peasants' buildings be insured.

The Zemstvos try to protect the peasants in another way by providing public granaries, filled by levying a tax in grain upon the farmers. Unfortunately the supply is never sufficient in times of widespread want.

Employment bureaus have been opened by the curators of industrial homes, by the Imperial Society of Charity and by a few Zemstvos.

The industrial homes and workshops serve to a limited degree the needs of discharged prisoners, but only in a few localities.

Care of Discharged Prisoners.—At Moscow there is a society of patronage for female prisoners. When a woman is arrested the authorities give all necessary information to the society. The president of the society secures the coöperation of members in her behalf; some of them visit her, learn from her whether she will accept their assistance, the kind of work which she can do, her needs in respect to clothing, passports, etc., discover whether she has a family at home in need of their help, and seek to persuade her to behave well while in prison. Before the day for discharge the society provides a place for her to work or a temporary asylum. In this asylum the women are sheltered and maintained and required to work. If the discharged prisoner continues to reside in Moscow she is placed under the care of a friendly visitor in the district where she lives, and these friendly visitors are organized something after the method of the German "Elberfeld" system, and they give such advice and material help as the person requires.[1]

The dwellings of the poor have not received much attention as yet, but it is understood that the general sanitary condition in the average towns is bad. As we have seen, sanitary matters are in the hands of special departments in cities and Zemstvos. General measures looking to the prevention of epidemics throughout the empire are the care of the State Medical Department. Local outbreaks are looked after by local bodies. The organization in St. Petersburg is the most complete. Its commission has a plant for disinfecting clothing, etc., oversees vaccination, analyses in the city laboratory milk, water, meat, butter and other foods, and has a considerable force of inspectors to report on unhealthful conditions.

Probably the greatest social evil in Russia next to the habits of begging is drunkenness and the government has recognized this by taking measures to suppress it somewhat similar to those used in Sweden. Beginning in 1894, a system of government monopoly of the sale of spirits has been gradually introduced into the provinces of European Russia. There are Guardians of Temperance organized by the Minister of Finance to see that the sale is according to law, to educate the public to understand the dangers of abuse of drinking, to open asylums for drunkards, to

[1] Riv. Ben. Pubb., 1902, p. 841, N. Tabanelli.

coöperate with temperance societies and interested individuals and to provide amusements for the people. According to the law pure spirits rectified by the government are sold in sealed bottles having labels stating the price, and are not to be drunk on the premises. Liquor is sold for half a day on Sundays and festivals, not at all on Easter Sunday and Christmas; on other days from 7 A. M. to 8 P. M. in the country, from 7 A. M. to 10 P. M. in cities. The sales are never on credit nor to children or drunkards.

Special committees on temperance are authorized by the Minister of Finance. That of St. Petersburg provides popular illustrated lectures on history, libraries, restaurants, children's gardens, concert halls, theaters, night-lodging houses and hospitals. The Minister of Finance provides in the Polytechnic Institute for Sunday and holiday entertainments.

The Russian government estimates that the total revenue in 1904 from the liquor trade in the several provinces of the Empire where the business is monopolized by the state will reach nearly $385,500,000.[1]

Moscow has a private "Popular Entertainment Society" which has opened parks and tea houses and provides amusements such as dancing, theaters and both band and orchestral concerts for a small price. The orchestra which plays classic Russian music is most popular. The city committee has opened tea houses and has a people's house for entertainment.

In 1898 the Guardians had 45 committees in provinces and 7 in cities, 1,713 restaurants and tea houses, 747 lecture halls and libraries, 501 concert halls and 91 theaters. In 1900 they had an income of 750,000 rubles and 23,600 coöperating members. Their funds come from the state, from gifts and from the entertainments. The provincial committees consist of the governor, the bishop, representatives of the clergy, the marshal of nobility, the procurator of the district, the director of schools, chief of police, medical director, president of the Chamber of Commerce, the Peasants' Bank and the Zemstvos—a typical Russian committee.

When the system was first introduced there seemed to be an increase of street drinking and disorder, but greater vigilance on the part of the police and above all a multiplication of diversions

[1] Consular Reports, April, 1904, p. 308.

is doing away with this and the general verdict is favorable to the system. It is one of the hopeful social experiments of the country.

Savings Banks.—Reports on the business of government savings banks, April 1, 1903, show: Total number of banks, with departments, 6,288; of these, 4,087 are at post and telegraph offices. The amount of savings, $412,524,785; amount of notes, $75,462,950.[1]

[1] Consular Reports, April, 1904, p. 308.

PART IV

CHAPTER XIII

THE JEWS

SECTION 1.—EUROPEAN

BY RABBI MORRIS M. FEUERLICHT

In many quarters the belief is current that there are no Jewish poor. "Rich as a Jew" has become a by-word of whose truth the popular mind is convinced. As a matter of fact, however, recent statistics show that many Jews are among the poorest men on earth. Scattered throughout every part of the globe there are a little over ten million Jews. Half of these live in Russia alone; and it has been calculated that the total wealth of the Russian Jew is only five dollars per head. With the exception of a few countries like England and America, where a more tolerant spirit has allowed a few families to acquire wealth, the economic status of the Jew in Russia is fairly typical of his status elsewhere. This poverty of the Jew is due in large measure to causes quite different from the general causes to which the poverty in the world around him is attributed. The Jew is of course subject to the same laws of economic fluctuation as all other men are; but in his case, these natural laws are made heavier by the artificial decrees of a hostile environment. Crime, inebriety, and other flagrant moral deficiencies of the individual are not to be reckoned with as conspicuous factors in the Jew's impoverishment, because under normal conditions these are everywhere conceded to be rare. It is the burden, rather, of continued persecution, religious, political, and economic, which, certainly more than any other external cause, has dragged fully 75 per cent. of the world's ten million Jews into the depths of the direst poverty and economic misery.

To attack this tremendous problem of poverty, which is by no means of recent origin, the Jews throughout the world, and especially the Jews of Europe, who number over three-fifths of the world's Jewish population, have for many centuries had an extensive and well-developed system of charity. The Old Testament, the Talmud, and the Shulchan Aruch formed the basis of this charity. The Shulchan Aruch, a mediaeval compendium of the legislation of the Bible and Talmud, contains an elaborate code of charity called "Hilchoth Zedeqah" in according with whose spirit and principle Jewish charity is largely administered. The underlying principle emphasized in this code is that expressed in the Biblical passage: "Blessed is he that *considereth* the poor." (Psalm 41:1.) The rabbis took this passage and made it one of the bases of a system of charity whose main purpose was to help the poor to help themselves; and Maimonides, the great Jewish philosopher of the twelfth century, amplified it into eight forms or grades, which have characterized the administration of Jewish charity of all lands and all times. These eight grades of charity he gives as follows:

1. Charity that aids the poor in supporting themselves by advancing money or by helping them to some lucrative occupation.

2. Charity that is administered under conditions in which the beneficiary is unknown to the benefactor and vice versa.

3. Charity that is administered in secret; if almsgiving, by leaving the money at the houses of the poor who remain ignorant of the benefactor. This is especially enjoined whenever public charity is not properly administered.

4. Charity that is given without knowing the recipient, and the giver remains unknown to the recipient.

5. Charity that is given before being asked to give it.

6. Charity given after being asked to give it.

7. Charity given inadequately, but with good grace.

8. Charity given with bad grace.

While these grades refer more directly to almsgiving, their spirit is characteristic of Jewish charity in all its phases and serves to establish its ethical value. Its sanction, as has already been noted, is found in the fundamental meaning of *Zedaqah* as *justice*. The Talmud expressly enjoins that the poor of the non-Jew be treated like the poor of the Jew. "The poor of

the stranger," it says (Gittin Gla), "are to be supported with the poor of Israel: the sick of the stranger are to be nursed with the sick of Israel; the dead of the stranger are to be buried with the dead of Israel; and the mourners of the stranger are to be comforted like the mourners of Israel, on account of the ways of peace." The catholicity of Jewish charity is accentuated by its chivalrous refinement. A woman's claim has precedence over that of a man; and a student of the law over an ignorant man, even though he be of the highest rank. (Horayoth III, 7-8) (Kethuboth 6, 7). Perhaps the best illustration of the ethical spirit of Jewish charity is afforded by a method which has been in vogue for almost two centuries in Berlin. Here, there is a society called "Mishan Abelim" ("Support of Mourners"), whose purpose is to aid needy families when bereaved by death of one of its members. Each member of the society, rich and poor alike, is given two locked and marked boxes. One of the boxes contains money, whose amount, as will be seen, is unknown to anyone. Every recipient of this box is given a key in a sealed package, and with it a note requesting that the box be opened by all means whether the contents be used or not. According to his need, he may keep the whole or part of the contents. If he feels he does not need it, he is asked to turn the money into the second box. In any case he is asked to add of his own means to the contents of the second box, in order that the purpose of the society may be accomplished. This second box, in the course of its distribution through various families, remains unopened for an indefinite period, so that no one, not even the society's agent, can know who has given or who has received charity.

The ethical level attained by the Berlin society marks the lofty standard attained by Jewish charity throughout the world. The attainment of such a standard has been rendered possible by the intimacy and domestic idealism of Jewish social life, which found its center in the synagogue. The synagogue has been for the Jew for many centuries, and to the great majority of Jews to-day still is, the center, not only of religious, but of social and philanthropic activity as well. Hence, wherever the Jew may be located, if the place, however isolated or desolate, numbers only ten male adults, which is the traditional number necessary to form a synagogue or hold a religious service—he boasts of an

organized charity based on the loftiest ethical principles. So it happens that in the remotest parts of the earth, in Cochin State on the Malabar Coast, for instance, the Jews, numbering about 2,000, a large number of whom are known as black Jews, have ten synagogues, with all of which some form of educational or charitable organization is associated. Most of these synagogues were organized and built from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries. The synagogue of Paroor in Travancore, dates from the year 750; and the synagogue of Kadvoobagam in Cochin, was built in 1150. It supports the poor, and belongs, as does also the synagogue of Paroor, to a community of black Jews, descended from settlers who are said to have come to this territory after the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 A. D. But these synagogues with their organized charities can be traced all over Europe as early as the thirteenth century. The purpose of these societies was to support and clothe the poor, educate the children of the poor, nurse and educate orphans, provide marriage dowries for poor maidens, visit the sick and lying-in women among the poor, provide shelter for the aged, provide free burials, and in days of persecution, to ransom captives and prisoners. Each society pledged itself to such comprehensive philanthropy; though in more recent times, the work has been divided among various societies devoted to special purposes. Many of these societies, known in general as friendly and benefit societies, while formally separated from the synagogue, are still more or less connected with it.

Manchester, England, affords a fairly ideal type of modern synagogal charity. Its Jewish congregation has a Sustentation Fund whose objects are: the assistance in an efficient manner of members of the congregation, or of the widows and orphans, if reduced in position through misfortune; and the granting of a yearly allowance to enable members of small means to apprentice their children to a profession, business, or trade. The work of lodges or fraternal organizations, inaugurated during the latter half of the nineteenth century and covering the more advanced countries of the world where Jews are located, is carried on entirely distinct from the synagogue. Of the friendly and benefit societies, however, with purposes mentioned above, there are no less than 170 in London alone, which numbers 104,-

000 Jews in its population. In the provinces there are 96 societies, making a total of 266 societies in a population of 179,000 in the British Isles. Australasia, with 17,000 Jews, has 27 societies. Canada, numbering 16,000, has 18. South Africa, numbering 30,000, has 26. India, with 22,000, has 5. In India, Turkey and elsewhere in the Orient, a large part of the philanthropic activity is in the hands of international organizations like the Alliance Israelite and the Jewish Colonization Association. In Russia, with its 5,000,000 Jews, the charitable work in general is done by the synagogue and by international organizations. In Germany, the public charity is administered by the synagogue.[1]

Until the middle of the last century, most of these societies did their work independently of one another. In 1859 the English Board of Guardians for the Relief of Jewish Poor was organized in London; and while there are quite a number of organizations existing apart from this board, most of the public charity in London is administered through its agency. Its work is divided among sixteen subsidiary committees: Loan Committee, Committee for the Conducting of Workrooms, Investigation Committee, Visiting Committee, Emigration Committee, Industrial Committee, Fixed Allowance Committee, Temporary Allowance Committee, Conjoint Committee for Consideration of Legislative and Parochial Questions concerning Jewish Poor, Russo-

[1] Charities Register and Digest of London (1895) has in the Index the following titles, alluding to Jewish philanthropic institutions. The enumeration of these various institutions will enable one to obtain an approximate idea of the extent of Jewish philanthropy in London alone: Jewish Aged Pension Society; Jewish almshouses (there are several asylums for aged in London); Society for Apprenticing Jewish Children; Anglo-Jewish Association (to protect Jewish civil and political rights, to promote Jewish education); Jewish Asylum for Aged Tradesmen; Jewish Blind Pension Institution; Jewish Board of Guardians (object, relief of Jewish poor—pecuniary, in kind, medical, by assistance to emigrate, to apprentice, and loan of tools, etc.); Jewish Bread, Meat, and Coal Charity (object, to distribute these things during the winter season); Jewish Charities (object, the distribution of marriage gifts or dowries); City of London Jewish Benevolent Society (for assisting Jewish widows in distress); Jewish Confined, Mourning and Burial Society; Jewish Convalescent Homes (there are two such homes in London); East London Jewish Benevolent Society (relief confined to persons living within a radius of 1½ miles of Stepney Green); Jewish Excelsior Relief Fund; Jewish Food Charity (object, to provide Jewish strangers with meals on Sabbaths and holy days); Jewish Freemasons' Daughters (to maintain, clothe and educate daughters of Free-

Jewish Committee, Sanitary Committee, Ladies' Conjoint Visiting Committee, Clothing Committee, Almshouse Committee, District Canvassing Committee. The Board of Guardians in London is a model for similar organizations in twenty-three cities and towns in the provinces. Germany has a similar organization in Berlin, whose Armen-Commission der Juedischen Gemeinde is directly associated with the Union of Jewish congregations. Its administration is in the hands of three committees: (1) to afford financial relief; (2) to give work and mazzoth, or unleavened bread, on Passover; (3) to give food. France also has a central organization in its Comité de Bienfaisance de la Ville de Paris. It consists of thirty-six members, divided into sub-committees to whose supervision the various communal charities are entrusted. This organization grants necessary assistance to worthy poor families; gives tools and machines, or the means to purchase them; grants money to purchase goods; makes loans; provides medical relief; conducts an employment bureau, and two large soup-kitchens. Rome, ever since the seventeenth century, has four central organizations comprising thirty societies devoted to almost every phase of philanthropic activity. Gibraltar has four societies devoted to specific charities, but regulated along with other affairs of the Jews of Gibraltar, by the Managing Board of the Hebrew community.

masons); Jewish Girls' Club; Jewish Girls' Lodging Home (object, care of unprotected, respectable working girls); Jewish Incurables' Home (for those suffering from chronic disease, accident or deformity); Jewish Ladies' Benevolent Institution (provides clothing and other necessaries for lying-in married women); Jewish Ladies' Loan Societies (granting to poor loans without interest); Jewish Ladies' Association for Preventive Work (to reclaim the fallen Jewish girls and women); Jewish Marriage Gift; Jewish Marriage Portion Society (marriage portion is £40, bestowed biennially, and wedding fees are defrayed); Jewish Maternity Institution (see Jewish Ladies' Benevolent Institution); Jewish Society on Circumcision (object, provision of a godfather and an operator on occasion of circumcision); Jewish High School for Girls, and Day Training College for Teachers (open to all denominations); Jewish Free School; Jewish Infant School; other Jewish schools, where religious education and partial clothing are provided; Jewish Charities of the United Synagogue (engaged in various phases of charitable endeavor); Jewish Tailors' Benefit Soc.; Jewish Training College; Jewish Deaf and Dumb Home (to educate for industrial employment indigent deaf and dumb children); Jewish Emigration Society; Jewish Orphan Asylum; Jewish Tradesmen's Benevolent Society (to assist deserving poor of all denominations during inclement season of the year).

Jewish indoor relief is administered generally through particular societies connected with the particular needs of various institutions. In many cases, homes for the aged, orphanages, hospitals, schools and other institutions have been endowed by private beneficence and are maintained and managed by these societies. The names of Montefiore in England, France, Austria, and Palestine, of the Sassoons in the Orient, of Baron Ginsberg in Russia, of Baron and Baroness de Hirsch throughout Europe and the world, are especially conspicuous in this regard. But there are many others of lesser wealth in the various Jewish communities scattered throughout the world whose philanthropy has established institutions which their brethren of smaller means have organized themselves to maintain.

Perhaps Germany leads all other countries in the number of Homes for the Aged. In a Jewish population of less than 600,000, it has twenty-three institutions for the protection of destitute old men and women. Three of these are in Breslau, and two in Berlin. France, with a Jewish population of 86,000, has a home for the aged in connection with the Jewish Hospital in Paris, and three homes in Bordeaux, Nancy, and Luneville. England has seven homes in London, known as almshouses, and founded by private individuals, the earliest in 1730; and one in Manchester, supported by voluntary contributions and donations. Though the London homes are called almshouses, they are not to be understood as possessing in any way the disagreeable features ordinarily attributed to that term, particularly in the United States. Nowhere in Jewish charity are the homes for the aged burdened with such a stigma. On the contrary, they are in general the favored recipients of public and private philanthropy, which makes them inviting rather than repellent; and no Jew, however self-respecting or proud, ever feels humiliated or stigmatized by entering them. This is readily explained by the high regard that characterize grandparents and old men and women generally in Jewish domestic life. Moreover, from few, if any, sources has the complaint arisen that such generous treatment of Jewish homes for the aged has resulted in encouraging pauperism.

London has, besides its almshouses, an Aged Needy Society, founded in 1829, whose object is the pensioning of indigent mem-

bers of the Jewish community who shall have attained the age of sixty years, by making them a permanent allowance of five shillings weekly. Liverpool and Manchester have similar organizations. In London there are two societies for the granting of pensions to widows. The earlier of these was founded in 1867 and grants a pension of five shillings a week, for a term of thirteen weeks, and one pound at the expiration of that time. The West Indies has a home in Jamaica, at Kingston. Gibraltar and Sidney, New South Wales, also have homes for the aged. Temporary homes and shelters for destitute adults are coëxistent with Jewish communities everywhere. If the community is too small to maintain a separate inn, or Hachnosas Orchim, for the reception of poor strangers, some particular family is selected to afford the lodging and meals, and the expense incurred is afterwards repaid by the community. But this method of dealing with transients has always been unsatisfactory in the history of Jewish charity because of the peculiar type of itinerant beggar it has produced. Because of the ease with which a stranger receives free accommodation, shelter and even money to proceed farther on his journey, many a man has travelled around the world in comparative luxury, and without the slightest return in labor or money on his part. Indeed he considers himself the benefactor rather than the beneficiary by the assistance rendered, because, according to the Jewish conception of charity which makes it the duty of every Jew to give, and the right of every poor man to receive charity, he feels that he has been responsible for his fellow Jew's performance of duty. He does not consider himself a beggar, therefore, but a necessary agent in the fulfillment of the law of charity. Europe and indeed the whole Jewish world outside of the United States has still a serious problem in its itinerant beggars. Germany, more than any other European country, appears to be active in suppressing the evil through its Societies for the Prevention of Itinerant and House-to-House Begging. There are 77 of these societies located in the various cities and towns of Germany. But perhaps no method has been more successful in combating the evil than that adopted by the National Conference of Jewish Charities in the United States, at Chicago in 1900, and since reported upon favorably for

adoption by the National Conference of Charities and Correction in its treatment of the same problem.

The larger cities of Europe, particularly London, have another serious problem to contend with in the immigration of persecuted Jews from the continental countries of Europe. Societies for taking care of these refugees, and for sending them to their destination, or finding employment for them at the place of landing, have therefore been established. Many of these societies are composed of recent immigrants who have organized themselves for the purpose of assisting those who come from their own particular section of their native land. London has a Location and Information Bureau, conducted by the Russo-Jewish Committee in conjunction with the Jewish Board of Guardians, to afford organized means whereby Russo-Jewish refugees in London can obtain aid and information as to how and where to get work and where to reside. There is also a Poor Jews' Temporary Shelter, which was founded in 1885 to prevent poor immigrants from falling into the hands of unscrupulous countrymen on landing. The latter, it was discovered, often took advantage of the newly-arrived immigrants by conducting them to lodgings where they were robbed of their effects; while young women were often decoyed into houses of ill-fame. The Poor Jews' Temporary Shelter was founded in order to obviate this evil. The immigrant on landing is met by accredited officials and conducted to the Shelter, which is notified by the Board of Trade and the Dock and Police officers of the Thames of the arrival of every immigrant ship. On arriving at the shelter, the immigrant is allowed to remain for a period not exceeding fourteen days, at the end of which time, he proceeds to his destination abroad (the United States, Canada, South Africa, or Australia) or finds employment in England. The number of inmates in 1902 was 2,350, of whom 1,334 immediately emigrated to different parts of the world, and 1,016 left for destinations unknown. In the same year, 1885, the Jewish Association for the Protection of Girls and Women was founded to care for female immigrants. London, Liverpool, Birmingham and Manchester have naturalization societies, also general culture and English classes for Jewish immigrants.

Relief in kind has prevailed in Jewish charity ever since

Talmudic times. In modern times it is handled by special funds and societies. London has no less than six of the latter, besides numerous Ladies' Guilds connected with the various synagogues, to provide clothing, shoes, coal, bread, meat, groceries, medicines, and other necessities. In general, the relief is obtained through the distribution of tickets. In this connection, it may be mentioned that on religious holidays and occasions of domestic joy, especially anniversaries, weddings, and births, it has been a long and widely practiced custom for well-to-do Jews and even those of moderate means to send gifts in the shape of goods or fuel to the houses of the poor. Soup kitchens, first established in Europe in the middle of the nineteenth century, were established among Jews in the early days of the Christian era in the form of the *Tamchui,* already referred to in the early part of this chapter. To-day, the Tamchui, though conducted perhaps more methodically, still exists in the numerous soup kitchens established in the larger cities. London has a large soup kitchen conducted by the Jewish Board of Guardians. Paris has two large soup kitchens conducted by the Comité de Bienfaisance. There is also in London a Society for Providing Strangers with Meals on Sabbaths and holidays. Similar societies exist in numerous small communities throughout Europe, though the duty of temporarily boarding strangers on Sabbaths and holidays is more generally undertaken by well-to-do private individuals.

Medical relief is carried on through hospitals founded by private generosity or by societies organized for the purpose. Most of the hospitals have dispensaries and afford outdoor medical relief. London has two hospitals, one in connection with the Spanish and Portuguese Jews' congregation, founded in 1747; and the other founded in 1795, but first opened in 1807; it has also a provident dispensary, whose object is to render medical assistance, on a provident basis, to the foreign Jews of Whitechapel. The number of attendances at the latter in 1902 was 4,330; and the number of doctor's visits to the homes during the same period was 2,069. Besides the above, London has two Convalescent Homes, one founded by the Baroness de Hirsch, and the other by public subscription in memory of Judith Lady Montefiore. The objects as stated by the latter are to provide a

home for poor Jewish patients recovering from illness, and to train Jewish domestic servants. There are also a home and hospitals for Jewish incurables, established in 1889.

Manchester established a Jewish hospital in 1903. France has a general hospital in Paris, founded by a member of the Rothschild family; and connected with it is a home for incurables, paralytics, and idiots. Germany has over thirty hospitals. Very recently, in Austria, a hospital for the poor who are compelled to spend some time at Carlsbad was founded with accommodations for 700 patients. Lemberg has also opened a hospital during the past year. Calcutta, India, has a Jewish hospital called the Ezra Hospital, founded by Mrs. E. D. Ezra. It is managed by the government, and is open to all castes and creeds. Other hospitals are located at Aden, in Arabia, at Salonica, Jaffa, Jerusalem, Smyrna, Tunis, Constantinople and Florence. The nursing of invalids is attended to by three organizations in London. Presburg in Austria-Hungary has recently established a Nurses' Training Association. Maternity cases are cared for either in special hospitals or by attendants in the home provided by various societies organized for the purpose. In London there are four societies organized for the purpose of affording clothing and monetary relief, and relief in general. Paris has a maternity hospital. Hospitals for consumptives are not numerous. One is located in Paris; while in other places, Jewish consumptives are cared for in the public sanatoria and hospitals, but are generally under the supervision of some Jewish philanthropic organization. This occurs likewise in general hospitals. London, for example, has special wards for Jewish patients in some of its general hospitals, and maintained by Jewish funds. The religious and dietary wants of these patients are attended to by certain societies formed for the purpose.

Defectives are in most countries placed in the care of public institutions, because of the comparative absence of such institutions under Jewish auspices. The Jewish Hospital in Paris, mentioned above, is connected with a home for incurables, paralytics and idiots. London has a Jewish home for the indigent blind, founded in 1819; and Vienna has a Jewish Blind Institute. Homes for Jewish deaf and dumb are established in London, in Berlin, Tauberbischoffsheim, and Budapest. In Berlin there is

a Society for the Advancement of Israelitish Deafmutes in Germany.

The care of children has always occupied the most prominent place in the history of Jewish philanthropic activity. Whatever the condition of the child,—whether dependent, defective, or delinquent,—education, and not mere attendance upon his physical needs, was the prime consideration. Emphasis was especially laid upon the necessity of teaching him some trade as a means of averting moral delinquency. This was based upon the Talmudic maxim: "He who does not teach his boy a trade teaches him to steal." That this was more than a mere homiletic maxim is shown by the treatment of the Jewish child in the middle ages and by the various institutions and organizations for the care of the child to-day. The care of dependent children is mainly institutional. The adoption by relatives or friends is observed with religious sacredness in a great many Jewish communities throughout the world. This is indeed the first step taken in the care of the Jewish orphan, and only where it fails is the child placed in an orphan's home. The method of boarding out, or placing in care of others than relatives or friends, has always been more or less unpopular in Jewish communities; and from available data, the system appears to be unsuccessful to-day. In general, the institutional care of children has created little ground for objection beyond the minor details of form and procedure that characterize the management of large institutions elsewhere. Most of the orphans' homes outside of the United States have too few inmates to allow the criticisms ordinarily passed on the system of institutionalism. Elementary and industrial education are almost everywhere afforded within the homes, though in many cases boys are apprenticed outside. The Jews' Hospital and Orphans' Asylum of West Norwood, London, was opened in 1807, and until 1850, the boys were taught trades within the home. Since that time the boys on finishing their education in the home are apprenticed to independent masters outside. The funds of the institution are augmented by small weekly subscriptions paid by an auxiliary society. The Spanish and Portuguese Jewish congregation of London had an orphan society founded in 1703, whose object is the education and clothing, maintaining and apprenticing of the orphan boys of the congregation. Simi-

lar organizations are common elsewhere. Germany has forty-one institutions of various kinds in the interests of children. Ten of these are located in Berlin. France has an orphanage in Paris, founded by one of the Rothschilds in 1855, that educates 100 children of both sexes. A home for orphans in Switzerland was opened in 1903. Two homes for the support of abandoned children are maintained, one, the Refuge de Plessis Piquet, where boys between 6 and 14 are given an elementary education and taught a trade, and the other, Refuge de Neuilly, for girls. Florence, Italy, has two orphans' homes, one established by a local society in 1836, and the other by private philanthropy in 1890. Melbourne, Australia, has a Jewish Orphans' and Neglected Children's Aid Society.

Societies and institutions for the partial care of children are established in several cities of England and the continent. London has a Jewish Crêche established in 1897; its fees are 2d. per day. The total attendance in 1901 was 5,070. Nurses for invalid children are supplied by the London Board of Guardians. Berck-sur-Mer in France has a special institution founded by private beneficence, for receiving feeble and scrofulous children under 15. Schools for the free tuition of poor children are numerous. The needs of schools attended by poor Jewish children are provided for by special societies. In 1883, a society was founded in London to provide penny dinners at schools and elsewhere. The number of dinners given in 1901 amounted to 47,118. Clothing and shoes are also provided by The Ladies' Clothing Association and the Jewish Schools' Boot Fund. In 1901, the latter society distributed 2,000 pairs of shoes. Liverpool has a Hebrew School Children's Soup Fund, founded in 1870, which provides 367 children with hot dinners daily during the winter. It has also two societies for making and distributing clothes. The Society for Clothing Necessitous Boys of the Hebrew Schools was founded in 1867; and makes regular attendance at school and cleanliness and tidiness in appearance its conditions of relief. London and Manchester have children's country holiday funds to provide means whereby poor children may be enabled to spend some time away from the congestion and squalor of the city. The London society, founded in 1889, sent 1,711 children to the country in 1901. Recently a Seaside Home was presented by a

member of the London community for the accommodation of the children in the London Orphans' Home. The Manchester Society has a Children's Holiday Home at Chinley in Derbyshire, founded and maintained by the women of Manchester. Delinquent children are generally placed under the care of public institutions. This feature of Jewish charity is at present receiving serious attention in many of the larger cities of Europe. An industrial school for Jewish boys was founded in 1901 at Hayes, Middlesex, England, in response to the need created by the petty offences of Jewish boys in certain quarters of London. Its sponsor is the United Synagogue of London, which appoints a Committee of Managers. The number of inmates in 1902 was 47. Frankfort has a society in the interests of Feeble or Morally Imperilled Jewish Children. ("Stift für Gebrechliche oder Verwahrloste Israelitische Kinder.") Preventive agencies and organizations for the physical, mental, and moral development of youth are numerous, particularly in the larger cities of Europe. There are no less than twenty literary, choral, dramatic, athletic, and recreational clubs for young people of the working classes in London alone, while almost every provincial city has one or more societies of a similar character. These societies are mainly guided and conducted by prominent members of the Jewish community, who seek by personal contact and social intercourse to elevate and refine the lives of the younger working classes. The West Central Jewish Girls' Club and Institute of London is typical. Its objects are: (1) to provide evening continuation classes for working girls living in the West Central District; (2) to provide amusement with a view to discourage girls from harmful amusements; (3) to encourage social intercourse between women of different education and varied occupation. Its administration is in the hands of a General Committee consisting of three officers of the society, 9 workers and 8 members.

A home for friendless Jewish working girls was established in 1901. It has accomodations for twenty-four residents; and the charge for board and lodging is 8s. per week. There is also a large dining hall to supply dinners to working girls at 5d. per head. A domestic training home was founded in 1894.

A most interesting and—from the modern philanthropic viewpoint—novel feature of Jewish charity is its provision of marriage

dowries for poor and orphaned girls. For many centuries, this feature of Jewish charity has been a favorite recipient of private and organized philanthropy. London alone has six agencies for the purpose of assisting young men and women in providing marriage dowries. One of these was founded in 1724. Another, known as the "Marriage Portion Society for Assisting Young Men and Virtuous Girls of the Jewish Faith," was founded in 1850, and is supported by voluntary subscriptions. The amount of the dowry is £25, besides £1 1s. marriage fee, and an allowance not exceeding 2s. 6d. to offer in the synagogue on the Sabbath prior to the marriage. The ages of the candidates are 18 to 35 years. In 1903, a fund known as the Barnato Marriage Fund, was created by private generosity and left to the management of the Jewish Board of Guardians. The occasion of the creation of the fund is typical of similar funds elsewhere. The amount of $25,000 was donated by a private individual in honor of the marriage of an only daughter. Every year on the anniversary of the wedding, the income is to be distributed among poor girls to provide a dowry.

The Jewish Lads' Brigade of London was started in 1895 to promote the physical development of the humbler classes of Jewish boys. It is organized along military lines with a staff composed of some of the leading members of the Jewish community. A seaside encampment to which about 600 boys are taken is held annually. Eight similar organizations are established in the provinces; one in Canada, at Montreal; and two in South Africa, at Johannesburg and Port Elizabeth.

The education and elevation of the laboring classes is conducted through educational institutes, reading rooms, libraries, and dramatic, debating, literary, and general culture clubs. Bombay, India, has two Chautauqua classes adapted to the Jewish Chautauqua System of America. In many of these men and women are admitted alike. Manchester, England, has a Jewish Workingmen's Club, consisting of 886 members, of whom 412 are ladies. The Newcastle-on-Tyne Club has 250 members, of whom 130 are ladies. Liverpool has an Educational Institute whose object is to provide an English education for foreign co-religionists.

For the cultivation of trades and handicrafts there are socie-

ties and clubs in over fifty cities of Germany. Workingmen's homes, benefit, loan and building societies are numerous. London has a Home for Workingmen, containing 100 beds and is self-supporting. London has at least six laborers' societies with sick, death, and general insurance benefits. Besides the loan societies in London organized among workingmen themselves, there are no less than seven lay societies to grant loans without interest to laboring and trades people. Dispersion movements in the congested Jewish quarters of large cities are significant. Model tenement agitation was inaugurated in London in 1885, by the Four Per Cent. Industrial Dwellings Company. Its object, as stated by the constitution, is to provide the industrial classes with healthy and commodious dwellings—maximum accommodation at minimum rent, compatible with yielding a net 4 per cent. per annum dividend upon the investment of the paid-up capital of the company. The buildings of the company afforded accommodation for about 4,600 inhabitants; while new buildings are in course of erection. In 1903, another impetus to the dispersion movement was given by the donation of £10,000 by Sir Samuel Montagu to the Housing of the Working Classes Committee of the London County Council. Twenty-five acres of land are to be utilized in a suburb of London for the residence of poor families now living in the crowded quarters, without distinction of race or creed. Preference is given to those of three years' residence in the congested district. The sanitation and cleanliness of poor dwellings is conducted by many societies of ladies organized for the purpose of rendering personal service in the homes of the poor. The Manchester, England, society is called the Ladies' Visiting Association, and has for its object the popularization of sanitary knowledge along with the inculcation of habits of cleanliness and order.

The two foremost organizations in the Jewish world of philanthropy to-day are the Jewish Colonization Association and the Alliance Israélite Universelle. They are international in scope, the field of their operations covering almost every land in which Jews are located. The Jewish Colonization Association was founded by Baron de Hirsch in 1891. Its objects may be summarized as follows: (1) To promote and assist the emigration of Jews from those countries of Europe and Asia where they

may for the time being be subjected to any special taxes, or political or other disabilities, to other parts of the world, and to form and establish colonies for agricultural, commercial, and other purposes; (2) to accept gifts, donations, and bequests of money and other property on the terms of the same being applied for all or some one or more of the purposes of the company, or on such other terms as may be consistent with the objects of the company.

For these purposes a company was formed in 1891 with registered offices in London. Its capital was £2,000,000 divided into 20,000 shares of £100 each. Of these, 19,992 were allotted to Baron de Hirsch, who transferred them to six different organizations of religious and philanthropic character. In 1896, on the death of Baron de Hirsch, additional property was bequeathed by the latter giving the Jewish Colonization Association a total fund of something more than £8,000,000. The offices of the company are in Paris, where a Council of Administration consisting of eleven members, three directors, and a secretary, have the control of its operations. It is impossible here to give even a brief résumé of the work of the association because of its variety and scope. Its last annual report, issued by the Conseil d'Administration in July, 1903, occupies a space of 132 pages. The merest suggestion of its activities therefore must suffice. The main work of the association so far has been the colonization of Russian, Roumanian, and Galician Jews in the Argentine Republic, Brazil, Canada, Palestine, Cyprus, and the United States. Some idea of the extent of its colonizing operations may be gained from the number of acres owned by the association in Argentine. In 1902, the number was over one million and a half acres, of which over 150,000 were being cultivated by 1,380 families. The average cost of colonizing a single family is, according to the address of the president of the association at the last annual meeting, from 8,000 to 10,000 francs. The form of government in the colonies is adapted to that of the country in which they are located, though in some colonies, a system of tutelage prevails under the régime of an administrator appointed by the association. The Woodbine Colony in New Jersey, founded by the association, was incorporated as an independent municipality in 1903. Elementary and industrial schools are

generally established. The inspection of the various colonies is carried on from time to time and the reports are sent on to the Council of Administration which publishes them annually. Besides colonization in outside countries, the association has established, particularly in Russia, farm colonies, elementary, agricultural, and industrial schools. Considerable attention indeed is paid to the amelioration and development of the persecuted Jews in the lands they inhabit. Elementary, agricultural, and industrial schools are maintained; conditions for various forms of work otherwise prohibited by the government are created; loan funds, mutual savings banks, and coöperative workshops are started; model sanitary dwellings erected; removal bureaus for the placing and dispersion of immigrants are established in several of the larger cities of Europe and America; and financial assistance to a large number of educational and philanthropic organizations is rendered.

The varied activity of the Jewish Colonization Association is reënforced by that of the Alliance Israélite Universelle. This organization was founded by six Jews of Paris in 1860 with the following objects: (1) To work everywhere for the emancipation and moral progress of the Jews; (2) to give effectual support to those who are suffering persecution because they are Jews; (3) to encourage all publications calculated to promote these ends. Although its objects are confined to poor and persecuted Jews, the Alliance has frequently exerted its good offices in behalf of the poor and persecuted of other faiths. Shortly after the Alliance was founded, it appointed a provisional committee and opened a subscription in behalf of the Christians of Lebanon suffering as a result of famine and persecution by the Druses, and its contribution formed no small part of the general fund. The elementary and trade schools of the Alliance are largely attended by Mohammedans and Christians of various denominations.

The activity of the Alliance is more extensive even than that of the Jewish Colonization Association. As with the latter, therefore, it is impossible here to do more than merely hint at the general work of the organization. Its last annual report, published in April, 1903, covers over 200 pages of actual work accomplished. The Alliance establishes and maintains primary

and normal schools for males and females; industrial schools, where trades, supplemented by agricultural training, are taught; apprentices the graduates; establishes and maintains professional schools, dispensaries, and hospitals in Jerusalem and wherever else these are most needed; aids victims of expulsion; organizes bureaus of relief; and assists in establishing farm colonies. The main activity of the Alliance, however, is spent in education, while colonization and similar work is left to the Jewish Colonization Association. The schools of the Alliance are chiefly of three kinds: primary schools, trades schools, and agricultural schools. Of these, in 1903, there were 108, 74 for boys and 34 for girls, attended by over 30,000 children. The schools are located in Russia, Roumania, Bulgaria, Turkey in Europe, Turkey in Asia, Syria, Palestine, Persia, Morocco, Tunis, Algeria, and Egypt. With the exception of one school in Constantinople, and another in Bulgaria, all instruction in the Alliance schools is given in French because of the prevalence of this language in the Orient. While instruction in other European languages is given, the national language of the country is always given first consideration. Almost all the schools being located in territories where the population is extremely congested, and where the ventilation of homes, and sanitation generally, is poor, the Alliance has directed special attention to the improvement of these conditions. Through the generosity of Baron and Baroness de Hirsch, who contributed largely for the establishing of the schools, the poor children are served with a warm meal daily at noon. The total expense of supplying the food alone is 50,000 francs a year. By the will of Baroness de Hirsch, the perpetuation of this part of the Alliance's work is provided for. The instructors of the various schools are educated in normal institutes founded and maintained by the Alliance in Paris. Many of these teachers are drawn directly from the schools of the Alliance whose most promising pupils are sent to the normal schools in Paris to complete their studies. The establishing and development of trades schools is an important part of the Central Committee's work. The simple and overcrowded trades, like those of tailor, shoemaker, hair-dresser, and so forth, are not taught. Only those trades which require the expenditure of physical energy, develop the body and improve the general health of the pupil,—trades

like blacksmithing, carpentry, masonry, machine-work, and so on,—are favored. The apprentices are selected from the highest graduates of the school and are placed with outside employers. They receive a monthly allowance of from four to eight francs from the Alliance; and a portion of this allowance is withheld for several years, when the accumulated amount is returned to the apprentice to enable him to purchase the apparatus necessary for his work. The trades taught the girls are limited in number to about six, owing to the wretched industrial conditions in the Orient. These trades are seamstress, needle-woman, embroiderer, laundress, dressmaker and draper. The system of apprenticing girls to outside employers being obviously impossible in the Orient, the Alliance has established workshops in connection with the schools where it is possible for them to earn a livelihood, or assist in contributing to their future household expenses. The Alliance has laid special emphasis upon the education of girls. Its policy has been to lift them from the low position occupied by women in the Orient by affording them educational and other privileges equal to those of men. One important result of this policy, even in the short period of the schools' activity, has been the almost complete disappearance among Jews of the common Oriental practice of early marriages. The agricultural schools of the Alliance began their extensive existence in 1870 with the founding of the school at Jaffa, in Palestine. The cultivation chiefly of olives, oranges, grapes and fruit is carried on; also fruit culture, kitchen gardening, cattle raising, and silk-worm cultivation. The school at Jaffa has at present over 200 resident pupils, and is one of the important sources whence the other schools and colonies of the Alliance draw their instructors and managers. The total expenditure of the Alliance on all its schools in 1903 was over 1,280,000 francs.

The executive management of the Alliance is in the hands of a Central Committee limited in number to sixty members, about half of whom reside in Paris, and the rest in different countries of Europe and America. These are elected by a majority vote of the members of the Alliance for a period of nine years. Three retire every three years. The membership fee, from which the Alliance derives its main income, is 6 francs. Donations and bequests, however, are frequent. It receives a subvention likewise

from the Jewish Colonization Association. The active work of the Central Committee is done by the members resident in Paris. The non-resident members receive monthly notice of questions to be discussed; while at the more important meetings, they are either present in person or send in their written opinions to the committee. A general meeting of the Central Committee is held at least once a year. The committee keeps in touch with its members through local or territorial committees who form the propagating and executive agents of the association everywhere. The Alliance publishes, besides its annual report, monthly bulletins containing generally an account of work accomplished in that period. The representatives of the Alliance are officially recognized by most, if not all of the governments within whose territory they are located. The work of the Alliance is aided by smaller organizations of a similar character established in several countries of Europe. These organizations are the Anglo-Jewish Association in England (established in 1871), the Hilfsverein der Deutschen Juden in Germany (1901), and the "Israelitische Allianz zu Wien" (1873). While concerned chiefly with conditions in their respective countries, they are all more or less connected with the Alliance Israéite Universelle and with the Jewish Colonization Association, and their assistance to the latter takes the form chiefly in granting subventions to their schools and in handling the persecuted immigrants from Russia, Roumania, and Galicia.

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SECTION 2.—AMERICAN

BY RABBI A. HIRSCHBERG

The Jew has always had a fair name for thoughtfulness and kindness to the poor and unfortunate of his own people. His

love and affection for the needy, his quiet, gentle method of alleviating suffering and uplifting the fallen have been a cause of admiration by the world. From biblical times to the present day he has felt it not only a privilege but also a solemn duty[1] to still every cry and answer every plea for help. Never has there been an importunate knock at his door which has gone unheeded, because, for him, charity has been one of the pillars upon which the world rests.[2]

It is not surprising, therefore, to find in every Jewish community in this country and Canada, various institutions and agencies, especially designed to meet the pressing wants of the unfortunate, destitute, sick or worthy poor. The work which is now done by these charitable organizations was formerly considered to be the duty of each individual. In the Bible, every charitable act worthy of being done is called "tsedakah," a term whose literal meaning is righteousness.[3] In later days a distinction was made between the charity which implied a gift of money, food or property and that which involved a gift of one's own self. "Tsedakah" was therefore given the distinct meaning of "alms" bestowed upon the poor and it became a duty chiefly incumbent upon the wealthy.[4] The term "gemilluth-chesed" was then introduced to denote all those personal acts of kindness which ought to be practiced by poor and rich alike.[5]

[1] The Books of Exodus, Deuteronomy, Isaiah, Psalms, Proverbs and Job abound in beautiful passages which emphasize the sacred obligations of charity. Cf. Deut. xv.10: "Thou shalt surely open thine hand unto thy brother, to thy poor and to thy needy in thy land." See also Prov. iii.27, 28; Job. xxix.12-16, etc.

[2] Pirke Aboth, 1, 2 (Sayings of the Fathers): "There are three things upon which the world rests, the study of the law, divine service and charity."

[3] It may therefore be inferred that, for the Jew of those times, charity was an act of righteousness incumbent on every one.

[4] In the sense of "tsedakah," charity, according to rabbinical literature, includes such branches of philanthropic work as (*a*) alms-giving to the poor for the purpose of alleviating temporary suffering; (*b*) providing food for the hungry, drink for the thirsty and clothing for the naked; (*c*) sheltering the aged and infirm, the widow and the orphan; (*d*) giving aid to the stranger; (*e*) assuring the religious and secular education of the children of the poor; (*f*) teaching the needy a trade and assisting them to obtain a livelihood; (*g*) helping those who have gone astray to regain their self-respect and return to the path of industry and honor; (*h*) providing poor maidens with wedding dowries.

[5] Under "gemilluth-chesed" are included such acts as (*a*) visiting the sick and

With such a broad and noble meaning, charity became a sacred virtue gracing every Jewish home and heart.

With the growth of population, however, and the increased complexity of the social life, the demands for assistance became so great and varied that individuals found they could no longer cope successfully with the difficulties. Communal organizations were thereupon formed to meet the demands of the situation.[1] Each century witnessed the formation of new societies and institutions for the care of all worthy subjects of charity. To such an extent did this movement develop that, in the thirteenth century A. D., no Jewish community could be found in all Europe which did not have some philanthropic association or institution.[2]

Since then the growth of Jewish charity societies has been a steady and progressive one. In this country, the first institution to open its doors was the Jewish Orphan Asylum of New York, founded by Mr. Jacob S. Solis in the year 1829. Thirty years later the first Hebrew benevolent society was established. Now, there are over 590 philanthropic organizations, the fundamental purpose of which is the care and assistance of the needy poor.[3]

cheering the suffering; (*b*) burying the dead; (*c*) comforting the mourners; (*d*) promoting peace and good-will among men; (*e*) judging charitably the words and deeds of our fellows; (*f*) raising the moral, spiritual and social condition of the lowly by personal service and encouraging sympathy. Cf. M. Friedlander, "The Jewish Religion," pages 302-303.

[1] About the third century B. C., Simon the Just propounded the principle that charity, in all its phases, should be a matter of public concern and administration. It seems that it was in accord with this maxim that, in the first century of the Christian era, according to historical data, a body of men was appointed by the community to take entire charge of its relief work. See Josephus, "Antiquities," chapter 20, 25. We also know that in the second century, Rabbi Akiba held the position of charity overseer. (Tal. Kid., 28, a.)

[2] Each community had a charity-box in which were deposited funds for the support of indigent townsmen and transients: there was also a charity-bowl, in which were kept victuals needed for immediate use. There was also a clothing and a burial fund. Some communities had public inns, where food and shelter were given to poor and homeless travelers. These communities also contributed to the support of the non-Jewish poor and they were actuated by the loftiest of motives in the dispensation of their charity.

[3] In this number are not included the numerous benevolent organizations, fuel societies, invalid aid societies, burial associations, sheltering homes and benefit societies which have been organized by Russian, Galician and Roumanian Jews for

There are, besides these, 16 asylums for dependent children, 12 hospitals for the sick, 1 national hospital for consumptives and 13 homes for the aged.[1] All these institutions are conducted along the sanest lines of modern charity administration.[2]

In recent years the various charitable organizations have, in a few large cities, been combined under one centralized system. To the federation is assigned the duty of collecting the funds, and of apportioning these to the different constituent societies. The affairs of each society are administered by a board of directory, chosen from among the members. The object of the federation is: (*a*) to bring about a closer and more intimate union between the various beneficial societies; (*b*) to eliminate as far as possible unnecessary duplication of work and to abolish the pernicious system of collecting funds by means of charity balls and entertainments. In each case the federation has met with considerable success, and has fully justified its existence.[3]

their countrymen. These organizations generally act independently of each other. In New York City, where there are many such unaffiliated societies, the United Hebrew Charities, the largest Jewish relief organization in New York, is trying to bring about a closer coöperation between them. Since the latter part of the eighteenth century the Jewish congregations have carried on benevolent work similar to that done by congregations in Europe. For example, the Rodeph Sholem Congregation of Philadelphia, organized in 1800, originally began work as a society for the burial of the dead, and this is characteristic of a number of other large societies.

[1] There are also several foster homes, lying-in hospitals, homes for the friendless, manual training schools and numerous other similar institutions. All the large cities maintain dispensaries.

[2] In former days only the immediate want was relieved. Imposition and pauperization were frequent results of the indiscriminate and injudicious charity which then prevailed. Now, not only the temporary distress but the future welfare of the needy ones is carefully considered. Great care is exercised that their self-respect, their manhood and womanhood is preserved. Charity is now administered on the principle that the best way to aid the poor is to help them to help themselves. The chronic "Schnorrer," a parasite whose growth was encouraged by the old methods, has thereby been almost eliminated.

[3] Cincinnati, Detroit, Chicago, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Kansas City and Cleveland have their charities at present federated, while such a movement is now on foot in Milwaukee, Louisville and Baltimore. The time is not far off when all the large cities will federate their charities, while those of moderate size will undoubtedly combine them also. Of course, there is no need for this in the small cities, where one society can dispense the charity of the community.

In Chicago last year, $135,000 were collected and distributed among the United

In the gradual evolution of relief giving, and relief administration, very important changes have been brought about; such as the substitution of more intelligent coöperative effort for crude forms of almsgiving and the amalgamation of many small relief societies into one large organization, under the special charge of persons trained in the social sciences. Scientific methods prevail in the conduct of relief organizations, as a result of which pauperism has been considerably lessened. Relief is given in the shape of money, clothing, coal, medicine, food, etc. Employment bureaus, work rooms for unskilled women and in some cases day nurseries are conducted under the direct supervision of the relief organizations. In offering relief their aim is both to make it adequate for the applicant's needs and to consider the future welfare of the recipients. The relief societies have been greatly aided in their work by various societies of women, known as sisterhoods. These are generally affiliated with synagogues, and their chief work consists in acting as friendly visitors and investigators; in conducting kindergartens and religious classes. There are 13 such sisterhoods in New York city, and the good they have accomplished can not be overestimated. The moral tone of the communities in which they are situated has been raised considerably.

A few of the large relief societies in this country maintain loan departments, but these have not met with much success. It is found that only a small per cent. of the money loaned is returned. The smaller loan societies which are connected with the synagogues, and of which there are 14 in this city alone, have met with greater success. This may be due in part to the fact that loans are made only to members. But in some of the large cities there are highly systematized loan organizations, which are conducted along scientific lines. A loan, without interest, and which is to be repaid in regular installments, is extended to anyone upon the security offered by the borrower's personal note, endorsed by one or two responsible persons. The chief aim of such societies is to make the loan serve as a substitute for

Hebrew Charities, the Home for Aged Jews, the Orphan Home, the Michael Reese Hospital, the Manual Training School, the Seventh Ward Bureau, the Dispensary, the Lying-in Hospital and the Maxwell Street Settlement. Money was also sent to national institutions at Denver and Cleveland.

alms. Many a family has thus been kept away from the relief societies and made self-sustaining by the intervention of the loan organizations. Conducted as the larger ones are on a business basis, they have sustained very little loss.[1]

Prior to 1900 a few abortive attempts had been made to form a National Conference of Jewish Charities, but not till that year was the association formed. It was found necessary to introduce a national organization which should deal with the ever increasing problems of the Jewish poor in this country. "The objects of this association," to quote the constitution, "are to discuss the problems of charities and to promote reforms in their administration; to provide uniformity of action and coöperation in all matters pertaining to the relief and betterment of the Jewish poor of the United States, without, however, interfering in any manner with the local work of any constituent society." Any Jewish philanthropic society may become a member of the association on payment of dues varying from $5 to $50, according to the size of the society. And each society may be represented by one or more delegates at the biennial meetings of the conference. It is growing constantly, having had in 1900 a membership of 40; in 1902 of 54 organizations. Several reforms have already been effected by it. The abuse of free transportation has been greatly mitigated by the adoption at the conference of certain rules and regulations by which the constituent societies are guided.[2] The provision of free scholarships at our universities for young men and women who may equip themselves for philanthropic work, will tend to raise the efficiency of the work in behalf of the poor. But it is by educating the public to the necessity of substituting more scientific methods in the administration of relief, that so many wholesome results have already been accomplished. Hence, many societies have adopted a system

[1] For a fuller discussion of this subject see Proceedings of 2d National Conference of Jewish Charities, 1902, p. 50.

[2] According to its rules, no city can send a transient to any other city without the consent of the city to which transportation is desired. Impostors now find it a very difficult task to secure free transportation. Since the formation of this conference, the work of the different societies has been greatly facilitated and the professional beggar and itinerant now shun their relief officer, for they know that no assistance is given, except in extraordinarily exceptional cases, and only after a thorough investigation has been made.

of uniform records, so that statistics are now being kept and the duplication of charity has been minimized.

Since biblical days, the hoary head has been an object of Jewish reverence and respect.[1] It is quite natural, therefore, that we should find numerous "homes" scattered over this land, providing for the comfort and contentment of those who, in the decline of their lives, have no home of their own. The thirteen institutions for the aged in this country have been models of their kind and, to their inmates, have been veritable homes of shelter and protection against the wintry storms of life.[2]

The Jewish sick have always received the best of care and attention. To-day, the many excellent hospitals[3] and dispensaries[4] testify most eloquently to this fact. Every large city has a hospital, while even the smallest community provides medical aid for the needy. The consumptive Jew has recently awakened the deepest sympathies of his co-religionists and just now the question of his suffering and its proper alleviation is prominently occupying their minds. While the hospital at Denver and the Bedford Sanitarium have done admirable work, yet their resources are not adequate to the demands of this ravaging disease. The problem is, in reality, too large for private treatment alone.

There is no Jewish institution in the United States for the care of defectives such as blind, feeble-minded, insane and epileptic persons. Knowing as we do that the sight of affliction has always deeply touched the well-springs of the Jewish heart, this

[1] Leviticus xix.32: "Thou shalt rise up before the hoary head and honor the face of the old man, and thou shalt fear thy God."

[2] Of this number, one of the two institutions in Chicago provides "Kosher" food for its inmates in accordance with the requirements of orthodox Judaism.

[3] The hospitals have introduced every improvement known to modern medical science. No expense is spared in improving the efficiency of their work. Training-schools for nurses are also maintained in conjunction with some of these hospitals and their success has been eminently satisfactory.

[4] The free dispensaries, usually located in the heart of the poor district, do a world of good. Here the city's best physicians are at the service of the poor. A diet kitchen prepares and distributes to the babies of the neighborhood modified milk, beef juice, etc. In Chicago, last year, 24,000 poor patients were given treatment, while 22,000 prescriptions were furnished them at a nominal cost. As many as 3,000 bottles of certified milk have been distributed in a month during the heated term.

fact might appear strange were not the further fact taken in consideration that the number of these has been so small that the necessity of such an institution has never been felt.[1]

The Jew had been an ardent advocate of the institutional plan of charity administration.[2] This is not at all surprising when we consider the fact that Jewish institutions have always possessed to a very large extent those qualities which characterize the race, namely, intimate family relationship and domesticity. At present there are 16 orphan asylums in this country, and from statistics gathered in 1902 it was found that 19,569 children have been inmates of the different institutions since their reception, and that of the above number 3,572 children were cared for that year. Of the children then in asylums, 309 were full orphans, 2,362 were half orphans, and both parents of 630 children were living. No statistics were procurable from the institutions in New York, New Jersey, and Atlanta, Ga. The age of admission varies in the institutions from 3 to 5 years, and the discharge from 14 to 18 years. Up to within a few years, the above was the only method for the care of dependent children which appealed to the Jewish heart. A change of sentiment has recently been experienced, however, which has crystallized into a strong movement for the boarding out and placing out of such children to responsible families and under careful guardianship.[3] In the exhaustive report quoted below, Dr. L. K. Frankel mentions a number of societies which have attempted to place out children in free homes, and to have them adopted and indentured, as well as some which have attempted to board out children. The result has been that in the

[1] In one or two communities, notably in Baltimore, crippled children's guilds exist. The object of the work which the guild undertakes is to teach poor crippled children in their homes. Each member is assigned a child, whom she teaches once or twice a week. At their monthly meetings each case is discussed, and they are generally assisted by some one who is a special authority on orthopedic disease. (See Proceedings of Nat. Council of Jewish Women, 1900, Report on Crippled Children's Guild of Baltimore.)

[2] See a complete and admirable report of the committee on dependent children, presented by Dr. L. K. Frankel at 2d N. C. J. C. ('02); also a paper on Jewish child saving in U. S. before N. C. C. C. ('97) by Michel Heyman.

[3] In New York, the United Hebrew Charities annually disburses $30,000 in an effort to preserve the family life and prevent the sending of children to orphan asylums. Private charity in Chicago aims at the same result.

former case Chicago, Dallas and Cleveland have been successful: New Orleans and San Antonio have been very successful; St. Paul, Tacoma, Baltimore and Montgomery, Ala., have been unsuccessful. In New York the recently introduced movement of placing a number of children in free and boarding homes has met with considerable success. In Boston and Philadelphia the boarding out of children has been going on for years, and the results achieved in these two cities justify the hopes that the movement will spread and that institutionalism may eventually become a thing of the past.

The day nurseries and foster homes provide for those children who are only temporarily deprived of parental attention.

At present there are no special institutions for delinquent children, though there is a very well defined movement now in New York City to establish a Jewish Protectory. Chicago was the first place in this country to establish a Bureau of Personal Service, which has had charge of all the Juvenile Court work for the Jews as well as the rendering of free legal aid. At present there are other communities (New York, Philadelphia, Cincinnati) in which there are Jewish Juvenile Officers and to whom incorrigible children are paroled. So salutary have been the effects of this system, that in Chicago alone there has taken place a marked decrease in the number of Jewish offenders. Of the forty new delinquents brought before the Juvenile Court in the year ending on May 1, 1903, only thirty were boys, as compared to over one hundred a year previous to that one.[1]

The Manual Training Schools act as a most healthy restraining influence upon those children, who, by virtue of their surroundings, are morally imperilled.[2] In New York, the Educational Alliance has established a building in the heart of the Ghetto district, which is the Hull House for all the Jewish poor of that densely settled vicinity. Besides all these worthy agencies for good, the sisterhoods of churches, in connection with

[1] See Report of Bureau of Personal Service from May 1, 1902-May 1, 1903, by Miss Minnie F. Low, Superintendent, published in Reform Advocate, Chicago, June 6, '03. Also "Juvenile Delinquents and Probation Officers," by Hannah Solomon, 2d Conference of Jewish Charities, '02.

[2] The Manual Training School in Chicago and Hebrew Technical School in New York are among the finest institutions of their kind in this country.

the local charities, conduct religious and industrial schools, kindergartens, sewing and cooking classes, girls' clubs and dramatic circles and thus encourage a healthier moral life.

Other corrective and preventive movements are being championed by the Jewish Agriculturists' Aid Society of America,[1] the National Farm School,[2] the Society for the Aid of Jewish Prisoners,[3] and the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society, with headquarters at New York.[4] All of these organizations may be said to be the result of the terrible conditions which now exist in the so-called Ghetto or congested districts of Chicago, New York and Philadelphia. These are undoubtedly responsible for the great bulk of the misery, crime and degradation which now threaten the fair name of the Jew. The heads of the charities of these cities realize that the proper dismemberment of the ghettos and the placing of their residents in decent localities and suroundings will do much towards the solution of the largest and most perplexing problem which has ever confronted them. The traditional energy and indomitable perseverance of the Jew augur well for their future success.

In the last century various places in the United States and Canada have been the scenes of praiseworthy attempts to win the Jew back to the soil and give to every deserving and willing unfortunate of the race an opportunity to become independent and self-supporting. But, of the numerous colonies that have been established since the great Russo-Jewish immigration of 1881, very few now remain and only two or three may be said to be successful. In Canada but one colony remains to tell the story of the many heroic but fruitless efforts to give to the sub-

[1] During the first decade of the activity of this Society it assisted from three to six families annually, and since 1900 it has helped each year, respectively, 28, 32, 56 and 80 poor families who have taken up farming as their vocation. See the Report of the Secretary, Rabbi A. R. Levy, of Chicago, in Reform Advocate, Jan. 23, 1904.

[2] This school, located near Philadelphia, was founded in 1895, and instructs Jewish youths in the rudiments of scientific farming, encouraging them to make this their life-work. It is an immense step forward in Jewish child-saving.

[3] This society cares for the families of prisoners and aids the latter to again become law-abiding citizens after their discharge by securing positions for them.

[4] This fund is the result of the munificence of the great philanthropist and is devoted to the amelioration of the condition of all struggling Jews.

merged an opportunity to cultivate the soil. The colony of Hirsch, founded by Baron Hirsch in 1892 in the district of Assiniboi, near the border-line of the United States, is now the only struggling community of Jewish farmers in the dominion apart from those established at Moosomin, Oxbow, Hirsch, Wapella, Red Deer, and other places. In the United States, the first experiment was unsuccessfully made in 1837 at Warwarsing, N. Y., by 13 Jewish families. After five years of struggle and disaster, the little colony, discouraged by the many difficulties which beset it, gave up the struggle. Like many of its successors, it failed because of the inexperience of the settlers, the infertility of the soil and the great distance from the nearest railroad station. To-day, four colonies are carrying on the same experiment in New Jersey.

The most successful of these is located at Woodbine and comprises a population of 1,400, there being 160 Jewish and 34 Gentile families. It was established in 1891 by the Baron Hirsch fund and is still maintained under their supervision. The tract of land comprised 5,330 acres, of which 1,800 are now cleared and improved. The original population consisted of 300 persons, and to each family were assigned 15 acres of land. The payments were in installments. In 1897 the town site was laid. Factories were transplanted there from crowded cities, and houses were erected. To-day 50 per cent. own their homes, 40 per cent. are engaged in agriculture, 60 per cent. in industrial pursuits. There are: 1 clothing factory, employing 168 hands; 1 lock factory (40 hands); a machine and tool company (28 hands).[1] At Alliance, N. J., the colonists are meeting with much success, and at Rosenhayr, which now has a population of 800, one-quarter of the 1,900-acre tract of land is under cultivation. Russian Jewish farmers have succeeded well in Connecticut. It happens to be a good neighborhood for summer boarders. Two hundred families living there are quite successful. Recently there has taken place a considerable colonization of Russian Jews in New England States. While on the whole attempts at the founding of Jewish agricultural colonies have not met with as great success as might have been wished, yet Jewish philanthropy is not discouraged in its endeavor to encourage and assist worthy and

[1] Industrial Commission Report, Vol. XV, p. 512, Jewish Agriculture.

deserving poor to establish themselves as farmers in the United States or Canada. The Jewish Agricultural Aid Society of America, with offices at Chicago, is one of the new agencies which has entered the field, determined to succeed where others have failed. Since its establishment in 1888, it has been a decided factor in the campaign against the misery of the sweat-shop and the poverty of the "Ghetto." It has taken 110 Jewish families out of the most sordid and degraded of conditions and has made manly and self-respecting citizens of them. Its beneficiaries have not been established in one or two colonies, but have been scattered throughout such States as Illinois, Michigan, Indiana, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, North and South Dakota, Florida and Oklahoma. It has discouraged mendicancy and alms-receiving. It has made its beneficiaries feel their responsibility and recognize that their relations with the society were strictly business ones. It has seen to it that these families have received all the necessaries for successful farming and, as a result, it can to-day point proudly to its thriving farms and energetic farmers. Money is furnished by the society in the shape of a loan, protected by a lien on the property of the settler. Sufficient time is given for the liquidation of the debt. This plan, if followed out, promises to be an important factor towards the solution of the Jewish question which now looms up largely on the horizon.

Statistics in Cities.—Taking Chicago as typical of all the American cities, a few statistics are given as to the amount of money collected and the methods employed in its distribution. Last year $136,000 were collected from the Jewish citizens. This sum is independent of numerous subscriptions and endowments which were given to some of the institutions. This money, controlled by the Associated Jewish Charities, was used to defray the expenses of such local institutions as a hospital, a home for aged, an orphan home, the Jewish Training School, a dispensary, a settlement and a home for friendless. Of this money, $40,000 were used by the United Hebrew Charities in its relief work; 2,351 cases, comprising a total of 9,087 persons, were assisted and not one worthy applicant was refused the desired aid; 496 persons made application for employment; 453 were provided with work; 43 did not return, while 77 refused the work provided. At the hospital, 1,814 patients were treated, while in the dispensary

26,840 patients were given the proper medical attention. Twenty-six thousand seven hundred prescriptions were filled at the dispensary, for all of which, except 4,630, a nominal charge of 10 cents was made. Loans have been given to many in need of temporary help and nearly all of these have been returned at the proper time. A workroom, employing 50 women, at a monthly expense of about $500, was for a while maintained with great benefit to the beneficiaries in teaching them lessons of thrift and energy.

Working independently of the charities, but doing good work, are 14 loan societies, all in the district falsely termed the Ghetto, but which may with all propriety be called the district of the submerged. There are also 16 congregations in this same district, each of which maintains a cemetery and provides free burial to the poor besides contributing to Hebrew free schools, to charity in Palestine and to the orthodox schools of Russia.

In Canada the charity problems that demand solution are not so complex nor insistent. The entire population does not number more than twenty thousand souls, and the great majority of these live in Montreal, Toronto and Winnipeg. The Jewish communities of these cities maintain benevolent societies and are as zealous in their ministry to the worthy poor as are their brethren of this country. In fact, what has been said of the charities of this country applies equally as well to those of the Dominion.

In conclusion, it seems hardly necessary to say, that the past excellent record of the Jew and his present activity in the vineyard of noble charity endeavor, promise golden efforts in the future for the advancement of civilization and the glorification of God.

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It has been concluded, though with some misgiving, not to print the elaborate bibliography which was prepared for this work. The chief reason for the numerous omissions is that there are lists of authorities and sources easily accessible and to which reference may here be made once for all. Chief among these is the Bibliographie des Armenwesens, by Dr. E. Münsterberg. Camille Granier, Essai de bibliographie charitable is useful. Th. Schäfer (Die weibliche Diakonie, 1887, and Leitfaden der inneren Mission, 1904) gives many titles. G. Uhlhorn (Die christliche Liebesthätigkeit) at the end of each volume supplies numerous references to the literature.

The writers are greatly indebted to the Schriften des Deutschen Vereins für Armenpflege und Wohlthätigkeit, the various articles of which are carefully indexed in the Bibliographie of Dr. Münsterberg, the secretary of that society. In this same connection may be mentioned the lists appended to the very valuable articles on poor-relief ("Armenwesen") in the Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften (2d edition, 1898). In footnotes many references are cited.

American references are found in A. G. Warner's excellent treatise, American Charities (1894); and in Introduction to the Study of the Dependent, Defective and Delinquent Classes, by C. R. Henderson (2d ed., 1901). The list of books and articles here presented is not complete, but it will serve as an introduction to the field and will indicate the more important titles. The books having chiefly historical interest are generally omitted.

It is thought that these indications will guide any student who needs such help for the beginning of his investigations. After the earlier studies one makes his own list.

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